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QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

WINTER, 1929

SLEEP

BY C. F. LLOYD

Sleep to my cradle came when I was young,
Sweet as a rose leaf drifting down the wind;
Hushed the insistent babble of my tongue
And laid a wood pool's stillness on my mind.

Sleep came to me adown the vale of youth,
A gentle moth adrift on starry wings,
And my fierce greed for joy, adventure, truth
Surrendered to the peace oblivion brings.

Sleep came to me when I was growing old,
A lady with a poppy in her hand,
Nor eating cares nor troubles manifold
That blossom's subtle fragrance could withstand.

Soon a more potent anodyne will steep
My brain in God's best gift, unbroken sleep.

THE PROBLEM OF THE UPPER ST. LAWRENCE

BY FRANCIS KING, K.C.

THE waters of the mighty St. Lawrence have continued to roll under its bridges free and untrammelled for many a year since the idea of opening the Great Lakes to ocean shipping first became more than a dream. Even the new Welland Ship Canal, the undertaking which brought the deepened St. Lawrence within the range of possibility, is only now nearing completion and promising to open its great gates in 1930. Fifteen years have passed since the dredges began to work their way across the twenty-five miles of distance and up the 326 feet of difference of level between Lakes Ontario and Erie. The war, of course, lengthened this period unduly but, even without obstacles, works of this magnitude are not built in a day; and it is just as well that many a year should pass between first proposals and actual commitment to such an undertaking. The decision to commence the new Welland Canal was not made until after prolonged argument turning largely on the question of the problematical saving of a cent or two on the freight charges per bushel of grain if the large upper lake vessel could reach the foot of Lake Ontario without breaking bulk before trans-shipping cargo for Montreal. There was in this discussion no international problem, no conflict between federal and provincial or state rights, no debate as to the advantages and disadvantages of developing navigation and power concurrently, no question of ranking the respective rights to use the water, no rivalry of routes to be considered. Any one of these things might have sufficed to postpone the new Welland Canal indefinitely, but it was all plain sailing; the turbulent waters and rocky shoals of the St. Lawrence

problem were to be encountered on quite another day. Who then is to venture to predict the time when the white horses of the St. Lawrence rapids will be bridled and harnessed?

There are those who say that the new Welland Ship Canal was undertaken in advance of its time and that, when completed, it will not of itself readily make any alteration in the present system of transportation. These critics point out that shipping has been accommodating itself very well to existing conditions. Upper lake tonnage has increased in size and number of vessels without regard to any possible extension of voyage below Lake Erie and certainly with no possible expectation of venturing upon salt water. The only change in type has been the addition of beam to compensate for restricted drafts. The *Glenmohr*, now the *Lemoyne* of Canada Steamship Lines, built in 1926 for the Great Lakes Transportation Company at Midland, Ontario, is 632 feet in length with a beam of 70 feet instead of the usual 60 feet and the mark of half a million bushels wheat carrying capacity has been left well behind. For the waterhaul from Buffalo or Port Colborne to Montreal a fleet of smaller vessels increasing in number and variety of craft is also available. A type of steamer has appeared of relatively light construction and low free-board but great carrying capacity (over 90,000 bushels), quite out of place on the wide expanses of the upper lakes but well enough adapted for the sheltered waters of Lake Ontario and the river. Moreover, these trans-shipped cargoes of Canadian grain are not carried to Montreal under the flag of the Canadian Merchant Marine only. Ships flying the Stars and Stripes, notwithstanding repeated protests from Canadian owners, have constantly joined in carrying Canadian wheat from Fort William to Montreal in violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of the Canadian coasting laws by loading at Buffalo cargoes brought to that port by upper lake vessels of the same flag. That which would be an offence if

done by one foreign carrier has been countenanced by Canada because done by two, and Parliament, in the meantime, has refrained from amending our statute to accord with the more explicit and efficacious language of the Act of Congress on the same subject.

Others, again, claim that the small additional freight rate which will be offered for carriage to the foot of Lake Ontario instead of the foot of Lake Erie will not induce the owner of heavy and expensive upper lake tonnage to add the perils of navigation through the Welland Ship Canal to the dangers necessarily experienced in coming that far. There is no doubt that, notwithstanding the excellent and most modern character of this canal, its navigation will be no easy task, particularly with a large ship of lake type when upbound light—down at the stern and up at the bow—across country in a beam wind. Even if owners are willing to take risks under protection of insurance, underwriters and increased premiums will keep big boats out of the canal. In brief, it is said that a vessel designed and properly built to load deep and full, and to withstand the storms of Lake Superior is one thing, and that a vessel designed to cross country and to suffer the “slings and arrows of outrageous fortune” in a canal is another, totally different: a statement theoretically true, yet not true enough—at least as to various sizes and types of vessels—to influence the government which undertook the building of the canal.

This may seem to wander from the path indicated by the title of this paper. But in fact it presents indirectly some of the more simple and easy questions which enter into the problem of opening the St. Lawrence to deep navigation and suggests some *a fortiori* reasons why the larger upper lake ships will never seek the harbour of Montreal. It also leads directly to the assertion made in public by the Minister of Railways and Canals who was in office when the Government of Canada determined upon the new Welland Ship Canal,

to the effect that this great work would never have been undertaken if the deepening of the St. Lawrence had not been contemplated as a further improvement of the route to the sea, which would naturally and certainly follow. That statement was made when the tangled intricacy of the problem of the St. Lawrence development was as little contemplated as was the Great War and all its consequences. There is no doubt that the idea of the larger work was then exceedingly nebulous. Four things above all others served to transform the nebula into a star of the first magnitude.

There was, in the first place—at least in the minds of those who were then giving any thought to the future—a realization that traffic would some day outgrow the existing St. Lawrence canals, as it has repeatedly in the past: an opinion justified then only by experience and by faith in the progress of Dominion trade, but later abundantly confirmed by developments since the war, as witness figures submitted later in this paper. There was, in the second place, the ripening of the thought in western minds—prompted possibly by other interests—that something more could be cut from the freight rate on grain to the sea and put in the pocket of the western farmer if the lakes were more effectively linked with the ocean. This synchronized with the rapidly growing ambition of many lake ports to welcome to their harbours ocean ships bearing in unbroken bulk the products of all countries of the world: ships, by the way, of heavier tonnage and better class than the forty odd vessels of Scandinavian registry which carried cargoes across the lakes or down the river during the past season. Soon an organization, the Great Lakes-Tidewater Association, including in its membership the governors of fifteen States of the Union and prominent representatives from many lake ports, became busy, in season and out of season, with propaganda of undoubted force and weight, and a slogan “On to the sea.” With this, in the third

place, came a real demand for more electrical energy in eastern Ontario, coupled with increasing pressure upon the Government of Canada from capitalists interested in the development of power from the river and seeking concessions for that purpose. At the same time and in the same way the eyes of our cousins south of the international boundary were turned also to the St. Lawrence rapids and their tremendous waste of energy. Then too, in the fourth place, as the result of sad experience, owners of Canadian lake shipping, represented by the Dominion Marine Association, were complaining bitterly of the effect of currents developed in the canals by utilization of canal water for power purposes, and were protesting against further concessions in the river to individuals or corporations. They urged that the St. Lawrence should be preserved for the people of Canada, should be kept absolutely under government control and developed only under some comprehensive scheme designed primarily in the interests of navigation and only secondarily in the interests of power. These representations of the Dominion Marine Association, be it noted, were not made with the deepening of the St. Lawrence as an immediate objective but simply to protect navigation and to save the river from despoliation; and this purpose they served well.

The "piecemeal" exploitation of the river ceased, and attention was then focussed upon the idea of comprehensive, uniform plans which would take proper care of the requirements of protection as well as of development. The Dominion Marine Association had urged the appointment of a St. Lawrence River Commission to study the subject and make recommendations. Such a commission was appointed but did not act and, the Treaty of 1909 regarding boundary waters having created the International Joint Commission, a body to which the problem could properly be referred, this important reference was made in 1919 and engineers were appointed. The

Commission held more than three hundred hearings in Canada and the United States, taking evidence from all points of view while the engineers were making examination of the river and preparing a report which was presented to the Commission in June, 1921, and was discussed at a public hearing in November of the same year. In December the Commission signed and submitted its report. There were definite findings as to the possibility and feasibility of the deep waterway project and unqualified recommendation that the work be undertaken. The engineers' report, known as the Bowden-Wooten Report, proposed that there should be nine locks, each 860 feet in length from centre to centre of quoins of gates, 80 feet wide, and built for an eventual depth of 30 feet over the sills; that canal sections should be 25 feet with a bottom width of 220 feet in through cuttings and 450 feet in submerged channels; that power should be developed (a) at the Long Sault, (b) in the Lake St. Francis-Lake St. Louis section, and (c) at the Lachine rapids; that the Long Sault development should be international and the remainder Canadian; that the river should be dammed also at Ogden Island, opposite the Morrisburg Canal, to control Lake Ontario levels and maintain them within a range of two feet. No power would be developed here although an alternative, two-stage scheme was presented which would divide the head between this point and the Long Sault, but at increased cost of first development and maintenance. The total cost was estimated at \$252,728,200 to provide 25 foot navigation with necessary permanent work installed for 30 foot navigation in the future, and to include the cost of developing 1,464,000 h.p. electrical energy.

In May, 1922, the United States Government communicated its desire to negotiate a treaty with the Canadian Government to provide for the deepening of the river. But Canada required time for consideration and her reply intimated that "having regard to the magnitude of the project and the

large outlay of public money involved, the Canadian Government is of the opinion that it is not expedient to deal with the matter at the present time." This attitude the Government of Canada maintained for over two years, influenced, doubtless, by the reasons expressed in the answer quoted but in large part also by various other considerations, including the conflict between federal and provincial rights, questions of expediency as to treatment and use of the river, of the distribution of power, of the market for power and of the income to be expected.

The Province of Ontario through its Hydro-Electric Commission in 1923 offered to provide the cost of an initial development near Morrisburg, to include dam and lock and a power installation which would generate 300,000 h.p., but the proposal apparently could not be seriously considered on account of the many difficulties the case presented. Early in 1924, as the result of much correspondence through the British Ambassador at Washington, the Governments of Canada and the United States finally agreed to appoint an Engineering Board with a membership of six, three from each country, to consider the technical features of the problem in greater detail, and to appoint also in each country a national committee to enquire from national viewpoints into the wide questions involved. Each government agreed to appoint two technical officers to prepare in collaboration the terms of the reference to the Engineering Board. These various appointments were promptly made and by December, 1924, the reference to the Engineering Board had been framed. The inclusion in the reference of the diversion of lake water at Chicago as an item demanding consideration in the St. Lawrence problem accorded well with an emphatic plea made by the Dominion Marine Association against any action upon the St. Lawrence proposals before satisfactory settlement of the international question which Chicago's misappropriation of lake water had

raised. The Joint Board of Engineers presented their report to the two governments in November, 1926. A review of the report in detail is not within the scope of this short paper. Suffice it to say that, after first declaring that the withdrawals of water at Chicago were responsible for a permanent lowering of half a foot in the levels of Lakes Michigan and Huron and $\frac{4}{10}$ of a foot in the levels of Lakes Erie and Ontario, and after recommending certain compensating works in the Niagara and St. Clair Rivers to maintain levels above those rivers, it dealt exhaustively with the St. Lawrence and recommended the undertaking, with some variations of plan from those of the earlier Bowden-Wooten report, at an estimated total cost of \$394,025,000, with complete initial power installation and only a single stage development in the International Section, and at corresponding total cost of \$423,571,000 with a two stage development. The United States Section of the Board recommended the first alternative with dam and power houses at the foot of the reach at Barnhardt Island and control gates at the head of the reach at Galop Island, and the Canadian Section recommended the two stage plan with two pools, the lower dam at Barnhardt Island and the upper at Ogden Island, just above Morrisburg. Channel and lock dimensions remained practically as in the earlier report. Certain appendices and plans were to follow the report, and these were completed and issued during 1927. These contain, as the result of further examination of the river bed and discovery of satisfactory foundation conditions, a third alternative submitted by the whole board providing for a two stage project with the upper dam at Chrysler Island below Morrisburg.

In the meantime the National Committees had been engaged in their investigations. The United States Committee, known as the St. Lawrence River Commission, with Mr. Hoover (now President-elect) as its chairman, seemed disposed to force the issue, while the Canadian Committee

adopted a different policy, its chairman refraining from any public declarations of opinion. In January, 1927, Mr. Hoover presented to President Coolidge a report which considered alternative routes to the sea and contained the following conclusions:

“1. The construction of the shipway from the Great Lakes to the sea is imperative both for the relief and for the future development of a vast area in the interior of the continent. 2. The shipway should be constructed on the St. Lawrence route, provided suitable agreement can be made for its joint undertaking with the Dominion of Canada. 3. The development of the power resources of the St. Lawrence should be undertaken by appropriate agencies. 4. Negotiations should be entered into with Canada, in an endeavour to arrive at an agreement upon all these subjects. In such negotiations the United States should recognize the proper relations of New York to the power development in the international section.”

The Canadian National Advisory Committee addressed a report to the Prime Minister in January, 1928, which was in due course made public. Space is lacking to summarize all its conclusions but some important points can be mentioned. The Committee agreed with the United States Commission that twenty-seven foot initial depth should be sought (which in rock would mean twenty-five foot draft); it declared the project feasible; it advised unhesitatingly against the undertaking at present if Canada were required to finance the immense outlay in the domestic section of the river and to assume one-half of the fresh financial obligations involved in the project as a whole; but it recommended initial development in the domestic section within the Province of Quebec where, with time to permit resultant electrical energy to be economically absorbed, private agencies might be able and willing to finance the entire work including necessary canalization in

return for the right to develop power; it recommended further that, in the international section, it would be reasonable to ask the United States to undertake the whole expense as Canada would even then have assumed the preponderance of outlay upon the channel from the head of the lakes to the sea. The following table was presented in support of this view:—

CANADA

Present Works:

St. Lawrence ship channel	\$ 30,000,000
St. Lawrence and Welland canals	50,000,000
Lock at Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.	5,560,000
	<hr/> \$ 85,560,000

Proposed Works:

Welland ship canal	\$115,600,000
National section St. Lawrence shipway, 27 ft. navigation and development of 949,300 h.p.....	199,670,000
	<hr/> \$315,270,000

Total for Canada.....	<hr/> \$400,830,000
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UNITED STATES

Present Works:

Dredging St. Clair and Detroit rivers ..	\$ 17,536,000
Locks at Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.	26,300,000
	<hr/> \$ 43,836,000

Proposed Works:

International section St. Lawrence shipway, 27 ft. navigation and initial development of 597,600 h.p. ..	\$182,157,000
To complete development—addi- tional power, 1,602,000 h.p.....	92,090,000
Upper lake channels to 27 ft.	65,100,000
	<hr/> \$339,347,000

Total for United States	<hr/> \$383,183,000
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The Committee also recommended an international commission to supervise building, to maintain control and to regulate the St. Lawrence system; it suggested that Ontario might arrange to procure power from the Quebec section of the river; it concurred in public sentiment against the export of power and advised an early reply on these lines to the overtures made by the United States.

The recent publication of the notes exchanged between the two governments, in which Canada expressed willingness to negotiate terms such as those above set out and the United States presented a considerably different estimate of relative expenditures, was not hailed with any enthusiasm by the press of this country. On the contrary, public sentiment appeared to be strongly against any action which would in any way diminish or impair Canada's present enjoyment of the ownership and control of the existing St. Lawrence canals and of her share of the International section of the river, or touch in any way her complete sovereignty over the river below Cornwall. This sentiment is stronger because of the Chicago diversion which without a "by your leave" sends *at least* 8,000 or 9,000 cubic feet of lake water per second into the sources of the Mississippi at the expense of the St. Lawrence.

It may be that the near approach of a condition of serious congestion in some of the St. Lawrence canals will hasten action which would otherwise be indefinitely postponed. Before a special committee of the Canadian Senate which met during the past summer Colonel Dubuc, Chief Engineer of the Department of Railways and Canals, presented startling evidence of the steady and substantial annual increase in the amount of freight carried and registered vessel tonnage passed through the St. Lawrence canals. The war checked this, but recovery was rapid. The year 1927 showed an increase of 30% over 1926. Compared with 1913, Lock 15 of the Cornwall Canal in 1927 showed an increase of 45% in lockages, 88%

in registered tonnage and 102% in cargo carried. This lock passed an average of 32 vessels per day in 1927. Its capacity is around 42, and in 1927 it was working at over 75% of its capacity. Theoretical capacity must be discounted as boats do not present themselves for lockage with clock-like regularity. "Bunching" increases congestion. Colonel Dubuc may be quoted:

"You must not lose sight of the fact that the deep waterway will not be utilizable until eight or ten years after construction is started. With the last six or seven years as a guide it seems clear that even if you started the construction of the deep waterway to-day, long before you could complete it you would have congestion in the canals, and the present system would not be able to cope with the traffic that would offer.

It will be diverted to American ports, or else it may find its way down to the lower end of Lake Ontario and then move by rail to Montreal at whatever extra cost this may be. It may equally be diverted by rail to Pacific ports or by boat to Georgian Bay ports and rail to the seaboard or by the new Hudson Bay route now under construction to Fort Churchill."

The recent announcement by the Minister of Public Works of the acceptance of the advice of the special committee of engineers appointed to consider the selection of a terminal at the foot of existing deep water for trans-shipment of cargoes to come through the new Welland Canal may reasonably be taken, in the absence of the committee's report which to date is withheld, as an indication of a desire to test the willingness of larger lake craft to venture into the St. Lawrence. If the selection of Prescott instead of Kingston (against the strong protests of the Canadian vessel owners and masters of the larger vessels who decline to traverse the dangerous Thousand Island Section) will actually draw heavy tonnage sixty miles nearer the seaboard without too heavy loss of vessel property

and cargoes and resulting prohibitive insurance rates, some of the arguments against the deepening of the river from Lake Ontario to Montreal will disappear.

The selection of Prescott as a terminal at least indicates some *rapprochement* of Ottawa and Washington because more than a dozen miles of the most difficult part of the river channel above Prescott lies in United States territory and if, as promised, the Welland Canal is to be opened in 1930 and its \$114,000,000 investment is not to lie idle for some further time, our friends south of the international boundary must drill, blast and dredge a great quantity of granite rock during 1929 to provide for this dangerous channel even the minimum width of 450 feet which—on paper—has satisfied the Canadian engineers. This would not be mainly a labour of love as the United States port of Ogdensburg, opposite Prescott, may reasonably expect a trans-shipping business greater than Prescott's on account of the great volume of American tonnage able, because of moderate size, to move safely—and, because of treaty rights, to move "freely"—through Canada's new Welland Canal.

Whether many of these ships would proceed to Montreal if the river were opened for them is still a moot point, and the question of return cargoes of bulk freight west-bound is not the least important feature of the argument. Whether they would put to sea is quite well settled. The upper lake type of steamer is not built for the ocean. Such vessels would break their backs on the waves of an Atlantic storm, or lose their hatch-covers and deck houses, rolling in the trough of the sea. Their lines are too full forward and aft, their free-board too low, their construction too light, their engines at the stern rather than amidships; and they have single screws. The question whether ocean ships would come up inland does not involve considerations of safety to the same extent. These ships, once they lengthen their rudders and discard any arrogant

habits as to elbow-room, will be more interested in loading and unloading facilities suited to their type, but their chief concern will be the adequate assurance of available and profitable freights. It's a long, long way from the sea to Fort William, and it must be remembered that ocean tramps, always ready for the carriage of grain to Europe from Atlantic seaports in the United States, do not answer the demand for ocean space for export grain at Montreal until long after lake freighters by dozens are idle in that harbour waiting to unload the moment full elevators can be relieved. The long leagues, the fogs, the buoyed channels and the insurance premiums of the lower St. Lawrence are enough to make these tramps await at least the certainty of prompt and profitable cargoes.

The power question, which does not arise in the Thousand Island section, remains to be settled in the lower sections on both sides of the line; between New York State and the Union; between the Provinces and the Dominion, and internationally. In Canada a step in advance has been made by the submission of certain questions to the Supreme Court of the Dominion. Argument upon these a month or two ago disclosed a vast divergence of opinion as to the appropriate answers, while the court found serious fault with the questions themselves. These are still under consideration and it is apparent that judgment will be accepted as final only when ultimately rendered on appeal by the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council in London. What further questions may then remain unsettled time will disclose.

The pressure from Eastern Ontario upon the Dominion for the use of the river for power has for the moment become less imperative since the Hydro-Electric Commission has resorted to the Gatineau for at least a temporary supply. But power available from this source cannot for long meet the growing demand. The first block of 94,000 h.p. furnished from it to the Hydro *was sold when turned on*. And now in

Quebec Province the Beauharnois Light, Heat and Power Company has come forward with proposals which at the same time demand consideration and arouse strong opposition. These have already been authorized by the Government of the Province of Quebec, subject to certain conditions, one of which is that the approval of the federal government must be obtained within a certain time. This approval is necessary under the Navigable Waters Protection Act, and although applied for in January last has so far been withheld. Objections have been filed by the Dominion Marine Association on behalf of Canadian inland shipping; by Canada Steamship Lines, Limited, as owner and operator of the steamers which run the rapids; by the Shipping Federation of Canada on behalf of ocean steamships which enter the harbour of Montreal; by the Cedars Rapids Manufacturing and Power Company and Montreal Light, Heat and Power Consolidated; by the Canadian Light and Power Company, and by the Great Lakes Harbours Association.

The applicant seeks permission to divert from Lake St. Francis in Hungry Bay at the eastern end of this lake the initial flow of 40,000 cubic feet of water per second through a power canal which would sweep on a wide curve some distance south of the river on a line best suited for excavation and dyke building, and would re-enter the river at Melocheville at the head of Lake St. Louis. The length of this canal would be over fifteen miles. Its width at the outset would be only 700 or 800 feet. The levels of Lake St. Francis and of the Soulanges Canal between Lakes St. Francis and St. Louis would be maintained by building certain dams in some of the river channels to restrict the flow of the river to the desired extent. But the application seeks also the right to enlarge this canal to a depth commensurate with the contemplated development of the whole river, and to widen it to 4,000 feet by further excavation and dyke building so that it may

take the full flow of the stream and permit the ultimate development of 1,900,000 h.p. of electrical energy.

The power plant would be at the lower exit of the canal and the full head between Lake St. Francis and Lake St. Louis, which now ranges from 71 to 80 feet, would be enjoyed. Locks would be provided at the foot of this canal to pass ships from one level to the other. The final work would be completed in time to be used when the other sections of the river are made ready.

But Canadian vessel owners have a wholesome fear of power promoters *dona ferentes*; and they have also a firm belief that the dominant right of navigation will not be subjected to this subservient right of power. They urge that vessels should not be compelled to navigate a canal of this length designed primarily to lead water to the applicants' turbines and in which the current on the applicant's own estimate may be 2.5 feet per second (about 1.7 miles per hour). They point out that it will be necessary to build guard gates at the head of this canal to afford some measure of protection against disaster in case dykes, power house or locks give way, and that the cost of these gates will be heavy on account of the flow of water and the width and depth of the canal. They call attention to the surging which will be occasioned by rejection of load when power is shut off, and to the lack of any precedent upon which to base reliable estimates of the forces to be developed or let loose by the immense flow of water. They say also that the carefully considered recommendations of the Joint Board of Engineers appointed by the two federal governments should be followed if the river is to be developed. These recommendations provide passage for vessels by locks and short canals at the head and foot respectively of this particular section of the river and propose to create a pool in this section by erection of a dam adjacent to the head of the lower canal. These relatively short canals will carry water *for navigation and lockage only*, and naviga-

tion through them and through the pool will not have the elements of danger present in the Beauharnois Company's proposals. Finally, vessel owners say that because part of Lake St. Francis is international water and also because the government of the United States is interested in the preservation of that "free and open navigation of the St. Lawrence from, to and into the sea" provided for the citizens of that country by the Treaty of Washington in 1871, the application must be made or transmitted to the International Joint Commission.

The owners of the rapids steamers believe the dams to be erected in the river to compensate for the initial 40,000 c.f.s. would not prove adequate and would so alter currents and channels as to prevent navigation of the rapids. The margin of safety is too slight at present to withstand experimental tampering. The complete development under any plan would destroy the rapids, but the very heavy loss in tourist traffic would probably be less if navigation continued as under the plan of the Joint Board of Engineers in the natural bed of the stream. To some extent the river's scenic beauties would then be preserved even if its swift waters were stilled. There would be nothing pleasing in the prospect for a tourist crossing fifteen miles of flat country between the dykes.

Ocean shipping is concerned about the daily fluctuations in the levels of Montreal Harbour which would follow daily variations in Lake St. Louis caused by daily increases from average flow up to peak discharge through the proposed canal. The power companies now operating on this section of the river assert their prior claims to requisite water, and offer criticism with reference to ice conditions and the formation and effects of frazil. There is general concurrence of opinion regarding the dangers involved in any attempt to control the immense mass of moving water which will fill the proposed canal. No one can say from experience whether the kinetic energy of such mass of 350 million tons moving at 2.25 or 2.50

feet a second can be safely dissipated when power—as it must sometimes be—is suddenly shut off in case of accident, for the mass in question is hundreds of times greater than anything heretofore dealt with in a power canal.

The protests of Canadian vessel owners against this application have received support of the strongest character in the resolution adopted unanimously by the Great Lakes Harbours Association in annual general meeting at Toledo, Ohio, on November 16th, 1928. This large convention of authorized delegates from Municipal Councils, Chambers of Commerce, Harbour Commissions and other commercial bodies interested in navigation representing practically all the ports of the Great Lakes, declared itself emphatically against the method of development proposed and asked for the proper recognition of navigation as the superior right and for the acceptance of the plans of the Joint Board of Engineers. This, from an organization which avows in the same resolution that one of its main objectives is the opening of the lakes to the sea!

Probably the Canadian National Advisory Committee had no intention of inviting proposals such as that of the Beauharnois Company when making its recommendations as to the domestic section of the river, and probably, too, the Canadian Government will deem the time inopportune to attempt to take this application seriously. The pending reference to the courts and the need of further consultation with Washington—not to mention the criticism offered—will afford reasonable excuse to defer action on this particular matter. It will not be so easy, however, to defer action upon the report submitted by the Joint Board of Engineers when a final judgment comes from London and an acceptable way out of the financial difficulty presents itself. The nodding beam is being tipped towards early development of the river, with Mr. Hoover, Mr. Taschereau, the Hydro-Electric Commission of Ontario, the lake ports, the West and a 1928 Canadian crop of over 500,000,000 bushels of wheat in one of the scales.

THE INDIAN DRUM

AN INCIDENT IN THE REBELLION OF 1885

BY THE HON. FRANK OLIVER

THE drum is the only musical instrument of the North American Indian. I am aware that the point may be taken, first, that the drum is not an instrument of music, and, secondly, that the instrument used by the Indians is not in fact a drum. I will not presume either to argue or agree; I will only say that for untold ages the Indians of every tribe and nation, notwithstanding mutual discords and hatreds, found in the drum a source of inspiration and a means of expressing the full range of their emotions, quite as satisfying as that found by their white brothers—and sisters—in the multitude and variety of their instruments of music, from the jew's-harp to the pipe-organ.

I will admit that to my untuned ear the sound of the Indian drum lacks the element of melody, but I am told that there are variations in its sounds that give the significance and emphasis to the expression of emotion, which in effect constitute music. In any case, whatever elements it lacks for the ordinary white man, the music of his drum is entirely soul satisfying to the Indian, as its universal acceptance by countless generations has proved.

I should really be well informed regarding Indian music, for, during the first nine years of my residence in Edmonton, I was within sound of the drum every night—and pretty well all night. The Hudson's Bay Company's Fort was the commercial metropolis of the Indian country, now northern Alberta, extending hundreds of miles in every direction. Business and pleasure were combined in the visits of the

Indians to the Fort. Families from distant and far separated hunting grounds met during these visits. If the hunt had been good, the successful man was expected to entertain his friends when he met them at the Fort; if it had been bad, there was always the chance of entertainment at the hands of the more fortunate. In either case, a business visit meant a stay for pleasure. Pleasure was entertainment, and entertainment was the tea-dance—of which drinking tea and dancing to the sound of the drum were the chief features. Gambling was also frequent and always to a drum's accompaniment. Between comings and goings there was always a group of Indian tents near the Fort; and without exception for night after night, winter or summer and year after year, the drum sounded and the dance or gambling was kept up until early morning. It was a permanent and prominent feature of the life of Edmonton. And why not? Although by treaty under Canadian authority, Edmonton was still practically Indian country.

The Indian tents were usually pitched on the rising ground overlooking the Fort which was on the "bench" south of the present Legislative buildings and therefore on lower ground. The locality occupied was westerly from what is now 110th Street, between 98th and 99th Avenues, a choice residential part of the present city for the same reasons of situation and outlook that commended it to the Indians. The St. Albert Trail, running north-westerly from the Fort, passed westward of the Indian tents, between them and the brow of the valley which overlooks the present city golf course. Some time before 1885 Norris & Carey, experienced and successful merchants, had built a modern store there, fronting on the St. Albert Trail. The site was somewhat south of the present Misericordia Hospital. There were no other houses on the western part of the Hudson's Bay Company's Reserve and not many on the eastern part. The town, such as it was, lay

eastward from what is now 101st Street, which was the easterly boundary of the Reserve. The Methodist Church, built in 1871 by the Reverend George McDougall, was on the east side of 101st Street. The present McDougall Church is on the same site. The *Bulletin* office, with the proprietor's residence (extreme rustic bungalow style) in the rear, was on the site of the present *Bulletin* building.

Spring came early at Edmonton in 1885. The clash between Police and half-breeds at Duck Lake—the first gun of the Saskatchewan Rebellion—took place in deep snow on March 26th. When the news reached us by wire from Battleford, the ground at Edmonton was clear of snow and there was every sign of spring. Incidentally, the time when the grass was starting and the ponies could move freely and feed fully was favoured by the Indian for beginning warfare.

So far as Edmonton was concerned, the fight at Duck Lake was a bolt from the blue. It was of course known that there was general discontent throughout the West amongst half-breeds, Indians and whites, but in each case for different reasons and with conflicting objectives. The three settlements of Prince Albert, Battleford, and Edmonton on the North Saskatchewan were isolated from each other by long stretches of unoccupied country, and the great region between them and the recently built Canadian Pacific Railway line to the southward was equally vacant. Battleford had been the capital of the North West Territories from 1876 to 1882.

The South Branch parallels the North Saskatchewan from the point on the prairie, then almost vacant, where Saskatoon now stands to the Forks below Prince Albert. The maximum distance separating them is about thirty miles. Duck Lake was between the two rivers. On the South Branch, about midway between Saskatoon and Prince Albert, a number of half-breeds from Red River had established themselves in the years after 1870, following the transfer of the North-West to

Canada. This was the Batoche Settlement. They were buffalo hunters and had removed from the Red River partly to be nearer the herds as they receded westward and partly because they did not like the new associations and conditions surrounding their former homes along the Red and Assiniboine rivers in the newly organized Province of Manitoba. Naturally the general discontent developed more rapidly and strongly amongst them than elsewhere. Early in the winter they had formally sent to Montana for Louis Riel, who had headed the Red River Rebellion of 1869-70, to be their leader. The Duck Lake clash took all questions at issue definitely out of the realm of peaceful argument. There had to be war before there could be peace, and sides were taken accordingly.

The population of the Edmonton country was more largely Indian and half-breed than white, and was further removed from centres of population and governmental authority than any other in the west. But conditions differed radically from those in the Prince Albert area. The Edmonton half-breeds were natives of the region. They neither knew nor cared about conditions on the Red River. They too were buffalo hunters, but they were west of the buffalo and had not been disposed to regard favourably the extension westward of operations of hunters from the Red River. To this rule there was the exception of a small settlement of English-speaking half-breeds who came originally from Portage la Prairie and constituted the Victoria Settlement—now Pakan—on the river eighty miles below Edmonton. In all matters these people sided with the whites. The St. Albert, Ste. Anne and Lac la Biche Settlements, north of Edmonton, and the Duhamel Settlement on the Battle River, southeasterly, were French-speaking. The Indians of the region had been traditionally peaceful towards the whites. There had never been any break in the friendly relations of either half-breeds or Indians with the few white stragglers who had come in from

both west and east in the 60's and 70's, nor with the larger number who had come from the east in the rush of 1881 to get ahead of the railway then projected to go through the Jasper Pass. The distance between Edmonton and the South Branch settlement of Batoche, with the lack of quick communication, especially in winter, of necessity prevented ready co-operation from Edmonton, even if the people had been inclined to help.

On the other hand, the buffalo had been destroyed. That meant the sudden drop from abundant affluence to utter poverty for half-breeds and Indians both at Edmonton and Batoche. The native population of Edmonton had no greater cause for being pleased with the attitude of the administration of the day towards them than had the Indians of Batoche. By reason of their numerical superiority over the whites and their remoteness from the centre of authority, the Edmonton natives had the situation completely in their own hands. After all, while the Indian had the style and manner of a gentleman, he was also by nature and tradition a killer. The Duck Lake fight had shattered the prestige of government and undermined its authority among the native population. Once blood-letting had started, no one could guess how far it might go. Calgary was the nearest railroad point to Edmonton, and it was 200 miles away. If the Crees of the region surrounding Edmonton were to join with their cousins farther east, as they certainly would if the Edmonton half-breeds made common cause with those of Batoche, or if the Blackfeet also were to rise and cut the railroad, as they might, the outlook for the white population of the Edmonton region, to put it mildly, would not be hopeful.

People did not say much; there was not much to be said. The lightning had not struck—yet. It might not strike. But then it might; and if it did—! Indian warfare includes

massacre of non-combatants and torture of prisoners. Not so many years before, the people of the Fort, looking across the river, had seen a small party of Blackfeet, men, women and children, massacred by Crees, the very Crees—both men and women—hitherto so well known and so friendly to their white neighbours. War makes strange comrades. It was quite possible that some of those who had seen the tragedy of the Blackfeet might ere long see a like tragedy repeated by Crees and Blackfeet together, with themselves or their relatives acting the part of the recent and much deceased Blackfeet. Let me personally assure all and sundry that there is a wide difference between looking over the sights and peering into the muzzle of a loaded gun. This latter was practically the position of the white people of Edmonton during the month of April in the year 1885. The situation was such as to “give them furiously to think.”

News of the Duck Lake fight reached Edmonton on Friday, March 27th. The wire to Battleford was our means of quick communication with outside points. On Sunday evening, with my wife and our two little girls, I attended the Methodist Church, as was my custom. The preacher made no reference to the news that had been received. It was a lovely spring night; the sky was full of stars; the air was calm and balmy, an ideal night for a walk. As proprietor, editor, printer and publisher of the *Bulletin* it was my duty to be informed on current events. On returning from church I decided to walk to Norris & Carey's store to find out what slant they had on the situation. So far there had been no local developments, although there were plenty of rumours and predictions. A trail crossed the Hudson's Bay Reserve from the town to the Fort, a distance of possibly a mile. The group of Indian tents stood in the usual place. I passed close by them in going to the store. The drum was sounding as usual; no evidence of disturbance of any kind, present or prospective.

In the store were Jack Norris, Ed. Carey, Tom Hourston. Bill Cust and Jim Gibbons. There may have been one or two others; if so, I do not recall them. All these men were married to native women of good families. Their business activities and domestic relationships kept them in close touch with all sections of the community, and more particularly with the half-breeds and Indians.

Norris was a Scottish gypsy; he had left Scotland in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company about 1850, intending ultimately to join the gold rush to California, then in full swing. He had found conditions at Edmonton so much to his liking that when his engagement with the Hudson's Bay Company expired he went into business on his own account and became rich, as the standards of the country were then. It was currently understood that he could neither read nor write, but he was a very capable business man and a good citizen.

Carey was born near London, Ontario. As a boy or young man he had crossed the plains to California in the rush following the gold discovery of '49. He had mined in California, in British Columbia and on Peace River. Later he traded into the Peace River region from Victoria, B.C. From Victoria to Yale his goods were transported by steamer; from Yale to Quesnelle, by wagon on the Caribou Road; from Quesnelle to Giscombe portage, by canoe; Giscombe to Summit Lake, by pack horse; from Summit Lake down the Parsnip and the Peace to Rocky Mountain Canyon, by canoe; from the head to the foot of the Canyon, by pack horse, and then by canoe down the Peace as far as Chipewyan on Lake Athabasca. His route reversed that of the early traders of the North West Company, who took their goods up the Peace from Chipewyan. Later, in partnership with "Yankee" Johnson, he traded at Lesser Slave Lake, with Winnipeg as his base of supplies. Still later, entering into partnership with Norris,

he ran a successful business in Edmonton for a number of years. Mr. Carey was well educated and had the very highest reputation as a man and a citizen.

Cust was from near Coleraine, Ireland. As a young man he had joined the rush to California by way of Panama, then went to British Columbia. He had been partner with Carey in mining and trading on Peace River but had remained there for several years after Carey had come to Edmonton. About 1875 he sold out to the Hudson's Bay Company, came to Edmonton and started farming at St. Albert. Although not a farmer, he was the first man to attempt farming as a business enterprise and on any considerable scale in the Edmonton district, and he made it a pronounced success.

Hourston was an Orkney man and much younger than the others. He had come to Edmonton in the Hudson's Bay Company service. He was well educated and, after leaving the Hudson's Bay Company, became accountant and local manager for Norris & Carey.

Gibbons was from Donegal, Ireland. He had had an adventurous career in the mines of Idaho, Montana and Kootenay, B.C. He had come to Edmonton in the gold rush of the 60's. Since then, gold mining on the Saskatchewan, trading and buffalo hunting had been among his many activities. He died at a great age and highly respected only a year or two ago.

All these were men of wide experience and high intelligence. They discussed the situation from all angles and had no illusions as to what would happen to their property, if not to themselves, in case of trouble. They deeply regretted the misfortune at Duck Lake, but were unanimous in the belief that it would have no result in Edmonton, so far as the half-breeds were concerned. They were equally hopeful regarding the Indians. The influence of these and other white men who had married and settled in the country was an important factor

in preventing the spread among local half-breeds of the ideas that had found favour at Batoche. Summing up the position, Carey said: "When the Indians go to war the first thing they do is to put their families in safety at a distance from the scene of action. If the Indians meant mischief now, the tents would not be in town. So long as you hear the drum, there can be no danger." That seemed to clinch the matter satisfactorily. I returned home, passing the Indian tents again on the way. I slept without thought of danger, for the drum was the last sound I heard before going to sleep.

In the morning there was not a tent in sight!

The removal of the tents was accepted by all parties as notice that a state of war existed. That it was not immediately followed by active hostilities was due to divided counsels among the Indians. One party wanted war; another wanted peace. Indian discussions take a great deal of time. While the Indians talked, the whites prepared for defence. Even though they might not ultimately be effective, these preparations strengthened the arguments of the Indian peace party and temporarily delayed action by the local hostiles. The differences of opinion amongst the Indians were so acute that at Whitefish Lake one of the peace party shot and killed a delegate from the more easterly hostiles who was urging that they take part in the war. It is a notable fact that the Indians who had come most directly under the influence of the then deceased Reverend George McDougall, pioneer Methodist missionary, stood for peace throughout the trouble. They did not speak of themselves as Christians or Methodists, but as "McDougall men."

The Blackfeet did not rise. They could not sufficiently overcome their traditional antagonisms to ally themselves with the Crees who hated them and whom they cordially

despised. Possibly also the recent construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway through their country gave them ideas as to the ultimate outcome of war in advance of those shared by the Crees of the more isolated regions along and north of the Saskatchewan river. In any case, the railway was not cut and in due course General Strange's little army, officially "The Alberta Field Force," arrived from the railway at Calgary.

The wire to Battleford had been down for weeks and news from the outside had come solely by rumor through Indian and half-breed channels, locally known as the "Moccasin Telegraph." It was known that Prince Albert and Battleford were in a state of siege, that the Hudson's Bay and Mounted Police Post at Pitt, between Battleford and Edmonton, had been abandoned by the Police and then looted and burned by the Indians. The massacre at Frog Lake, nearer Edmonton than Fort Pitt, had occurred; there were a number of isolated lootings and killings besides. The effect naturally was to strengthen the war party amongst the Edmonton Indians. When the advance guard of the relief column arrived on May 1st, by forced marches from Calgary, they were not many days too soon and fortunately not one day too late. The advance section comprised fifty Mounted Police, with forty Mounted Volunteers from Calgary and vicinity, under Major Steele, and four Companies of the 65th Mount Royal Rifles of Montreal under Lieutenant-Colonel Hughes, an ex-officer of the French army.

As soon as the troops arrived the war was over, so far as the Edmonton country was concerned. The Indians vied with each other in expressions of good will towards the whites and the Government. None of them had wanted war—so they said. Some one else (impersonal and unidentified) had pushed them to do or to condone whatever wrong had been done. They urgently hoped that there would be no hard feelings. As for the whites, they had come out of the trouble

so much better than they had even hoped that they too were willing to let bygones be bygones.

The remaining sections of the relief column arrived within a few days. In total strength it comprised about 150 mounted men, of whom half were Police and half Volunteers from the Calgary district. The Police had a nine-pounder gun. There were eight Companies of the 65th in rifle green and eight Companies of Light Infantry in scarlet. The latter had been hurriedly enlisted in Winnipeg and were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Osborne Smith of the Canadian regular forces. As soon as arrangements could be made, the Field Force, including Police and Volunteers from Edmonton and Fort Saskatchewan, proceeded down the river to Fort Pitt for the purpose of rounding up Big Bear's band, which had committed the Frog Lake massacre. One Company of the 65th was sent on garrison duty to Peace Hills, now Wetaskiwin, and to Red Deer; a second went to Fort Saskatchewan, and a third remained in Edmonton. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that Lieutenant C. J. Doherty, afterwards Minister of Justice in the Borden Government, commanded No. 7 Company of the 65th.

The state of war which at Edmonton began on March 29th was ended on May 1st. There had been no local bloodshed. All had been good friends before, and all were good friends again. But the night the drum-throb ceased in Edmonton marked the end of the old way and the beginning of the new. It was the end of the road for the Red man. His dominance had ceased; the land of his fathers was no longer his. The Indian drum has never since been heard in Edmonton.

THE HIGHER CRITICISM IN CANADA

II. THE CANADIAN SITUATION

BY W. G. JORDAN

At last we come to Canada and this leads us back again to Scotland and through Scotland to Germany. In this last stage the Presbyterian Church in Canada played an important part and the affiliations of that church with Scotland were very close. Many of our leading ministers had taken at least part of their Theological course there. W. Robertson Smith (1846-1894) was, I think, one of the greatest scholars and one of the ablest men that Scotland ever gave to the world. His contribution was a real scientific statement by a man who had studied under great teachers (Lagarde, Wellhausen, A. B. Davidson) and had great gifts which would have placed him in the front rank in almost any department. His article in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* on *The Bible* (1876) attracted attention and caused fierce controversy, especially in Scotland. Passing through different stages the trial ended in his deposition by the Free Church Assembly in 1881 and he was welcomed to the fellowship of Cambridge University. It is a tragic story. The Scottish Church cannot be said to have moved very rapidly, as twenty years later it looked as if there might be trouble over G. A. Smith's book on criticism and preaching. Of Robertson Smith, Dr. Cheyne said: "In fact, were we to name a scholar of this period who was qualified to be professor both of Old Testament subjects and of theology in its broadest aspects, it would be Professor Robertson Smith." "The Professor won his battle for others, not for himself." He appealed to the laity and the two volumes in which these lectures were preserved, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* and *The*

Prophets of Israel, had a fairly large circulation. Of the first six thousand five hundred copies were sold in fifteen months. I am told that Robertson Smith's books were read by many theological students in Canada and made them realize the importance of the views which up to that time had not received much attention here. When we recur to the dates of these trials we see that movement was from East to West, Colenso 1860, Robertson Smith 1880, C. A. Briggs 1892. In connection with the latter it is interesting to note that the Rev. Dr. Laidlaw of Hamilton published a book giving his views to the effect that he went to the trial opposed to the new criticism but was convinced that Dr. Briggs had a good case and handled it well.

My own experience in Canada goes back not quite forty years and I am told that before that time this method had not gained a place in Canadian Colleges. "The Macdonnell Case" (1876-7) was more concerned with a particular problem, that of future retribution, than with criticism in the specific sense. If Dr. D. J. Macdonnell had been spared to a longer life he, like his contemporary, Dr. Milligan, would have guided students of this period through their perplexing problems. Dr. G. C. Workman, as a young professor at Victoria University, and in later years at the Methodist College, Montreal, had his troubles which, were I competent to do so, I would not discuss here. He was scholarly in his work, strong in his convictions, courageous in the critical hours. He fearlessly set forth the truth that the prophet is not a mere predictor but a preacher to his own age and through that to later times. The date of that difficult piece of work on the text of Jeremiah, 1889, shows that he was early in the field. These words from Cheyne (p. 171) look like a reference to it. "The goodwill which Delitzsch showed to us, he showed to all honest and earnest students (witness his preface to a young Canadian professor's work on the text of Jeremiah).¹⁰ Principal G. M.

¹⁰Note also *Messianic Prophecy*, 1890; *The Old Testament Vindicated*, 1897.

Grant at this period stood boldly against hasty judgments and undue repression. In the biography by his son and F. Hamilton there is a strong testimony from Dr. S. G. Bland to his sympathy with the younger men and his power both to stimulate and steady them (p. 498). I remember once that he hinted to me that in his own case the transition had not been easy. A real change in such a matter can never be easy. The following passage is given as representing his views expressed in lectures from 1891 to 1900. Speaking of distinguished scholars in Britain and America, he said: "Accepting every undoubted result of criticism, and admitting that in consequence a fresh synthesis is required to embrace all the facts, they see in this nothing to shatter their faith in the inspiration of Scripture. Their conception of inspiration is wider and deeper than the old. They consider that the new criticism brings out, much more fully than the old view of the Bible did, the actual evolution of God's people and the historical character of the record, and at the same time gives us evidence of a continuous intercourse of Jehovah with his people to which the old was blind." (p. 486).

To discuss the general theological atmosphere would require an examination of Canadian literature and lies outside the sphere of this article. But I am informed that while the general tone was "orthodox" and dependent on English classics, this word "evolution" was playing a part in theology as well as science. In *QUEEN'S QUARTERLY* of 1897 and of 1898, there are two articles by G. J. Low: "An Address to a Conference of Anglican Clergy in Toronto, 1884," and an essay read before the meeting of Trinity College Alumni. In both lectures the questions treated may be called theological or philosophical, but in a reference to Goldwin Smith we are told that the Old Testament is not "a millstone," and that "we must read it as the record of the gradually increasing light vouchsafed to Israel."

Though here as elsewhere there were signs of change and a certain amount of friction, Canada has not had great ecclesiastical trials with elaborate judicial procedure, pleadings and counter-pleadings and solemn sentence of excommunication. During the session 1893 at Queen's, Professor J. Campbell of Montreal created a considerable stir by a Sunday afternoon address entitled "The Perfect Book or the Perfect Father." There is nothing very startling as we read it to-day.¹¹ We are told that some men desire infallibility and some, thinking they have got it, bestow it on the Bible. The sharpest sentence is, "Neither Christ nor his apostles will allow us to follow the typical Old Testament God." We must try the spirits even in the Old Testament by the spirit of Jesus. I was visiting a parishioner, an elderly man of Scottish origin; the case was mentioned and I happened to remark that "some people still believed that the world was made in six days," and he said, "Why not?" Of course, "Why not?" The higher criticism was coming on to the scene to show at least that such belief need not be regarded as a part of a religious creed. Fortunately, the Church leaders were able to avoid a debate in the Assembly. An Anglican, Professor Steen of Montreal, was inhibited by Bishop Bond on account of his broader view of inspiration, but gained relief by appealing to the secular law. In addition to G. J. Low, Herbert Symonds, an honorary graduate of Queen's, exercised a genial influence in Ontario and later in Montreal by his union of fine evangelical spirit and keen sympathy with all earnest search for truth.

The discussion in the Methodist Church in connection with Dr. G. Jackson's expository lectures (1907-8) caused a considerable flurry but did no real harm. There was hot discussion as Dr. Carman was a figure around whom defenders of the older view could make a grand rally, but the time had

¹¹Fortunately the whole series is preserved in Queen's Library; it is interesting in many ways.

come for the decision that conservatives and progressives must learn to live together in loyalty to the one Gospel. Dr. Jackson returned to England and was appointed to a professorship in the Wesleyan College at Didsbury. An attempt was made to carry the controversy into the English Conference, but it was not possible to raise an alarm there or cause excitement on such a subject as the historicity of the book of Genesis. On one of his return visits he told me that he used in his class my brief sketch of the history of Hebrew Religion.¹²

The recent discussion among the Baptists in Toronto has no large significance; that Professor Marshall, a man of real culture and fine evangelical spirit, should be attacked because he cannot accept the literal interpretation of the book of Jonah seems rather absurd at this stage. Besides, the Baptist denomination still retains much of its old independence and does not claim to exercise as much control over individual ministers and congregations as was the case with more highly organized churches.

The desire to avoid ecclesiastical controversy with resulting divisions was partly due to the feeling that the pressure of practical work in Canada was too great to justify the expenditure of much time and energy on these academic disputes. On my appointment to the staff of Queen's in 1899, I was honoured by receiving a letter from our great Home Missionary, J. Robertson, in which he said: "The Old Testament has yet a message, an important message, for mankind. Were it better understood and observed our politics would be cleaner, and public opinion cleaner, and our statesmen more patriotic than we find them." There was also some recognition of the fact that we might learn wisdom from the experiences of others. It had become evident that no large church could continue to expect and exact uniformity in such matters,

¹²Peake's Commentary. See *The Preacher* and *The Modern Mind*, by G. Jackson, 1912.

and also that the new freedom must be used wisely. When discussion is fierce and prolonged the contending parties are driven farther apart, radicalism lays too much stress on uncertain speculations and orthodoxy is forced to more rigid definitions. The futile phrase "the inerrancy of the original autographs" was left as an evil legacy from one such controversy.

The Expositors' Bible, under the editorship of W. Robertson Nicoll, played a useful part in the transitional period. In any series of the kind there was bound to be variety in ability and style of treatment. On the whole, it was more valuable from the homiletic than the critical point of view. *Genesis*, by Dr. Marcus Dods (1888), is a fine piece of work but from the critical point of view it was out of date when it was published, as may be seen by noting Dr. Ryle's book on *The Early Narratives of Genesis* (1892). Somewhere about that time I met Rev. J. A. Macdonald of St. Thomas (later editor of *The Globe*), and asked him what he was preaching about. He said, the stories in Genesis. "How do you treat them?" "Oh, I just tell the story and draw the lessons." Apparently a quite simple performance, but much depends upon how it is done. In the thirty years that have passed many of us have given great thought to "the ancient stories," believing that they still have a living message and also that even here criticism can give help to the intelligent preacher. Probably the most popular numbers of this series were written by G. A. Smith, and these grew more critical as he continued his work on these four volumes. F. W. Farrar's treatment of Daniel (1895) is still living and attractive; it was a subject suited to his rhetorical style, and while there may be modifications in certain points, he had adopted the modern view which still holds its ground. I remember buying the first copy of the *British Weekly* and for some years was a diligent reader. Robertson Nicoll was a wonderful man and had a sensational success as an editor; his knowledge of litera-

ture was great but he was in no sense a pioneer in this line.

My own share in this work gives me a larger acquaintance with the life of the Presbyterian Church. Since my coming to Kingston three Theological Colleges were established in the West: Westminster Hall, Vancouver, 1908; Robertson College, Edmonton, 1911; St. Andrew's, Saskatoon, 1913. Good work was done at Winnipeg, but the education of Theological students for our Church was mainly in the East. The men of the last generation, Drs. Mowat, Currie and Scrimger, did not get far into the new movement. Dr. J. F. McCurdy (Toronto University) was one of the most prominent workers at that time, his chief interest being in Oriental languages and archaeology. In a lecture at Queen's Conference, early in the present century, he made the statement that "revelation is not concerned with facts of science," a remark that removed him far from what is now called 'fundamentalism.' In QUEEN'S QUARTERLY for 1901, there is a review, by myself, of his *History, Prophecy and the Monuments*, in which these words occur: "The significant thing about this volume is that the author, one of Dr. Green's most distinguished pupils, accepts cordially and unreservedly 'the documentary theory' of the Pentateuch against which the great Princeton scholar fought so valiantly to the last." In University College he has a worthy successor in the person of Dr. W. R. Taylor, a pupil of his own and of Professor McFadyen. I had the pleasure of taking part in his induction as professor of Hebrew at Vancouver (1910). In 1914 he was appointed to the Semitic chair in Toronto; under his leadership it has grown in importance and efficiency. He and his colleagues, Professors Irwin and Meek, in addition to the linguistic work, give instruction in Biblical literature.

Dr. J. E. McFadyen, who came to Knox College in 1898, was well equipped by eleven years of training at Glasgow, Oxford, and in Germany. He was remarkable for his sober-

ness of judgment, his patience and tact; he had the preacher's instinct and a fine expository gift. There is no man who has done more to present modern scholarship in clear, persuasive style to a large circle of readers in Canada, the United States and Britain. Turning to the *QUARTERLY* (1903) for other information, I noted his genial review of my first book, *Prophetic Ideas and Ideals*. We have corresponded during these three decades but I hope that there has been no flagrant "log-rolling." Dr. A. R. Gordon took up similar work at Montreal in 1907. In his books, as well as in the class room, he has given abundant evidence of his skill as a teacher, translator and interpreter of Hebrew prophecy, poetry and story. Dr. H. A. Kent, now Principal of Queen's Theological College, rendered efficient service at Pine Hill College, Halifax, and Dalhousie University from 1910 to 1926. There were some who had their misgiving, in connection with these appointments, on account of the rapid advance of the new movement and the fact that these men had studied in Germany, but there was no serious trouble. Dr. R. Davidson at Knox and Professor McLaughlin of Victoria, during a great part of this time, have done steady, efficient work in the training of theological students.

On my first appearance at Queen's I found that the soil had been prepared and the atmosphere was quite genial. Principal Grant and Dr. Watson were in sympathy with the new methods. Professor Cappon's interpretation of modern poets, the studies of Macnaughton and Glover in Church History, the presentation of science by Dupuis, Knight and Goodwin, were all working in harmony towards a larger view of life. Dr. Malcolm Macgillivray during his long pastorate proved to the students that a minister could face the changing modes of thought and preserve his own simple faith. Dr. E. Crummy for several years also made a strong appeal to Queen's students; he was a clear thinker, a man of broad sympathies, who

handled important subjects in a manner both interesting and impressive.

My own missionary experiences were pleasant and at times quite interesting. On my first visit to the West I had, at Calgary, a proof that my hearers were on the alert. I remarked that the family stories in Genesis were not a sufficient account of the origin of a great nation; "there must have been many Abrahams." The next evening indulging in a rhetorical flight I spoke of "Abraham looking up to the starry sky." An elderly gentleman, a graduate of Queen's, I believe, at once called out "many Abrahams," to which I gave a cheerful assent. I was warned that I would meet a more rigid conservatism at the Coast. My first lecture there was on "The Old Testament as a Problem" (see *Biblical Criticism*, etc.). After hearing it one minister, a graduate of Queen's, went away remarking, when he was told that the lecturer came from Queen's, "Queen's is going to the Devil." As he had been a student in the days of Principal Snodgrass (1865-77), he certainly belonged to the pre-critical period. Hard things have been said of Texas and Tennessee; I visited the former State and found the ministers and students quite ready to welcome any new light on Biblical subjects. Professor Leacock might suggest that there was something in the fact that the Southern Church does not prohibit smoking. That may sound frivolous, but perhaps a rigid asceticism does tend to cramp the powers of imagination that are so necessary to the interpretation of Oriental literature. At the great summer school by the shores of Lake Chataqua I found that Christians and Jews, people from various denominations, were interested in the study of the ancient stories, which has been so fruitful in recent years.

When, as a representative of Queen's, I attended the centenary of Princeton Seminary, I was entertained by two University professors who kept me talking far into the night on my favourite subject. The gulf between the Seminary and

the University was evident and unfortunate. The President of the Seminary at that time was Dr. F. Patton, a brilliant speaker, something of a sophist, I thought; in one of his speeches he said that when the archaeologists dug up their remains they would discover that Princeton men belong to the order of vertebrates. But the backbone is not a rod of iron, it is a finely articulated and flexible structure, with a suppleness of its own. I passed from there to Union Seminary and attended the "Commencement" exercises; the critical situation is different but at both places one heard similar testimonies to the work of graduates in various parts of the world. The theoretical training is no doubt tested and modified when ministers are faced by its practical application to the life of their fellow-men.

It is not possible to measure how far and in what way, in this matter, Canada has been influenced by the United States. A large country, with an immense population, in these days of free discussion, must show the extremes of radicalism and obscurantism and all the shades between, as well as the "freak" theologies which Dean Inge regards as a sign of "low intelligence." In 1925, at the Pan-Presbyterian Council, the difference between the British and American sections was clear. True, one of the boldest utterances came from this side, but on the whole, as to Biblical criticism, the Americans manifested a timidity and conservatism that the Scotch and English could not understand. Canadian students, in fairly large numbers, have attended classes at the large Universities as well as at Union and Princeton. The works of American scholars find their way into our libraries. This influence is quiet as well as constant and cannot be definitely measured. The overflow of Russellism and pre-Millennialism by aggressive propaganda is seen more clearly. Those who watch closely can see that the influence of the great Universities in the United States is beginning to tell and that many of the

smaller colleges are breaking away from rigid traditionalism. Many are learning that with a freer treatment the Bible becomes a larger and richer book. But from some points of view the situation is dark enough.

With regard to the so-called "secular" press, the two journals with which I am most closely acquainted, the *Toronto Globe* and the *Montreal Star*, differ in their policy. In the *Star* we find religious editorials without name but marked "contributed." In my opinion they are thoughtful, well written, and manifest an intelligent Christian faith without technical criticism or dogmatizing. "Cleric" supplies his weekly column or more of church news, items of general interest concerning persons and events without sectarian bias or propaganda. *The Globe* is, in this matter, a striking contrast. The most absurd things appear in unsigned editorials; we may therefore say that it has a policy. It imports its Sunday School Lessons from Philadelphia; it gives blocks of "Bible Knowledge" on strictly traditional lines; its news of the churches shows the same bias. But what is most striking is the mid-week editorial, which, from the literary point of view, is not now up to the style of earlier years. The writer does not seem able to distinguish between religion and theology or between theology and archaeology. What can be made of a man who says, "Surely God could write as well as Homer or Shakespeare"? and who gave as a heading of a recent article "The Eloquence of God." As I write this page (August 22) a striking illustration comes to hand. Some one had sent out "a questionnaire" to a number of ministers in and around Chicago. Here we have the last question of the series, "Do you believe that the creation of the world occurred in the manner and time recorded in Genesis?" The question is crude in form and foolish in substance. The answers received lead *The Globe* theologian to remark that "Forty-eight per cent. of these ministers knew more about the creation of the world than Moses through whom

God gave his God-breathed account." These ministers do not claim to know anything about the creation of the world; they simply refuse to regard Genesis I as a textbook of science for to-day. *The Globe* may be liberal and independent in other things, but in this region it is neither.

In the remaining paragraphs of this brief review an attempt is made to indicate some of the directions in which the critical movement has exerted an influence on subjects more or less related to the Old Testament.

1. *Inspiration*. The late Dr. O. Dykes, when Principal of The Presbyterian College, Cambridge, expressed to me his gratitude that in none of the great symbols of the Church was a definition of inspiration attempted. It is well known that after the first enthusiasm of the Reformation, Protestantism was driven from the infallible Pope to the infallible Book. This often led to narrow views, which find their most perfect expression in the phrase, "divine authorship; human penmanship." Some years ago, I was passing through St. Louis and I called upon one of the leading Presbyterian ministers. When he learned my profession he asked me about the situation in Canada, and I told him that the colleges were mostly working on modern lines. "What then becomes of inspiration?" I replied that verbal inspiration, in the old sense, was incredible, but that we had gained a clearer view of the inspiration of great personalities, the prophets, and of the great religious movement that prepared the way for Christianity. Dr. C. Gore's Essay (*Lux Mundi*, 1889) is a careful piece of work and it marks a stage so far as the Old Testament is concerned, showing the changed attitude of High Churchmen towards this subject. "The religious public, with rather more penetration than usual, fastened on the pages about inspiration and the limitations of Christ's human knowledge, which are from the editor's own pen, as the most significant part of the book. The authors are believed to have been annoyed at the dispropor-

tionate attention paid to this short section.”¹³ The student need not despise the past, but, life being short, he will find it more profitable to form his conclusions from careful study of the sacred text rather than from an elaborate collection of the opinions of ancient fathers and modern critics.

2. *Science and the Bible.* For those who accept the results of modern criticism this question may be regarded as settled.¹⁴ Science and Theology or Science and Religion are different, larger, more complicated subjects. The conclusion has been reached that science, whether in the Bible or elsewhere, becomes out of date with the lapse of time and increase of knowledge. Genesis I, with its monotheistic faith and orderly view of creation, served as sober science for a long time, then it became an obstacle to progress and a cause of fierce controversy. We are now in a position to estimate the theological contribution and the religious faith of this great cosmogony without worrying about the scientific theories of the day. Evolutionists and their opponents must fight their own battles outside of the Bible. In the light of history we learn that long before the traditional date of creation ancient civilizations were flourishing in the Orient.¹⁵

3. *The New Testament.* It was not possible to confine the movement to the ancient records and the non-canonical books; the evangelic story and the great epistles have had to face the same sifting process. The Old Testament has its Documentary Theory and the New its Synoptic Problem. These things in the hands of specialists become very intricate, and here, as in the Old Testament, speculation runs to extremes.¹⁶ It is claimed, by good authorities, that this analysis

¹³Dean Inge, *Outspoken Essays*.

¹⁴In Driver's *Genesis* (1904) it is decently buried; in Skinner's (1910) it did not call for detailed treatment.

¹⁵I have been allowed to express this view at greater length in the new Abingdon Commentary, 1928.

¹⁶See an able article in the last number of *The Canadian Journal of Religious Thought*, by J. Lowe, M.A., of Trinity College, Toronto.

of the Gospels brings us more nearly face to face with "the historical Jesus." Students will find in Dr. Moffatt's Introduction a rich treasury of information, and Dr. B. W. Bacon's various contributions unite keen criticism with reverent appreciation. Though this is a mere passing reference it is natural to mention with gratitude the name of Dr. E. F. Scott of Union Seminary who for ten years served Queen's faithfully, and whose writings since *The Apologetic of the New Testament* (1907) and *St. John's Gospel* (1911), have placed him in the front rank of New Testament scholars.

4. *Theology*. The book of Genesis has passed from the sphere of history into that of story, and an outline of real history from "the Exodus" or the coming of the Hebrews into Palestine has been worked out, but the greatest change is in what used to be called "Old Testament Theology." We have now, instead of a dogmatic system resting on proof texts, a sketch of the religion as a growing life where real progress can be seen as the result of the interplay of varied forces acting and reacting upon each other. This has its relations to the study of "comparative religion," to which so much research has been given in recent times. "The Theologians," in the stricter sense, have felt this influence; he would be a bold man who would attempt a summary of the position of present-day "Theology" in relation to current philosophy with its popular pragmatisms and new psychologies. The Princeton type is still strong on this side, and in Germany there are keen thinkers who maintain that the influence of Schleiermacher and Ritschl has not been an unmitigated blessing. The following recent books by Presbyterians reveal the present tendency to lay the stress on religion rather than on theology and to fight shy of elaborate "intellectual constructions": the able work into which our lamented friend William Morgan put so much research and original thought, *The Nature and Right of Religion*, 1926; J. Baillie's *The Roots of Religion in the Human*

Soul, 1926; *The Changing Vesture of the Faith*, by J. E. Davey, an Irish professor, whose lectures caused a fierce controversy in the Presbyterian Assembly. These are all fresh and living attempts to restate the problems in the light of history and experience, but there is no finality here or elsewhere; each generation must do its own thinking.

In recent years much of the strength of the Church has been spent on such pressing practical subjects as Church Union and Prohibition. Here there has been ample room for the display of that fiery zeal formerly given to doctrinal discussions. The saving of society we are told threatens to overshadow the saving of the soul. Perhaps externalism rather than intellectualism is our present danger. But general impressions of this kind are at best half truths.

5. *The Preacher*. All this makes the work of the minister more difficult, but also more inspiring to the man of intellectual interests and spiritual faith. As a matter of fact, I know that many of our students have found real help in their preaching from the new methods of Bible study. I was rather surprised to learn (*Literary Digest*, July 21) that Dr. H. E. Fosdick had given "short shrift" to expository preaching. I have since read the article (*Harper's Magazine*, July), but cannot attempt to review it here. It appears that the sole business of the preacher is in helping folk to solve their real problems, and unless he is doing this "he is not functioning." "Who seriously supposes that, as a matter of fact, one in a hundred of the congregation cares, to start with, what Moses, Isaiah, Paul, or John meant in these special verses or comes to church deeply concerned about it?" He does not mean to undervalue the Bible by such remarks because as Phidias was the final word in sculpture, so "it is surely open to the most radical of Christians to adore Christ as Master and Lord." There is a catch in the question quoted, "to start with," but why should a man strike twelve at the beginning? A sermon may start

in different ways and reach an effective close. "Many preachers," he says, "indulge habitually in what they call expository preaching." Well, it depends upon the man and how it is done as to whether it is "predestined to dullness and futility." "The preacher" of this type it seems "proceeds still upon the idea that folk come to church desperately anxious to discover what happened to the Jebusites." That is probably a slight exaggeration, but even the Jebusites can teach us the lesson that it is foolish to have too much confidence in our "stronghold" and to underestimate the power of adventurous souls. The preacher may do well to discover how to use Dr. Fosdick's "project method" and "the project method plus." But it is no disparagement of this powerful and popular preacher to say that no man knows everything about preaching.

My interest in the critical movement has been mainly because when rightly used it makes the teaching of the Bible and preaching from it more living, more powerful to quicken faith and devotion. This does not mean "Bibliolatry," for that term of reproach can apply only to the slavish worship of the letter; the new method delivers us from dead literalism, tortuous apologetics and wild allegorizing. While all periods are in a sense transitional, we may say that in this connection we have in the last half century passed through a definite transition. It was true of others but with regard to these great leaders, Drs. F. Delitzsch, Robertson Smith, A. B. Davidson, S. R. Driver and A. F. Kirkpatrick, we can point to the time when they "crossed the line." The energy and sincerity with which Drs. Salem Bland and Ernest Thomas championed free discussion have made their names well known. They have, at times, paid the price in enduring much from misunderstanding and misrepresentation.

My closest connection has naturally been with Presbyterians but the movement in Canada as elsewhere belongs to a much larger circle. This article is mainly a personal record

and I wish to avoid the injustice of appearing to give an authoritative estimate of the contributions of my contemporaries. There are many whose service has been nobly rendered in their own more limited spheres. We have gained freedom but this does not mean that we are to set up a dogmatism of our own and assume the air of superior persons. Religion is deeper and the Bible larger than any of the sciences that have gathered around them. If we have freed ourselves from certain technical tests of orthodoxy we must beware of exalting our own views to a similar position. The old system had become stagnant; it had had its day, a long day; now we have something that is not to be learned by rote and defended by dogmatism, but a revival of the old call, "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good."

The subject of expository preaching was considered in a report accepted by the Assembly of the Presbyterian Church which met in Regina in June, 1928. In the judgment of the committee, "no kind of preaching is more needed at the time than the careful exposition of the Scriptures." A good bibliography is provided, including among others many of the volumes mentioned above. The following note is added, with which I am in full agreement because purely critical questions are not to be settled by church authority. "Members of the committee have found the following books readable and useful, but as this list of books gives various points of view its insertion cannot be regarded as the giving of the Assembly's approval to all that is contained in them."

I must be held solely responsible for this strange mixture of formal history and personal recollections, but I must return cordial thanks to the following who have supplied me with information and taken an interest in this task: The Very Rev. Dean Craig, Principal W. L. Grant, Dr. Lorne Pierce, Principal H. A. Kent, Drs. R. Laird, R. J. Wilson and S. G. Bland. I am sorry that I could not make fuller use of their communications.

THE POETRY OF CHARLES G. D. ROBERTS

BY A. M. STEPHEN

OPPRESSED by decades of dependence, Canadian critics have seldom dared to place the poetic work of their native writers in juxtaposition with that of the acknowledged giants of older lands. The act of considering Canadian verse to be in the same category as those poems which academic tradition holds to be immortal seemed heretical if not revolutionary and fraught with danger. So much are we enslaved by the ideology of the past, that a gesture expressive of a desire to establish our country's place in the sun can still provoke an indulgent smile upon the face of age.

Unfortunately there have been unconsidered and ignorant attempts to claim for Canadian poetry an importance far beyond that justified by its highest achievement. Some voluminous histories of our literature have done harm to the cause which they most desired to assist. The compilers, usually, have not possessed the background of culture necessary for criticism and enthusiasm has taken the place of knowledge in the assignment of rank to the poets and to the verse under discussion.

Because of these facts, which have militated against the establishment of sound standards of literary criticism in Canada, it is the more necessary that some attempt be made to discover poetry written by a native which can, without apology, be compared with the greatest works of those who are acclaimed masters of the art. If such verse can be found, in any quantity whatsoever, there will be made certain our place in world literature, our moral right to the heritage which makes nations and men immortal. This endeavor to give our country a seat in the hall of literary fame may be quite as

important, from the wider point of view, as the political arrangements which have accorded to her a place at the table of the League of Nations and a voice in world affairs.

In this attempt to find great poetry in the mass production of our most prominent Canadian writer, Charles G. D. Roberts, we have acted deliberately and with a purpose. Owing to a series of circumstances which could only have been avoided by the author himself, Roberts is known to his public as a writer of prose. Although he desires to be considered as primarily a poet, he has, nevertheless, obtained a wide and deserved reputation as the author of animal stories. Few of his critics have spoken authoritatively in regard to the essential value of his contribution to English poetry because they have been obsessed by the popular conception that his concern is with Nature in its most obvious aspects. Again, the man himself was the destructive force which obscured signs of his real mission in life. Roberts, master among those who write charmingly of birds and animals, persists in the imagination of his contemporaries. Roberts, the poet who might have taken by storm a place in the Pantheon of the immortals, is a spirit not well satisfied because he has succeeded in building upon the shifting sands of popularity.

Sins of omission and commission, too numerous to be mentioned here, may also be attributed to those who have relegated him to an historical position as an influence upon other poets. One, in his tome, *Highways of Canadian Literature*, is content to leave Roberts as a force, shadowy in substance and kindly in intention, which moulded other minds. In common with others who have written upon the subject, this author selects the most obvious verse for praise and, disregarding passages in which the poet reveals himself as interpreter and seer, comes to the amazing conclusion that "there is no application of ideas to life" in the work of the Father of Canadian Poetry. Such an arbitrary judgment

is inexcusable in one who aspires to be an historian of literature. Yet this critic does not stand alone among those who attempt to deal with the subtle essence which makes poetry. Roberts has admitted that only twice, during a life spent among men of letters, has he been able to find any who realized the intrinsic value of his greatest poems. Almost we are forced to Shelley's conclusion that it is only a jury of poets which can render a competent verdict upon the more intangible values in literature.

While no final word can be uttered as to the permanence or impermanence of a work of art until time itself has adjudicated the merits of the case, there are certain eternal canons of which we are cognizant, and these can be used for our purpose. Realizing the transitory nature of all forms which contain the spirit of life, we can be fairly safe in assuming that technical perfection will not save a poem from oblivion. Values, then, must lie in content rather than in the temporary expression of thought or emotion. Forms perish; life persists, taking to itself new garments of greater beauty to reveal its ever-increasing richness and variety. The great poet is the Interpreter, the Creator who deals with life as his material, moulding therefrom images which are in accordance with the mode of his time-period or shaping symbols which prefigure the perfection of a day which has not yet dawned for us.

It would therefore seem that, to establish the place of an artist among his contemporaries or among those who have preceded him, we must inquire about the nature of the message which he brings to us. What fresh or original interpretation of life and its meaning has he presented for our guidance? Has he re-affirmed the eternal verities in terms of his own peculiar personality? Has he, impressively and adequately, painted the truths seen in his moments of high vision so that he who runs may read? Is he intellectually alive to the exten-

sions of human knowledge which are being made by the master minds of his race?

At this point in our discussion, it will help us if we can reconstruct the intellectual background of the period when our poet was at the impressionable age. Roberts, the youth, lived and dreamed through the closing years of the nineteenth century. These were portentous years in the spiritual development of the western world. The reaction against the narrow, theological concept of life was rapidly gaining ground and in place of the waning influence of iron-bound creeds there was arising the biological view of life. Darwin by his patient researches in realms of physical law, and Spencer by his carefully elaborated system of philosophy, were presenting to the young minds of that generation a universe devoid of the phantasms of the imagination. The anthropomorphic god of the Hebrews was relegated to the region of racial myths. Science, as dogmatic and unyielding as its theological predecessor, reigned supreme. The Calvinistic doctrine of election had been replaced by scientific or economic determinism.

Against this too materialistic attitude towards life there was an inevitable revolt among the more spiritually minded contemporaries of the great scientists. Accepting the fact that the boundaries of the universe had suddenly been expanded to an infinite degree and elated because man had demonstrated his ability to conquer the kingdoms of nature and to lay bare their secrets, those of a mystical temperament were naturally drawn towards wider concepts of humanity and of deity.

Roberts, with a mind eager and receptive, must have followed the path marked by the thinkers of his day. He must, with Darwin, have viewed Nature's processes until he found that

"Not only in the cataract and the thunder,
Or in the deeps of man's uncharted soul,
But in the dew-star dwells alike the wonder,
And in the whirling dust-mote the Control."

With Spencer, he must have trodden the intricate and delicately balanced way of syllogism and mathematical reasoning until, beyond the boundaries of thought, he paused before the mystery of the First Principle. But, unlike the English philosopher, Roberts was possessed of a poet's vision. When thought had carried him to the edge of the abyss there were wings provided for him. His intuitions were strong enough to bear him beyond the darkness of the scientific mind and to bring him assurance that reality existed in the unseen and spiritual forces of which Nature is merely the outward manifestation.

Shall we find that the poet in Roberts was stirred by the deeper currents underlying the movement of his age and that, in response to them, he gave expression to adequate art-symbols affirming the eternal truths? If our search reveals him as the interpreter and seer, we may then, indeed, claim for him a place among the master artists of all time. Even if we discover that he but touched the hem of the Robe of Glory which is seen more fully by others in all its dazzling splendor, we can still feel assured that in these fragmentary passages he has attained to a place in world poetry.

To demonstrate his right to rank among the major voices we shall have to trace the development of the poet and of his reactions to his past and to his immediate environment. His first book, *Orion*, published in 1880, is significant only because it tells us that here is one who is born to the purple—a youth who has, by inheritance, the gift of words and the feeling for colour, euphony and the beauty of line which characterized the Greeks of old and all other Greeks who have since recalled the glories of Hellas. Imitative and academic, these first “yeanelings of the Spring” display the immature love of sensuous sound and an ardent longing for return to the dream-world of the mythologies. It is not Roberts, the native of Canada, who speaks in this volume but a poet who is en-

chanted by the past and by memories which rebuild a realm of gold into which he can retire from the world about him. He has had no direct contact with life and, moreover, fears to enter the arena which awaits him, dreading lest it may destroy his visions and mould him to ends which he would willingly avoid.

This shrinking from life, this clinging to the sheltering walls of tradition and of academic retirement, is expressed in "The Epistle to Bliss Carman", dated September, 1878.

" I have but one quick-slipping year
To spend amid these rooms and faces dear,
And then must quit this fostering roof, these walls,
Where from each door some bright-faced memory calls,
And halt outside in sore uncertainty,
Not knowing which way lies the path for me
Through the unlighted, difficult, misty world.
Ah, whither must I go? Thick smoke is curled
Close round my feet, but lifts a little space
Further ahead, and shows to me the face—
Distorted, dim and glamorous—of Life;
With many ways, all cheerless ways, and rife
With bristling toils crowned with no fitting fruit,—
All songless ways, whose goals are bare and mute.
But *one* path leads out from my very feet,—
The only one which lures me, which is sweet."

The "one path" was the way of devotion to his art as a poet. Why Roberts did not forsake everything of lesser value and elect to follow the highroad will remain unanswered here. It is aside from our purpose which is concerned with that which he has accomplished.

Awakening from the artificial world of the imagination induced by the reveries of student days, our poet seriously turns his attention to the task of becoming a voice expressive of his more immediate environment. Partially because of a certain physical strength and exuberance he is still immersed in the life of the senses and finds more of interest in the objective phenomena about him than in the meaning underlying them. Content merely with living and enjoying, the inter-

play of varied sensations seems enough in itself to give rise to the impulse to record his feelings in poetic form. Because of this limitation his second volume, *In Divers Tones*, 1886, is superficial although aesthetically satisfying to those who are charmed by idyllic verse. He may be seen in this book slowly mastering the tools of his art by application of his knowledge of form to themes arising from the love of Nature. There is here and there, however, a flash of the vision which results in the asking of vital questions. It is only a momentary gleam. The young poet is too much enchanted by the glamour of his emotions to reflect upon its import. Yet it is noteworthy that when he does at times retire within himself, there is the power to express his conviction of spiritual portents after the manner of the great artists. One example drawn from this period of his development occurs in "Falling Leaves".

"Lightly He blows, and at His breath they fall,
The perishing kindreds of the leaves; they drift,
Spent flames of scarlet, gold aerial,
Across the hollow year, noiseless and swift.
Lightly He blows, and countless as the falling
Of snow by night upon a solemn sea,
The ages circle down beyond recalling,
To strew the hollows of Eternity.
He sees them drifting through the spaces dim,
And leaves and ages are as one to Him."

Significant, too, is the fact that in this poem, wherein there is a hint of cosmic fire, we find an inevitability of expression, a nobility and a loftiness of mode which is entirely absent from the impressionistic pictures of Nature contained in the majority of verses in this volume. We feel in these lines the glow of immortality, the touch which endures when the transitory things of the flesh have melted into the chaos from which they were drawn by the Breath of the Spirit.

Considered as a whole, however, *In Divers Tones* leaves us hungry and dissatisfied. There is promise without fulfilment. A feeling of annoyance arises and with it a ques-

tion, "When will the poet face his problem and how will he deal with life when it confronts him?" We are not assured that he has found the "one path", but suspect that he is enamoured of the power of expression which is his to use. Like a child he will play with these gifts, making pretty pictures which will please himself and call forth the admiration of his fellows.

This sense of irritation with the young craftsman is not decreased by the technical perfection of the sonnet sequence, *Songs of the Common Day*, which appeared in 1893. Delicate in their colouring, limned as carefully as the letters in a monkish manuscript, these charming word-paintings of Canadian landscapes are as beautifully ephemeral as the glittering dragon-flies skimming the surface of a pond. Undoubtedly, Roberts the technician received his reward in their production and, without question, they are excellent examples for the guidance of those who aspire towards perfection of form. It would be erroneous to say that they are without value. We may well be proud that a Canadian has written verse in such faultless style.

Yet we cannot admit that the *Songs of the Common Day* give our poet a permanent place in literature. Not even the sonnet entitled "The Sower", which possesses the lure of an elusive simplicity and a noble dignity, will persuade us that here is the unmistakable hallmark of greatness. This poem but for a subtle weakness, would have merited a place with such art forms as Millet's "Angelus", Markham's "Man with the Hoe", or Knut Hamsun's "Growth of the Soil". The cosmic significance of man, who works with the stars in their courses and who gives meaning to inanimate Nature, is maintained until the moment when he is dwarfed by the line, "God-like he makes provision for mankind". Here we are involuntarily withdrawn from our picture of the "august infinitude"

of the human figure and are presented with the threadbare conception of the God of the theologian—

“O God of Bethel, by whose hand
Thy people still are fed.”

We can almost hear the wail of the little church organ and the mournful chant of the worshippers gathered to thank an extraneous Power for the blessings wrought by their own hands which are so “unwittingly divine.”

However, if we are willing to believe that in this truly remarkable sonnet sequence Roberts perfected his mastery of technique in preparation for the day when he should be free to follow the “one path”, we can only rejoice that he wrought so well and in the stuff which is native to our soil. It may be, indeed, that this is the just view to take of these exquisite etchings of Canadian scenery, for two years after the publication of *Songs of the Common Day* he resigned his position as teacher in King's College, Windsor, N.S., to devote himself to writing.

In 1896, there appeared *The Book of the Native*. Here we find the man who is master of his vision, the artist who can guide unerringly the impulse to create and, at times, the seer who, from his Mount of Promise, obtains a glimpse of the unshadowed realm of the ideal. Although there are comparatively few poems in this volume which completely illustrate the power of the man, the artist or the seer, yet in those which display the cosmic or universal quality there does exist the material which rewards our search. “The Unsleeping”, “Immanence”, “O Solitary of the Austere Sky” are, in themselves, sufficient to admit their author into the company of the immortals.

The cyclic law which governs the systole and diastole of Nature—day and night, summer and winter, light and darkness, life and death—is seen in “The Unsleeping” to be the process governing the rhythmic interplay of shadows upon the

screen of time and space. Man, the immortal spirit, the eternal pilgrim, is viewed in relation to the universe, and the poet, in no faltering manner, claims his own place as creator in the universe which he has fashioned. The perspective is that of the seer, the mystic who has had a glimpse of truth unveiled and who knows that he is the silent watcher who will remain when our little systems have passed away. Knowledge and not blind faith speaks with reassuring voice,—

“The mount, the star, the germ, the deep,
They all shall wake, they all shall sleep.
Time, like a flurry of wild rain,
Shall drift across the darkened pane.

Space, in the dim predestined hour,
Shall crumble like a ruined tower.
I only, with unfaltering eye,
Shall watch the dreams of God go by.”

With profit to ourselves we may compare this calm and unshaken conviction of man's immortality with the following lines by the English poet, Tennyson,—

“We have but faith: we cannot know;
For knowledge is of things we see;
And yet we trust it comes from thee,
A beam in darkness: let it grow.”

“Immanence” we have already quoted. It is Roberts' answer to the scientific materialism of his age. In his intimate communion with Nature, in the new worlds of matter revealed by the biologist and the astronomer, he had not lost his vision of “the Control”. He could accept the complexity of the universe which had been opened up by the extension of knowledge and find in the infinities, both great and small, the evidence of the existence of Spirit.

In the stately music of “The Night Sky” we have the conception of the early Greek philosophers in regard to “the deep of Heaven.” It is not the paradise of theology but the invisible parent of form, space, from which the worlds are

born and into whose silence they are finally withdrawn at the end of time. Only the greater poets have dissociated the term, "heaven", from the materialistic idea which makes it the dwelling of souls enjoying respite from their earthly woes. The theme is exalted, but our Canadian singer has indeed found words whose harmony suggests the processional music of the spheres along the highroads of eternity.

"O deep of Heaven, no beam of Pleiad ranging
Eternity may bridge thy gulf of spheres!
The ceaseless hum that fills thy sleep unchanging
Is rain of the innumerable years.
Our worlds, our suns, our ages, these but stream
Through thine abiding like a dateless dream."

Spontaneity, the inevitable marriage of thought to word, and that intangible essence which we call poetry because of its power to move the soul, are found in even greater measure throughout the sonnet entitled, "In the Wide Awe and Wisdom of the Night".

"In the wide awe and wisdom of the night
I saw the round world rolling on its way,
Beyond significance of depth or height,
Beyond the interchange of dark and day.
I marked the march to which is set no pause,
And that stupendous orbit, round whose rim
The great sphere sweeps, obedient unto laws
That utter the eternal thought of Him.
I compassed time, outstripped the starry speed,
And in my still Soul comprehended space,
Till weighing laws which these but blindly heed
At last I came before Him face to face,—
And knew the Universe of no such span
As the august infinitude of man."

In the closing lines of this poem there is a trumpet call to the sleeping Titan in Everyman.

Somewhere, blown down the ages upon a wind of memory, we have heard this summons before. It brings to us a picture of a rugged figure striding through the streets of Athens, followed by a throng of eager-eyed youths who dwelt upon the

words of wisdom falling from his lips,—Socrates, who taught that “man is the measure of all things!” With his advent there came the crash of crumbling institutions, edifices of church and state which had been deemed imperishable. His was the voice of a New Age which once more attempted to make of Man a ruler in his own kingdom.

Roberts, the poet, sensitive to the spirit moving through his own period, caught the positive note which was to dominate the dawning century. Negative values, the attitude of submission and resignation which marked the long rule of theology, were to be swept aside by a dispensation which would hail man as the maker of his own destiny, the centre of a universe which he could mould to ends beyond the imagining of older generations.

Again he challenges the time-worn idea of Deity, without and superior to himself, in the poem, “O Solitary of the Austere Sky.”

“How small am I in thine august regard!
Invisible,—and yet I know my worth!
When comes the hour to break this prisoning shard,
And reunite with Him that breathed me forth,
Then shall this atom of the Eternal Soul
Encompass thee in its benign control!”

The restless search which asked daring questions and demanded adequate answers was now to be continued during the vivid years when the poet lived in New York, but, unfortunately, there was seldom to be the quiet hour in which he could commune with himself. *New York Nocturnes*, 1898, reflect the moods which alternated between longing for something not to be found in the passionate acceptance of life in a great metropolis and a strong delight in the physical pleasures afforded by his new “garden of the sun.” Life was good to the hard-sinewed, virile young Canadian who challenged it to yield its riches to him. There were times when he rested, satis-

fied with love and laughter and the fragrance of the passing rose.

"I press you close to my side, secure
In the solitude of the throng.
And the laughter of children comes to our lips
For we know that love is long."

Then, again, came hours in which the shadowy ideal, the Love which will not perish with the clay which clothes it in evanescent beauty, called with a poignant voice.

"Night; and far off the lighted pavements roar.
Night; and the dark of sorrow keeps my door.
I reach my hand out trembling in the dark.
Thy hand comes not with comfort any more.

O Silent, Unresponding! If these fears
Lie not, nor other wisdom come with years,
No day shall dawn for me without regret,
No night go unaccompanied by my tears."

We do not quote these *New York Nocturnes* because of their intrinsic value as poems but to show that the development of the writer during the stormy, productive days in the great city was conditioned by the fact that he was passing through a crisis. His superabundant energies were partially diverted into byways which led to no definite goal and, to an increasing degree, they were becoming absorbed by his prose writings which afforded a comparatively easy means of livelihood. His verse, as a consequence of his mode of living, became incidental and a record of the amatory adventures by which he relieved the grind of professional authorship. However, we cannot feel that Roberts' love poems are outstanding in merit among those written by his contemporaries, nor do we find any one of them which equals the best produced by his great predecessors. Swinburne has excelled him immeasurably in his worship of the flesh in all its rose-leaf loveliness; Byron has written more daringly of the tribulations and rewards of philandering; Browning has reached heights of spiritual ecstasy

and understanding apparently beyond the comprehension of our Canadian poet.

The hint of greatness for which we are seeking is not to be discovered in the Nocturnes, which reflect passions excited by the sybaritic appeal of darkened chambers and of streets glittering with tinsel stars, nor is it to be found in the nature poems which occur in *The Book of the Rose*, 1903. Although it is in spontaneous responses to the call of burgeoning life in leaf and bud like "The Pipers of the Pools" that Roberts comes nearest to lyric ecstasy, he is not essentially a singer of the "careless rapture" which expresses the joy of life. The restraint of an intellect which was, at all times, more or less conscious of his emotional processes; a veiled conventionality which refrained from too complete abandonment to the impulse of the moment; some lingering shadow, perhaps, of an ecclesiastical atmosphere belonging to the Rectory in which he spent his childhood kept him from casting aside an attitude and from yielding to life in whole-hearted sincerity. These are conjectures, but it remains nevertheless true that pure lyric exaltation is not present in Roberts' work.

However, a fine rapture of an entirely different genre may be found in "Child of the Infinite" which was published in this volume. Here, in his own metier, the poet touches the hem of the garment of immortality and gives to us a work of art to be placed beside the greatest of its kind. How certain the mastery of the instrument, how simple and yet filled by infinite suggestiveness are the lines,—

"Rolling Masks of Life and Death,
When no more your ancient place
Knows you, when your light and darkness
Swing no longer over space,
My remembrance shall restore you
To the favour of His face."

Nor can the sound of artisan's hammer and chisel or the attitudinizing of one who chooses to write upon a great theme

be found in "The Great and the Little Weavers" which is also printed in *The Book of the Rose*.

"Recede the drums of the thunder
When the Titan chorus tires,
And the bird-song piercing the sunset
Faints with the sunset fires,

But the trump of the storm shall fail not,
Nor the flute-cry fail of the thrush,
For the great and the little weavers
Are weaving under the hush."

Here intellect and feeling are fused in a noble attempt to give form to the inexpressible wonder at the heart of life. Without a doubt, it is great poetry and it leaves us with the same sense of transcendent mystery which we have felt in dim chancels of the forest or upon headlands facing the glory of sea and sky.

The same glamour which characterizes these two poems is caught with subtle artistry in "Lines for an Omar Punch-bowl." Three poems in a slim volume which contains thirty offerings upon the altar of fame! Yet in the collected work of some of those deemed to be masters there are similar proportions between the permanent and the ephemeral.

Shortly after the publication of *The Book of the Rose*, Roberts left America. Four years were spent in France, Germany, and in Italy, and then he took up his residence in London, England. The outbreak of the Great War called him into active service although he was then over fifty years of age. It is characteristic of our poet that he should have delighted in the opportunity which the war brought to him. An eager thirst for experience was born in him and it has been a driving motive throughout his life. Much of the energy which others have devoted to art has been used by him in the preparatory field of intense living and, in viewing the total product of his prose and poetry, this fact must be taken into consideration. Knowing the man, it is not surprising that sixteen years

elapsed between *The Book of the Rose* and the publication of *New Poems* in 1919.

Again a trinity of poems claims our attention, "Wayfarer of Earth", "O Earth Sufficing All Our Needs", and "The Unknown City." In these late fruits of a strenuous life we may find all that has resulted from the efforts made to follow the "one path" of devotion to the ideal. In spirit and in time they belong to the young man in his thirties who dreamed of a life of unswerving loyalty to the vision which was his. Neither in form nor in content is there an advance beyond the best work in *The Book of the Native* which appeared in 1896. This is significant for many reasons.

The world of thought has moved far since the closing years of the nineteenth century. In no similar period of time of which we have historical records has there been so rapid an advance in the realms of science and philosophy. There were portents in 1896 of the stupendous changes which were imminent in the western world and we must credit our poet with having been alive to these monitions. His poem, "In the Wide Awe and Wisdom of the Night", if considered alone, would be sufficient proof of his perception that the centre had shifted from the idea of man as the pawn, either of a Master Mechanic or a Machine, to man as the Ruler and the Meaning of life. At that time it might have seemed that this young Canadian was destined to be the voice of the New Age.

But the evidence deduced from his work can only show that he failed to grow with the years which were sweeping his world onward to wider vistas and to more marvellous fields of experience. It was to be the task of poetry in the new century to transcend the Wordsworthian conception of Nature as having an independent and objective existence beyond the circumference of man's consciousness. Roberts, except in a few moments of inspiration, remained a Wordsworthian and, as such, he is a poet of the "nineties."

As a further result of this failure to ally himself with the thought of his day and age, the new humanism, which was to find expression through later Canadian poets, is not existent in the work of Roberts. Nor did the spiritual impulse released by the conflict of forces during the Great War produce in him a poem which echoed its meaning. The martial bombast of "Cambrai and Marne" might have emanated from the minor poet who wrote "The Battle of the Baltic." The struggle of the submerged labouring class, the revolt against imperialisms and the commercialism which threatens the foundations of civilization, the social movement which has emancipated women and has given a new dignity to sex, the racial changes which are bringing about a new alignment of nations, the internationalism which is hastening the realization of human brotherhood—these have apparently left him unmoved.

It may be pleaded in extenuation of Roberts' evident lack of interest in world movements that he chose for himself the task of being the interpreter of the beauty of Canadian landscapes and the herald of a young nation in the making. Had he treated natural beauty subjectively or had he systematically followed the course of affairs in his own country, we could feel that he had achieved this destiny. But the more objective representation of Canadian scenery which we find in *Songs of the Common Day* and the fact that he elected to live during his best years in the United States and in Europe, preclude our giving him a high place as a nature-poet or as the prophet of the dawn of a new nation.

We are confident, however, that any just estimate of his work will show that he has written a small quantity of verse worthy to claim a permanent place in world literature. Had he followed the quest for the meaning of life which illuminated his earlier work, had he pursued the implications of modern psychology when applied to life and art, he might have been among the great voices of the new age and of the twentieth century.

KINGSTON HOSPITAL

BY T. R. GLOVER

Virgines doctae reparare vires,
Seu lues carnem macie peredit,
Seu truci ferro medicus vel igni
Terruit aegros,

Vos piis fessum manibus fovetis
Corpus, et potus faciles et escas
Additis, nequa comitem reducant
Vulnera mortem.

Haec ego in lecto meditor supinus,
Dum lacum specto piger insulasque,
Ni neget carmen mutilo superba
Musa poetae.

Me quidem vobis anima carentem
Callidum magni genus Aesculapi
Tradidit, si forte resartus umbras
Fallerem et Orcum.

Floreas ergo titulum leonum
Nympha quae gestas, neque Parca ducat
Te minus felix, atavis Gadelis
Edita virgo.

Semper aegrotis domus hospitalis
Reddet haec sperare. Ego restitutus
Regium nomen referamque laudes
Urbis amicae.

September, 1928.

THE STARS AND THEIR DISTANCES

BY S. A. MITCHELL

ASTRONOMY is universally recognized as the oldest of the sciences, the most perfect, the most exact, and it has rightly been called the queen of the sciences. Yet astronomy is not infirm and decrepit in a tottering old age. The early watchers of the sky have handed the torch to their successors burning always more and more brightly. Within the past decade there has been no science, except possibly physics, which can vie with astronomy in the brilliancy of its discoveries.

The chief work of the astronomer in the past ten years has been directed along two lines of investigation. In co-operation with the physicist and the chemist, the astronomer has been making an attack on the structure of the atom. The physicist and the chemist in their investigations have been confined to terrestrial laboratories and their researches on the practical side have been limited to the range of temperatures and pressures available by mechanical methods. No such limitations, however, have been placed on the work of the astronomer. He has had at his disposal, with no expense other than that of his astronomical equipment, the celestial laboratories of the sun and distant stars, where high temperatures and minute pressures are readily available to test and extend the physical-chemical theories.

The atom is very small; a drop of water contains several thousand million, million, million atoms. Although minute, the atom is still further divided into protons and electrons, the outer electrons describing orbits about the central nucleus much like those made by the planets in going about the sun.

The more brilliant of the recent astronomical discoveries.

however, have been connected with the second line of investigation, which deals with the stars. According to Eddington, the human body is slightly nearer in size to an atom than it is to a star. About 10^{27} (1000,000000,000000,000000,000000) atoms form the human body, while it would take about 10^{28} human bodies to constitute enough material to build an average star. The cause of the recent discoveries concerning the stars is not difficult to understand for they all rest on the fact that it has become possible during the past few years, by the application of photography to great telescopes, to reach a much higher degree of precision in the measurement of the enormous distances that separate us from the stars than was obtainable heretofore. As a consequence of the great activity in fathoming the depths of space, the astronomer has discovered much valuable information regarding the heavenly bodies, their distribution and their motions, their temperatures and physical conditions, till now we think we know the basic principles underlying the life history of a star, its birth and evolution through millions and millions of years of a lurid youth until finally there arrives a period of old age, of stagnation and death.

The astronomers of the sixteenth century saw clearly that if the earth makes an annual journey about the sun, as stated by the Copernican theory, the near-by stars must show an annual displacement back and forth with respect to the more distant stars. Half the total annual displacement is called the "annual parallax", or more simply the "parallax". This is a small angle at the star subtended by the distance from the earth to the sun. The parallax of the stars, always less than one second of arc for the very nearest, was too small to be discovered by the telescope invented by Galileo in 1609; one was forced, therefore, to assume that the universe was made on a much larger scale than had hitherto been estimated.

With each increase in telescopic power, with each mechan-

ical improvement which added to the accuracy of stellar measurements, the problem of finding the distance of the stars was again attacked. Hooke, Flamsteed, Picard, Cassini, Horrebow and Halley, each in turn attempted to find the displacements of the stars. Each in turn failed in the attempt though Halley did find that three of the brightest of the stars, Aldebaran, Sirius and Arcturus, were not in reality *fixed*, since each star has a slight but unmistakable motion of its own, which we now call *proper motion*. He came to the conclusion that the stars were at least 20,000 or 30,000 times more distant than the sun, though the exact distance of the sun was then unknown.

The first of the world's gigantic telescopes was made by Sir William Herschel. He attempted an ingenious method of detecting the annual displacement of the stars by measuring accurately the relative positions of stars near each other in the sky, one bright, the other faint. Although Herschel did not succeed in detecting the parallaxes of any stars, he did find an entirely new type of star, of which we now know many thousand, namely double or binary stars.

Following Herschel, other scientists endeavoured to measure the distances to the stars, but these attempts ended only in failure, and it was not until 1838 that the first stellar distance was measured. Singularly enough, the distance of not one star only but of three stars was measured, by three different observers, using instruments of three different types and employing three different methods. The greatest honour probably belongs to Bessel in determining the distance of 61 Cygni. The instrument used was the heliometer having the peculiarity that its object-glass was cut exactly in halves.

The work has gone steadily forward from that day to this. In the first fifty years, the total number of parallaxes measured was only about fifty, due to the fact that the stars are at such enormous distances and the annual parallaxes,

therefore, are extremely minute. Judged by modern standards of accuracy, the results of most of these early measurements, acquired only after the expenditure of prodigious labour, are fit only for the waste-basket, because the errors of observation completely obscured the quantities sought.

In 1910, Dr. W. W. Campbell, director of the Lick Observatory, summed up the situation thus: "Measures of stellar distances present difficulties so great that even to-day we possess reliable knowledge of the approximate distances of not over one hundred stars. At no point in astronomical science is fuller knowledge more desirable, more pressingly urgent, than in the subject of stellar distances; or speaking technically, of stellar parallaxes."

Two splendid pieces of work were completed in 1910. Lewis Boss had investigated the proper motions of 6,188 stars and had given the results in his *Preliminary General Catalogue*. This was a discussion of all the star catalogues that had been made since Bradley's time, stretching over a period of one hundred and fifty years. Campbell, moreover, had just published the radial velocities of all the brighter stars in the sky within reach of the Lick telescope. He himself had constructed the spectrograph, had devised the methods of procedure and had seen his plan carried through to successful completion. The work of both Boss and Campbell set a standard of excellence unsurpassed even at the present day.

In spite of these two splendid achievements, each devoted to the motions of the stars, we knew comparatively little of their actual linear motions. Proper motions are expressed in seconds of arc per year, measured at right angles to the line of sight and thus projected on the background of the stars. Radial velocities, or motions in the line of sight, as measured by the spectrograph, give the motions towards or away from the observer, and are measured in kilometers per second. On account of the use of two different units of measurement

(seconds of arc per year and kilometers per second), it was impossible to combine proper motions and motions in the line of sight. But as soon as the distance of the star is measured, the proper motions of seconds of arc per year can be transformed into kilometers per second. We then can ascertain the linear motion of the stars, both in magnitude and in direction. The weak link in the chain, as Campbell had stated, was the work on stellar distances. Substantial progress in our knowledge of stellar motions was at a stand-still awaiting a decided improvement in parallax work, both in the numbers of stars measured and, more particularly, in the accuracy of the results attained.

The improvements, as was to be expected, came through two agencies: first, the application of photography instead of visual methods, and, secondly, the employment of larger and still larger telescopes. The largest instruments naturally give the highest precision, and any results less accurate than the best are inadequate.

Pritchard at Oxford and Rutherford at New York did pioneer work in attempting parallaxes by photography. The noted Kapteyn, by using extra precaution in the work at the telescope, greatly increased the accuracy of the results. Russell made a step forward in his work at Cambridge, England. It remained for Schlesinger, however, to show the pitfalls lying in wait for the parallax observer and to devise methods of counteracting or eliminating the defects that can creep into the measures, with the result that the work is now of the highest quality. The few astronomers who are parallax observers are disciples of Schlesinger. They depart from his methods only in details. An astronomer can now finish as many parallaxes in a year as was formerly possible in a lifetime by visual methods, while the accuracy of photographic work has been increased tenfold.

Schlesinger's measurements became possible through his

use, twenty years ago, of the largest telescope in the world, the Yerkes refractor of forty inches aperture. This, however, is a visual telescope and not intended for photography. The ordinary photographic plate utilizes the blue and violet light, and makes little or no use of the green and yellow. The optician who ground the 40-inch objective made the yellow and green come to a sharp focus. The blue and violet rays had to be left out of focus. In a photograph taken with the ordinary plate and visual telescope, the star images are not sharp and clean-cut, and, consequently, measurements of the highest quality cannot be made. By following the methods already used in commercial photography, G. W. Ritchey showed that with the employment of a yellow colour-filter and isochromatic plates it was possible to secure stellar photographs with a visual telescope. Strange as it may seem, the images of the stars thus taken with a visual telescope are sharper and better defined than can be secured with a photographic telescope. The visual telescope, unfortunately, requires a much longer time to secure the photograph.

The only direct method of measuring the distances of the stars is known as the trigonometric method. This is the same method as is followed by an engineer who wishes to measure the distance across a river that cannot be traversed, or by an astronomer who measures the distance to the moon. The base line used with the stars is the colossal one, judged by terrestrial standards, of the diameter of the earth's orbit about the sun of one hundred and eighty-six millions of miles. Compared with the distance of even the nearest of the fixed stars, this enormous distance is pitifully small. Still it is the largest we have, and it becomes a question of using that or nothing.

The observational methods followed can be described simply. Photographs of the star whose distance is desired are secured at intervals separated by approximately six months when the earth is at two opposite sides of its

orbit about the sun. Even by employing the greatest of telescopes the semi-annual displacements of the star on the photographic plate are so minute that it taxes the resources of modern astronomy to carry the work through to completion with the highest degree of precision.

In measuring parallaxes by modern photographic methods it is possible to obtain an accuracy measured by a probable error of one-hundredth of a second of arc or less. With the McCormick telescope, a hundredth of a second of arc means the two-thousandth part of a millimeter, or the half of a micron. In the measurement of the relative positions of stars on the photographic plate the astronomer cannot employ the high magnifying power in the measuring microscope used by the biologist, but must content himself with a moderate power of about ten.

At the McCormick Observatory it takes about ten minutes to secure a suitably exposed plate. Instead of taking the plate out of the telescope after securing an exposure, it is shifted from the first position about a tenth of an inch and another set of star images is impressed on the plate. On each star region for the determination of stellar distances we take three or four plates, each with two images, in each of five successive seasons at intervals of six months. The parallax depends on the measurement of fifteen to twenty plates. The average probable error of the McCormick parallaxes is .''009. If more plates are used and more images are taken on each plate, it is possible to increase the accuracy. When parallax work was begun about a dozen years ago it required a total of fifty hours to secure a single parallax. By devising more efficient methods it has become possible to reduce the time per parallax without sacrificing accuracy.

The modern work of measuring the distances of the stars has been practically the combined research of six observatories, all in the United States except the Royal Observatory at

Greenwich. In this difficult and precise work the observatories seem naturally to fall into two classes. Allegheny and McCormick seem to be in a class by themselves, each having published more than eight hundred parallaxes and having finished three times as many stars as any of the other participating observatories, Mount Wilson, Yerkes, Sproul, and Greenwich. The total number of individual parallaxes obtained by photographic methods is now approaching 3,000 distributed over 2,000 separate stars. The six observatories are all in the northern hemisphere. Lately, the Yale University Observatory at Johannesburg and the Royal Observatory at the Cape of Good Hope have entered upon this work.

There are several excellent indirect methods of measuring stellar distances, but their results must always be calibrated by means of the trigonometric parallaxes. There is no other way of standardizing them. In the last analysis, all indirect parallaxes, including those determined by spectroscopic methods, will be accepted only in so far as the average of their results agrees with the best of the modern trigonometric parallaxes. It is therefore of the utmost importance that these direct parallaxes be as reliable as possible since the standards for measuring the dimensions of the universe depend on the trigonometric parallaxes. The distance to the stars depends on the earth's distance to the sun and this in turn depends on the size of the earth, which in turn depends on the standard yard or meter. Since the Allegheny and McCormick observatories between them have measured the distances to most of the stars whose parallaxes are known by trigonometric methods, it may almost be said that the dimensions of the universe depend on the Allegheny-McCormick standard.

Scientists realize that the exact size of an object or the distance to an object is unknown and unknowable except through measured quantities. The history of science is the continued attempt to reach the next decimal place. It is quite

possible, apparently, to measure the width of an object accurately but with a scale that is either too long or too short, thus giving rise to systematic error. It is usually more difficult to investigate and eliminate these systematic inaccuracies in a series of measurements than the accidental mistakes on which the probable error depends.

In measuring stellar distances there has always been the closest co-operation between the participating observatories. The McCormick observatory, for instance, has a card catalogue which gives a complete record of every star that is on the observing programme of Allegheny, Yerkes, Sproul and other observatories. In turn, it has mapped out its programme in such a way as to duplicate in part the work of others, thereby increasing the accuracy of the combined work of all, but avoiding such duplication as would limit the total output. It has put on its programme those stars which in its opinion will give the maximum information to astronomy as a whole. It is always ready to measure the distance of any star in which any astronomer is particularly interested.

The discovery of the distance of many stars makes it possible to obtain other valuable information. First, the intrinsic brightnesses of different stars may be compared. The method followed is that employed in the laboratory when comparing different electric lamps—by measuring their brightness at a standard distance. With the stars, the distance employed is the distance of ten parsecs, or where the parallax of the star is one-tenth of a second of arc. The brightness of the star is then called its *absolute magnitude* as distinguished from its *apparent magnitude*. The absolute magnitude of our own important sun is about +5, which means that if it were placed off at the standard distance it would not be a brilliant star of first magnitude but would be of fifth magnitude and would give only enough light to be well visible to the naked eye.

Then, when we know the parallax of a star, we can combine the proper motion and radial velocity and can thus discover the linear velocity both in magnitude and direction. When this information is available from many stars we can find out whether there are any common or stream motions exhibited by the stars. As all motions are relative, we can also find how the motions of the stars reflect the motion of the sun, and thus can be derived the solar apex and the speed of the sun's motion. If the star whose distance is known is a double star and the observer has found its orbit, then, in obedience to the fact that Newton's law of gravitation is universal, we find the mass of the double star system in terms of the sun's mass.

These principles may be applied to a few of the more interesting stars. A short time ago we were thrilled by Michelson's magnificent achievement of measuring the angular diameter of the brilliant star Betelgeuse with the 100-inch reflector at Mount Wilson. We are fortunate in having a very accurate determination of the distance to Betelgeuse from the four observatories, Allegheny, McCormick, Mt. Wilson and Yerkes. The absolute parallax is $.''017$, the angular diameter is $.''046$. Hence the linear diameter of Betelgeuse is $.046 \div .017 \times 93,000,000$ miles, or 270,000,000 miles. This is more than three hundred times the diameter of the sun. Betelgeuse is so large that if we could put the sun at its centre, the surface of Betelgeuse would be found in the vicinity of the orbit of Mars. Since the diameter of this star is 300 times that of the sun, its volume is 300 cubed or twenty-seven million times that of the sun. Betelgeuse is not a double star, hence we do not know its exact mass but can make a good guess. We find that it has a very minute density, about a millionth part of water or a thousand times less than the atmospheric air we breathe. Its temperature is about 3000°C . It is not surprising that we call such a star a "giant."

The parallax of Sirius, the brightest of the fixed stars, is known accurately. It is one of the comparatively near stars; its light reaches us in 8.8 years while that from Betelgeuse takes 190 years. Sirius is a double star with an accurately known orbit, the period being about fifty years. On account of the large parallax and accurate orbit we know that Sirius and its companion together have a mass that is 3.4 times that of the sun. The most interesting thing about Sirius, however, is its companion. With a telescope of moderate size we can see the companion when near elongation, shining much more feebly than the brilliant Sirius. Although the primary star gives 10,000 times as much light as the companion, still its mass is only $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as great. The intense brilliancy of Sirius has made it difficult to obtain any reliable information about the spectrum of the companion. It is, in fact, well nigh impossible to photograph the spectrum of the companion and at the same time to keep the light from the primary star from passing through the slit and thereby masking the fainter spectrum. It was necessary to wait until the genius of Adams could attack the problem with the 100-inch telescope at the Mount Wilson Observatory.

At this point it will be convenient to refer to certain features of Eddington's remarkably brilliant work in investigating the temperatures and internal structures of the stars. In his theoretical work he dealt with all of the stars, including our sun, of which the masses are accurately known. He plotted the absolute magnitudes against the logarithm of the mass, and found to his amazement that all of the stars investigated fell very nearly on a curved line. With this information it was found that the companion of Sirius, with its spectrum of about F₀, and a temperature of 8000°C., has a mass which is ninety-five per cent. that of the sun. In brightness, however, it has only 1/360th part of the brilliancy of our own sun. Since the amount of light sent out by the companion of Sirius and the

sun really depend on the areas of the two bodies, the area of this companion is $1/360$ th that of the sun. The diameter of the companion is only $1/19$ th that of the sun and it is therefore larger than the earth but smaller than the planet Uranus. From this it follows that the density of the companion of Sirius is at least 50,000 times that of water. The heaviest solid known to us is platinum and yet here is a star two thousand times heavier, bulk for bulk, than our heaviest solid. But, still more remarkable, the researches of the brilliant Cambridge astronomer indicate that, in spite of its enormous density, the star is in a gaseous state and obeys the laws of perfect gases.

On account of the high density, the relativity shift at the companion of Sirius is very large. As Eddington has stated, Adams killed two birds with one stone. He made a remarkable confirmation of the Einstein theory. Important as this is, it is not as significant as the other result, namely, that a body can exist in a gaseous state and be thousands of times heavier than the densest solid found under terrestrial conditions. With the comparatively feeble temperatures available in our terrestrial laboratories we have little opportunity of seeing what happens to the structure of an atom when conditions of observation are changed. While, on the contrary, under the colossal temperatures found in the celestial laboratories in the interiors of the stars with temperatures of fifty millions of degrees or more, the external electrons surrounding the atoms have such violent motions that they are jostled hither and thither and are torn away from the nucleus to which under ordinary conditions they would belong. Again, to borrow from Eddington, the crinolines that surround the atoms in their dance under terrestrial conditions become torn from them and their bodies become almost naked under the superheated atmosphere at the centre of a star.

How can we bring all of the stars of the sky, in spite of

their enormous difference in physical conditions, into one theory of evolution? Henry Norris Russell was the first to show that if absolute magnitudes are plotted against spectral types, all the stars investigated fall into two separate groups, one lying near the giant-branch of the diagram, and the other near the dwarf or main-sequence branch. Among the red stars of M type, where distances have been measured, there is not one star in more than five hundred that falls intermediate between the giant and the dwarf branches. We cannot say that the stars of other types can always be divided into giants and dwarfs. There are, in fact, three or four "white dwarfs" (the companion of Sirius being one of them) that lie entirely outside of the scheme of things and do not yet permit themselves to be brought into any theory of evolution.

With the changes in colour or in spectral type there are changes in temperature, varying from those of the red stars at about 2500° or 3000°C . to those found in the early-type stars which are the hottest where external temperatures run up to $30,000^{\circ}\text{C}$. The amount of time necessary for a star to run through these progressive changes of colour and temperature is enormous. Our own sun is a "dwarf", well along on the descending or main-sequence branch of the curve of evolution. Life on the earth will cease when the sun shall become cold and shall not give off enough heat to maintain poor mortals. It has been calculated that if all its energy, including that of the atom, could be utilized, the sun has now stored up sufficient energy to last into the future for some fifteen millions of millions of years.

We have seen that much interesting scientific development has been made possible by the simple knowledge of stellar distances. At best, however, by the help of the direct and indirect methods combined we can hardly ascertain the distance of a heavenly object that is farther off than a thousand light years. To Mount Wilson and Harvard observatories

we owe the development of a remarkable series of researches, associated with the brilliant work of Shapley, whereby we can speak with confidence of objects so far off in the sky that the light now reaching our eyes started from its source one million years ago. By observing the period of variation of the light of stars in distant clusters, and by the application of the "period-luminosity" law, the absolute magnitudes of these cluster variables can be ascertained. Since their apparent magnitudes are known from the photographs, a simple formula gives directly the parallax and the distance. In this way Shapley found that the globular cluster in Hercules, Messier 13, consisting as it does of at least 60,000 stars, is at a distance of 35,000 light years; that Messier 5 and Messier 3 are at distances of 40,000 and 45,000 light years respectively, while the nebula N.G.C. 7006 is at the great distance of 230,000 light years.

He estimated that in the Small Magellanic Cloud there are 500,000 stars brighter than the eighteenth magnitude. It is at a distance of 100,000 light years. The distance to the Large Magellanic Cloud is 112,000 light years, while its diameter is greater than was commonly assigned to the whole sidereal universe at the beginning of the present century. One of the variable stars in the Large Cloud at its maximum brightness emits 500,000 times as much light as the sun. At the Mount Wilson observatory, Hubble found that the nebulosity of the Andromeda nebula, at least in the outer portions, resolves itself into separate stars. By the extension of Shapley's methods he has ascertained that this nebula and also Messier 33 in Triangulum are each at the colossal distance from us of 850,000 light years.

There has been much difference of opinion among astronomers as to whether these distances represent the actual truth. One of the weakest links in the whole chain of evidence is that the entire fabric of distance is based on eleven Cepheids only.

It is impossible to determine the parallaxes of these fundamental stars by trigonometric methods for the reason that the Cepheids are very distant stars with very small parallaxes. They are therefore beyond the range of the direct method unless we could measure great numbers of them. The peculiarities of their spectra, moreover, put them almost beyond the spectroscopic test. The only method of securing the parallaxes of the Cepheids with a higher accuracy than is now available seems to lie in the indirect method of observing accurately their radial velocities and proper motions. Nearly all the Cepheids are faint stars and beyond the reach of meridian circles. Photography with large telescopes provides the only available means of deriving accurate proper motions. This work has now been undertaken at Mount Wilson and at McCormick observatories and already the first series of plates of about 150 Cepheid stars have been secured. Before taking the second series it will be necessary to wait for another eight or ten years when a sufficient time interval shall have elapsed to permit the determination of the proper motions with sufficient precision.

The astronomer who contemplates with serenity the time of a million years does not fret in being forced to wait a paltry decade to complete his observations.

CAP A L'AIGLE

BY JAMES A. ROY

CAP à l'Aigle constantly and irresistibly reminds me of the Isle of Arran in Scotland, more particularly of Shiskine and Blackwaterfoot in the west. One awakes in the morning with the same cool scent of earth and fields, tempered with a subtle suggestion of brine and tumbling salt waters. One hears the same shrill flyting of gulls, the whoop and call of myriads of moor fowl in the spaces beyond. The little farms of the *habitants* might be Scottish farms; the hills smile and frown at one and wind their shroud of mist about themselves like the Arran hills; the stone dykes poke their crooked ways along the brae-sides as they do in Arran. The grunting pigs, the lowing calves, the cackling geese, the gobbling turkeys, the plaintive chickens with their harassed mothers, the bleating sheep, the barking dogs, the cropping horses, the sound of an animal rubbing itself against a fence; the farmer crossing a field, pail in hand; the little hedges set at sharp angles, enclosing a scrubby pasturage—all this as it might be in Arran.

The little grey Presbyterian Church with its red shingled roof and cheerless bell might well be in Arran. The strangers one meets at the door on Sundays are precisely the folk one might meet in Shiskine; while the voice of the minister is a Scots voice, with a suggestion still of the Highlands and the old Celtic tongue, toned and chastened by its native Canadianism. Even the *habitants* themselves strike one as having the look of the Arran folk about them. There is something in the soft tone of their French voices that makes the Scot feel much at home among them. They have the same look in their eyes; wear the same smile of greeting; bear many of the good old Scottish names and have doubtless inherited many of the

qualities of their soldier ancestors who settled here when they were disbanded after the wars with the French. There is something, too, about the way that young fellow mends the gate, or the manner in which that dog rounds up the sheep, or in the way that farmer pulls up his gig by the roadside to have a quiet gossip with a neighbour that reminds me of Arran. I may of course be mistaken; there may be no real resemblance. The fancied similarity may be merely the characteristics that are to be found the world over among men and women who toil on the land and are deeply religious—who live in communities and are yet very much alone; who are in the world and yet very far from its trivial happenings. But, even so, I am profoundly conscious of a spiritual affinity with this place and its people that is hard to explain on any general thesis.

And, yet, when one comes to know the place more intimately one is struck by a hundred external differences that eluded one at first—the tinkling cow-bells, for example, the habit of milking the cows in the fields, the piles of winter fuel, the rough electric standards, the broad verandahs of the wooden houses with their painted steps. Some of these houses, clustered in lonely settlements connected with the outside world by a mere rugged track, with their rudely shingled roofs and unpainted walls have a melancholy, down-at-heel appearance which depresses one sorely. They seem so poor and so lonely, as if their owners were engaged in a ceaseless and bitter struggle against hopeless and overwhelming odds. The fields of grain climb high into the hills until they find their further progress barred by relentless and obstinate forest or brushwood. Every odd nook and angle has been planted and seeded in the hope that it may yield a scanty sheaf, but, until the late fall, these jagged little patches remain green and stunted. The long narrow fields, peculiar to Quebec, shut in by winding zig-zag snake fences are littered by odd disfigurements which

remind one of nothing so much as of warts on the back of a school-boy's hand. These excrescences are piles of stones and rock laboriously assembled by the original settlers before they were able to set a spade in the soil. They are a grim reminder of the incredible hardships that must have been endured and overcome before the land was made productive for its present *habitants*.

Now and again one comes across a patch of bogland, such as one finds in Scotland, where the bracken grows wildly and the moss peers rankly among the grey, rotting stumps of the former boschage; or discovers a lonely loch where the only sounds that break the soft silence are the low waters lapping on the shore and the splash of a leaping trout. Then, it suddenly strikes one that there are familiar things lacking. One misses the scream of the whaup, the gurgle of the grouse, the wail of the curlew, the stamp of the hare, those sounds that carry a certitude of feeling that here at last is home. One would give the world for a whiff of peat-reek or the scent of the bog myrtle or the heather or for a moment's sight of the yellow gorse. True, there are other sounds that make one feel at home. Last night the winds gathered for an assault on the village and battered the roofs and danced in the chimneys and rattled the doors and banged the windows and whistled in the stovepipes and hooted in the orchards and howled in discordant chorus with the waves which seethed in angry fury and lashed against the rocks at the foot of our garden and moaned and groaned as if they had hired the very spirits of the hills to ride and haunt us in our fitful slumbers. But I would prefer other and gentler reminders.

As in Arran, too, the *habitants* let their houses during the summer months and occupy themselves a built-on portion at the eastern end where the visitor may see the children at play and the old men and women mumbling at their talk and *Madame* busied over her pots and pans—and looking much

older than she actually is—in anxious care for her guests from the city. One hardly realizes—until such an incident as happened yesterday—how feeble and flimsy these buildings are and how easily they might be reduced to a pile of charred beams on their stone foundations. The afternoon had gradually been growing sullen and more sombre; ominous rain clouds were gathering in all directions and the heavens presently assumed a surly and “dour” look that presaged some untoward happening. *Madame* had lighted the stove as the air was undeniably chilly, when, suddenly and without warning a terrific storm burst among the hills, sweeping down on us and swamping us in a moment. The noise of the rain and the howling wind was incredible; it stunned and confused the senses, leaping and swooping and slashing the defenceless houses with an exultant and fiendish glee. Suddenly, the pipe of the stove became red-hot; a smell of blistering paint filled the room; there was an ominous crackling as if the woodwork, heated beyond endurance, was beginning to catch fire; the place grew hot and stifling; *Madame* rushed in with a basin of water, leapt on a chair and wrapped wet cloths around the metal. The flue had been left open for the draught and the sudden gale had fanned the flame to a white-heat which, in a twinkling, had communicated itself to the pipe running along the ceiling and irreparable disaster had been averted as by a miracle. Had the overheating not been noticed and checked in time, nothing could have saved the house from total destruction. There was no means of extinguishing the flames had they once caught the flimsy woodwork. A few hundred yards from our house are the charred ruins of another such building—a tragic mass of burnt beams, fire-scarred rafters, smoke-blackened foundations, destroyed last winter just as our house might have been destroyed yesterday. The heating system is clumsy and demands constant care and attention. If the fire is allowed to sink too low or to die the

inhabitants of the house are almost frozen to death during the winter; if, on the other hand, the chimney pipe is allowed to become overheated, disaster may overtake it in a moment. Owing to the structure of the buildings, central heating is impossible; there are no cellars in the strict sense of the word—only the hollowed foundations. But there is a still more serious argument against the introduction of a more elaborate and up-to-date heating system. The stoves are supplied with wood and the cost of coal would be prohibitive.

The house where we lodge is a plain little white wooden cottage, enclosed by a white wooden fence. It stands a few yards back from the road and overlooks a garden and wooded slopes and the steep descent to the river. My own room has a couple of windows. From one of them I can see nothing but green fields; from the other a spur of the Laurentians, mounting masses of trees, nestling villages, *habitants'* homes, a mass of yellow flowers, browsing sheep, and lazy cattle which a boy comes to milk in the evenings. A plain little writing desk covered with a brown cloth, a tiny washstand, an unpainted towel-rail nailed to the wall, a cheap dressing table with a mirror that reflects the face grotesquely, a white deal chair, an iron bedstead, a couple of book-shelves, a narrow piece of striped carpet of local manufacture, form my complete plenishings. There is a latch on the door, which is painted brown—like the walls—and lace curtains covered with some coloured material. One hangs one's clothes on a row of pegs on the wall. Downstairs, apart from the separate compartment where the family is housed during the summer months, there is one large room which can be converted into three. In winter two of the portions are shut off and our hosts live in the third, where the big black stove stands with Saint George and the Dragon carved on its cast-iron sides. One of the sections of the room is set apart for the reception of visitors and it is here that the family treasures are to be found—

elaborately knitted lace curtains, rigid looking chairs with thin, stiff legs and patchwork cushions, a squat little table on which is perched in uneasy prominence a pink glass flower vase. On the lower shelf is a large pewter coffee jug. Above a group of miniature flags of Japan and Switzerland—a curious fellowship in this place—hangs an enlarged photograph of *Monsieur's* first wife—a stern Calvinistic looking matron, a specimen of whose handiwork, a pattern of roses done in coloured worsted on a tea-tray and under glass, adorns the sideboard in the dining room. Scattered along the other walls are a tiny calendar, a “wag at the wa'”, a brown paper fan with some idyllic scene painted on it, a black cross of temperance, a framed group of picture post-cards of Old Quebec, a print of a very immaculate young lady in a long skirt and a sailor hat, at the wheel of a very antique-looking motor car which is apparently an object of wonder to a group of surly-looking cows which are gazing at it stupidly across a barbed-wire fence, with a barn and a couple of silos behind them. Another picture represents an angel in a red dress with a star on her forehead, a satchel slung across her shoulder and a staff in her hand, piloting a little child across a plank bridge which spans an angry looking stream; in the distance a church is to be seen and in the foreground a serpent is rising from the edge as if about to strike at the voyagers. There are also prints of the Flight into Egypt, Saint Theresa and the Infant Jesus, the Good Shepherd, the Sacred Heart, Mary Mother and the Holy Family, Notre Dame-du-Cap—a turreted and ‘cupola’d’ building with lawns and statues and a stretch of water in the foreground and Our Lady in the Heavens in a gorgeous robe of blue and an enormous golden crown, surrounded by chubby and smiling faces of angels and cherubs.

One descends to the shore by steep winding pathways overhung with shrubbage and rank undergrowth—little, stony tunnels and alleyways where the air is close and dank and

heavy with the odour of decaying vegetables and along which flit heavy-winged butterflies and fireflies to the accompaniment of the chirping chorus of the grasshopper and the locust's castanets. Sections of the cliff resemble the crumbling walls of some ancient keep, the rock strata being regularly and minutely shaded and aligned as if they had been skilfully laid there by cunning masons. These lower portions of the cliff are draped by a jagged network of bleached and grey stumps of trees from which all the soil has long been washed and from whose higher perches an army of crows flits and hurls abuse at the prowling stranger who has daringly ventured to invade their privacy. A cluttered litter of gigantic boulders—regular devil's putting-stones which have at some time or other detached themselves from their original beds on the cliff side—front the fore-shore defiantly, draped in clinging sea-weed. One of them grotesquely resembles the petrified prow of a stranded vessel. Another, torn in two by its lapse from the heights, reminds one of nothing so much as an enormous egg with the top sliced off. Myriads of little holes have been bored in the rocky grey terraces which form the base of the cliffs and the sea has played strange tricks with these fantastic peep-holes. In one of them I found a little round stone and in my endeavours to set it free I broke the blade of my clasp-knife and barked my knuckles badly.

There is a very considerable rise of water here and when it recedes, vast stretches of seaweed-coated rocks make their appearance and a medley of little pools which maintain a separate existence until the turn of the tide. But there seems to be almost a complete absence of life in these puddles—the only things that seem to stir in their depths being dumpy, wriggling little leeches which crawl off and slither away at the sight of a human. But of mussels and crabs and a thousand and one other sea-shore denizens—not one trace. Their desolation is complete; their silence oppressive.

Yesterday, however, in the course of my walk I came across a seal sunning himself on a half-submerged rock. He seemed to be uncomfortably perched, swaying backwards and forwards with the motion and onset of the incoming tide. His tail bobbed up and down and his absurd little round head with its pathetic brown eyes bobbed up and down in sympathy with it. His grey body shone and glittered in the fading sun and his whiskers, catching its reflection, gave an odd air of fierceness to his simple and kindly face. He allowed me to approach to within fifty yards when, with a sudden roll, he looped and walloped clumsily into the water and left me. Presently his head re-appeared and his eyes took cautious stock of me but apparently the result of the scrutiny was unfavourable for, with a final snort of disapproval, he submerged again and I saw him no more. This was the seeming signal for an odd series of happenings that were clearly meant for my discomfiture. A porpoise rose and puffed at me scornfully; a wild duck banked in my direction and flew off screaming foolish, crackling laughter; a couple of seagulls swooped down on me jeeringly and an army of crows that had been watching our *rencontre* in silence suddenly burst into a chorus of the most demoniacal cawing and hooting. However, I saw the same seal perched on the same rock a day or two later and, on this occasion, he seemed to regard my proximity with tranquillity. Then an odd thing happened. I heard a snort and another seal popped—I presume—her head out of the water and had a few words with the sun-bather. Apparently what she heard was satisfactory for she began to haul herself on the rock from which she almost pushed her companion in her attempts to settle herself by his side. The couple sat head to tail so that they had an unobstructed view around them and ample time to escape any real or suspected danger. They were still peacefully enjoying their sun-bath when I left. I

wish I knew more about seals and could talk their language. They look *sympathique*, as the French say.

The River itself is a source of perpetual delight. Beyond the reach of waters rise the everlasting hills—changeable, too, in their moods and fickle like their sisters—one moment, surly in the shadow of the clouds, then, suddenly breaking into a smile, they reveal thin stretches of yellow sand and green-tipped downs, spire-topped hamlets and lonely light-houses and secluded *habitants'* homes. So distant are the farthest peaks that they shade and blend imperceptibly in the azure of the skies and it is only by the ever-changing play of the light that one can tell them apart. The blue shades into sapphire and mauve; is streaked with thin filmy bars of white; tones to blue grey and melts by turns into green or saffron or rusty red and with the fading of the sun the mighty vault is tinged with a purple radiance which suddenly transforms the black shadows on the hills into molten gold and blood-stone and invests the whole landscape with a mystic and magic effulgence. Darkness falls suddenly; a hint of it and we are enveloped in a thick veil. Night here seems to become intensified. The ordinary sights and sounds of the day acquire a fresh symbolism—the river, the passing ships, the silent twinkling lights on the shore. Even the familiar winds caress the cheek like the touch of a tender hand and one feels himself surrounded by unseen presences and watching ghosts.

Besides the Presbyterian church there is a little Anglican place of worship—a plain little red building with the rectory behind it—an English-looking place and very restful. It is known by the quaint-sounding name “St. Peter’s on the Rock.” And such it is. From its windows one can catch a glimpse of the waters of the St. Lawrence and the far away hills on the southern shore. Beside the porch stands the War Memorial, in memory of those who used to worship in the church and served in the war. There are memorial tablets

on the walls and, on the choir rails, carved in simple bronze lettering, the names of those who made the supreme sacrifice. The woodwork is unpainted. The wooden lectern is plain and utterly without ornamentation, as is also the cloth-covered altar on which stand four plain copper vessels and a simple brass cross. The Bishop's "throne" and the chair for the officiating clergyman in the choir are simply carven. Everything in and about the church is unpretentious and yet, somehow, on Sunday I felt that it was all very beautiful and that God was present there. During the service the senses were pleasantly lulled by the hum of insects, the rustle of the trees, the pad of the late summer wind, the slap of the horses' feet on the road and the murmur of the voices of the *habitants* driving home from Mass in their gigs. The clergyman was a white-haired, clean-shaven priest with a beautiful face who was painfully lame and hobbled about at his office with the aid of a heavy cane. The service was "low" and we sang such old-fashioned hymns as

"O for a faith that will not shrink
Though pressed by many a foe;
That will not tremble on the brink
Of poverty or woe."

The text was that inspiring challenge, "Forgetting those things which are behind." Then we celebrated Communion. The last occasion on which I celebrated Communion in an Anglican church was during the war in Westminster Abbey, a few hours before leaving for France. Many other khaki clad figures kneeled at the altar rail with me—many of them destined, no doubt, never to return—and the service was very beautiful and impressive. But, somehow, the service in the plain little church at Cap-à-l'Aigle appealed to me and left a lasting memory. Perhaps it was the voice of the preacher, full and sweet and tender, but at that Communion service I

felt nearer to God and more conscious of His Presence than I had been for years.

Then Death must needs come stalking into our midst. A few days ago *le petit bon homme* who lived in the house opposite was found in his bed unconscious and in a few hours he had passed away. A wreath of crape, hung outside the door of the house where he had lived, was my first intimation that he had gone. That afternoon there was a great planing and hammering in the adjoining shed. They were busy making his coffin. On the second day of his lying in state a hawker, a lame man, stopped his cart opposite the house, scrambled out and made his way painfully up the steps—oblivious apparently of the crape. He reached the door, knocked and received no answer. Then he looked into the room, saw the coffin, right-about wheeled, hobbled down the wooden stairs as fast as his lameness allowed, mounted his ramshackle rig and made off with all the haste at his command. When the hearse arrived—a horse-drawn enormity with four sombre black plumes nodding from its crest—the driver, a stout fellow in a bowler hat, was smoking his pipe on the “dicky.” They carried the black draped coffin out through a small crowd of neighbours who had assembled in the rain. The Monsieur D—, as chief mourner, mounted his gig, carrying a large crucifix draped in black and set off slowly down the road. The hearse followed and behind it a long procession of the neighbours. Two of the members of the household where the old man had formerly lived watched the proceedings from the balcony. The rain fell heavily.

“*Pauvre vieux homme,*” said my *Madame*. “Eighty-four years of age—a good age—but, still it is sad. Death is always sad. He was a *petit bon homme* and I shall miss seeing him when I drop in there now. *Mais, le bon Dieu—*”

She shrugged her shoulders and returned to the kitchen to prepare the mid-day meal.

CANADIAN INTEREST IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

BY REGINALD G. TROTTER

IT is commonly assumed, both in Canada and across the line, that Canadians have evinced little, if any, serious interest in the history of the United States. The assumption may be well founded so far as many people are concerned; but in the case of our universities and a large part of our historical profession it is not justified, to the extent, at least, to which it is commonly held.

The United States were given recognition at the University of Toronto virtually as soon as a history chair was founded. In 1853 Daniel Wilson, later president of that institution, came thither from Edinburgh to fill the newly-established chair of history, ethnology and English literature. Even in such an extensive programme he soon found a place for the consideration of the United States in connection with modern history, the study of which apparently began in 1857 or 1858. The following question appeared on the European section of the third year honour paper for 1858: "Define all the immediate and more remote influences exercised on France and on England by the American Revolution." The generosity of the scope given the student seems to imply not so much a thorough treatment of the topic as a relatively brief and general consideration. It will be recognized that the main interest is in the European repercussions of American history rather than in the subject for its own sake. Almost yearly after that, a question involving a knowledge of American history was asked, usually concerning the American Revolution or European colonization. In 1876, the year of the centenary

celebrations in the Republic, a veritable chronicle of Anglo-American treaties and treaty-making was required, and in the paper of the following year occurs the first question on the domestic history of the United States: "Give a brief resumé of the history of the United States in the first century of its existence, pointing out the means by which its territory has been enlarged, and the effect of slavery on the national nature, politics, and character." This may be another instance of tell-tale comprehensiveness. In 1884 students were asked: "What are the main features of the Constitution of the United States?"¹

It is possible that the subject received similar attention in other institutions at an early date, but one may safely assume that, in any case, it was treated as incidental to European history, as it was, indeed, in the universities of the Republic, until the last quarter of the century. The "Revised Canadian Edition" of *Swinton's Outlines of the World's History*, copyright in Canada in 1883 and prescribed for use in the schools, of Nova Scotia at least, illustrates the Canadian point of view of the time; it gives attention to the United States but does so in an appendix of twenty-three pages.

The first mention of the United States in any announcement of courses was in the calendar of the University of Toronto, where, not later than 1885, the title of the third-year course became "England, Germany, France, Spain, the United States, Canada, to the Peace of 1815." After Professor George M. Wrong was appointed to the chair of History in 1892, the terminal date for the study of Canada was advanced from 1815 to 1867, and when, three years later, the work in political science was entrusted to a separate department, he

¹The writer is indebted to Professor George W. Brown of the University of Toronto for these early details about American history there. He would also acknowledge the kindness of others in correcting and supplementing the information which he was able to gather concerning their respective universities.

was able to expand the scope of the work in modern history with the result that from 1895 it included considerable treatment of the whole history of the United States.

In the meantime American history had also received attention elsewhere. It is first noticed in the calendar of Queen's University for 1886-87, when the late Professor George D. Ferguson held the combined chair of English and History. In the final year of honours the lectures in history comprised "a comparison of the British constitution with other constitutions, especially with that of the United States," and the books recommended for supplementary reading included several dealing with American government. Two years later, the reading of a portion of Bancroft's *History of the Constitution of the United States* and, in 1891-92, of Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, was prescribed. In 1892-93, the constitution of the United States was also added to the list of lecture topics in the pass course. Professor J. L. Morison's arrival at Queen's in 1908 resulted in an extensive reorganization of the work in history, in which the pass course was made to include special attention to the history of discovery and colonization, with particular reference to North America, while the list of lecture topics in preliminary honours included "Growth of the U.S.A." In 1910 instruction in colonial history was extended through the establishment of the James Douglas professorship of Colonial and Canadian History, which, after the Beit foundation at Oxford, was the first distinctively colonial history chair in the Empire. This increase of the staff in history enabled Professor W. L. Grant, transferred to the new chair from the Beit lectureship, not only to enlarge the strictly colonial work but also to pay increased attention to the United States. The American Revolution was emphasized in the pass course, and on the colonial side of the honours course "a general knowledge of the history of the United States" was expected. Indeed, for 1913-14 Goldwin

Smith's *United States*, previously recommended, was prescribed as a text, and in that year one paper of the three set for final honours in colonial history was on "American History, 1776-1876." After 1915-16, however, a complete war-time disruption of the history staff blotted out all reference in the calendar to American history since the Revolution.

Besides Toronto and Queen's, two other Ontario universities and two institutions in the Maritime Provinces introduced the history of the United States into their curricula before the war. McMaster University, in 1889-90, almost the first year of its existence, included in the fourth-year pass course the "growth of democracy in America." At the end of the century the second-year pass history became North American, and in it apparently what is commonly called American history was stressed. Two years later the treatment of North America was reduced to part of the second-year work but, at the same time, American constitutional history became part of a third-year course. The historical subject for the fourth year became in 1907 "The English, American and French Revolutions." In 1910, Mr. W. S. Wallace, then lecturer in history, introduced a course devoted to "Canadian and American History" which was given for several years. After two years, the fourth-year history became "Main Movements of European and American History since 1688", taking the place of the course on the three revolutions. At the University of Western Ontario, as early at least as 1898-99, the modern history curriculum, both pass and honours, included the history of the United States. A separate course was inserted in the calendar for 1909 on the constitutional and diplomatic history of the United States, including the development of the colonial governments as well as the period since the Revolution. Two years later there was introduced a special course for honours students in the history of the United States since 1700. In Nova Scotia, at Acadia University, which of all the Maritime Province

universities has had the most intimate relations with New England, the "Constitutional History of England and the United States" was given to the senior class from 1886 to 1891. The late Professor J. F. Tufts inaugurated in 1914 a separate course on American history. The University of St. Joseph's College, in New Brunswick, decided in 1911 that, instead of receiving attention merely as part of general history, the United States should thenceforth be studied in the sophomore history class on a par with modern Europe, a text being prescribed for each, in both the English and the French-speaking classes.

The war quickly and seriously interrupted the regular programmes of universities throughout the country; it also exercised a permanent influence in notable ways. Not the least of its more lasting effects has been the increased importance ascribed to subjects such as history, economics, and political science. A quickened consciousness of national life, and an aroused sense of the growing interdependence of peoples, both of the Empire and of the world, demanded for these subjects a more intensive and a wider study. Specially interesting to Canadians has been the movement in the English-speaking world towards increased study of its several parts. In American universities the Empire—and Canada in particular—have attracted a large and growing attention, while in Britain both the Empire and the United States have received significant notice in the establishment of several new foundations at the universities. Recent history curricula in Canada reflect a more widely conscious Canadianism than existed before the war, a more intelligent interest in the Empire, and a more general sense of the Dominion's significant place on this continent. The fact that the United States have at last accorded ungrudging recognition of our right to choose our path to freedom within the British Commonwealth, rather than outside it after their own example, has made it incom-

parably easier for us in Canada to accord due importance to the history of the Republic. We know now, and admit, that a knowledge of our neighbour's history is essential to a true understanding of our own, and to that appreciation of the traditional bases of American ideals and prejudices needed if we are to live next door to them with permanent satisfaction. We realize that without such knowledge we cannot hope to play adequately the rôle of interpreter between American Republic and British Commonwealth for which our country has been cast by geography and history.

The growth of old courses of instruction and the introduction of new ones reflect this situation. At the University of Toronto the study of United States history was amplified in 1916, when the subject, with special reference to the American Revolution and the Civil War, was included in the work of the second and fourth year for both pass and honours students; this arrangement continued till 1926. A separate course on the history of the United States has been given since 1923 to first year students in honour modern history, political science, and commerce and finance, and since 1926 the same work has been given in the second year to pass students who read history. This has lately been in the hands of Professor George W. Brown. Since 1920 the American Revolution has also been included among the special subjects for honour modern history students. At Queen's, after the war, partly on account of a reconstruction of the history department and partly because of the establishment of a new system of studies throughout the Arts Faculty, the work on the history of the United States as a Republic was not resumed, although the colonial period has continued to be dealt with in considerable detail. Provision has now been made, however, for the establishment of a regular lectureship in the history of the United States. At McMaster, Professor C. W. New, since his arrival in 1920, has continued to treat the subject as part of

the fourth-year study of "Main Movements of European and American History." Honours students may also elect American history as the field of their special reading in the final year. At Western, since 1917, Professor Fred Landon has given a course devoted to the whole of United States history. This has been required of all honours students in history and political science and has been optional for pass students in these and in certain other subjects. A seminar has been conducted for four years on the abolition and anti-slavery movements. At Acadia, Professor Norman McL. Rogers, upon his appointment in 1922, renewed the work in American history which had been offered from 1914 to 1918.

Four universities have since the war undertaken for the first time the study of United States history. In the University of British Columbia the colonial period was already treated in connection with Canadian history but in 1919 Professor W. N. Sage introduced a course in American history beginning with the Revolution. It was dropped for 1922-23 but has since been given by Professor F. H. Soward. At McGill the study of European colonization and expansion, begun in 1918, dealt with America at length, and in 1922 there was inaugurated a course on the history of Canada and the United States, which was replaced in 1927 by two full-year courses, one on the history of Canada, and another, on the history of the New World, in which Professor E. R. Adair devotes over half the year to the colonial and republican history of the United States. The University of Saskatchewan, in 1923, introduced a reading course in the history of the United States for advanced students. Since 1925 Professor G. W. Simpson has also offered a regular lecture course in the subject. At the University of Manitoba the colonial period has been treated for some time in one connection or another, and since 1926 Professor J. E. Howe has given to fourth-year honours students a course on Anglo-Saxon expansion, of which

almost half deals with the independent period of the United States. Instruction in the history of the British Empire, as distinguished from the long-established study of English history, is now given at several of the universities already named (Queen's, Acadia, Manitoba, and Western), and also at St. Francis Xavier and at Bishop's College. In this the American Colonies receive large attention. Doubtless, also, in many other courses, both the colonial and republican periods of United States history are receiving increasing study, despite the absence of information to that effect in calendar announcements. It should be noticed that both at Laval and at the University of Montreal, where the programmes are formulated on a plan different from that in most of our universities, the United States receives mention in the announcement of topics covered in universal or general history.

The survey will be incomplete without reference to the closely related departments of economics and political science. In numerous special courses offered in the field of economics many of the textbooks used are American and a considerable portion of the data studied deals with American conditions. In a few instances the general economic history of the United States is given at length. At Queen's, a quarter of a century ago, Dr. Adam Shortt began to pay notable attention to American economic problems, particularly in connection with his discussion of Canadian economic history. Since 1920 Professor W. A. Mackintosh has given a course on the economic history of the United States and Canada. At Western, where since 1915 the topic had been treated as part of general economic history, it became in 1924 the more important part of Professor R. E. Freeman's new course on the economic history of North America. At Saskatchewan, in the same year, Professor W. A. Carrothers introduced a course of study designated "Economic Development of France, Germany, and the United States in the Nineteenth Century."

In the field of political science Queen's was the first of our universities to include study of the United States government. This began in the régime of Dr. Adam Shortt. About half of the introductory study of politics has regularly comprised a comparison of the national governments of Britain, Canada, and the United States. Supplementing this, Dr. O. D. Skelton began the practice in 1911 of giving, every three or four years, a more advanced course on the government of the United States. He also offered in 1922-23, his last year before going to Ottawa, a course on modern democracies, particularly the English-speaking ones, using Bryce's *Modern Democracies* as a text. Courses of study styled variously, federal constitutional law, federal institutions, constitutional government, comparative government, federal government, but all including considerable study of the American constitution, have been given at Toronto and Western since 1915, at McMaster (in the department of history) and British Columbia since 1919-20, at Montreal since 1920-21, and at Acadia since 1924-25. In some measure, also, in faculties of law, American principles and practices are drawn upon for comparative purposes in teaching our own constitutional law.

The literature of the United States received little or no scholarly attention within our boundaries until recently, nor, despite the fact that no well-read English-Canadian can ignore its important place in the literature of the English-speaking world, is it yet recognized by more than a few of our university departments of English Literature as providing subject matter worthy their attention. There is record of the inclusion of several works by Emerson and Hawthorne in a general course in English literature as early as the nineties. There may have been other instances of such incidental recognition of American writers, but no doubt the total has been practically negligible. The subject demands mention here, however, since in four Canadian universities it is now regularly

studied, either by itself or coupled with Canadian literature. Such work was begun at McGill as long ago as 1907, at Acadia in 1914, at Queen's in 1920, and at British Columbia in 1925. At the last named university, where instruction is given by an American, it is perhaps out of deference to the possible susceptibilities of some Canadians that in the title of the course the term American is used, not in its national sense, but to include English-Canadian literature as well as that of the United States.

Provincial publicists, even in the days before confederation, rarely dealt at length with the political problems of British North America, and, in particular, with the question of a union of the provinces, without drawing lessons from the history of the United States and the working of American institutions. Our journalists and politicians have always been prone to reenforce their editorials and to enliven their oratory by citation of American precept and example, with praise or condemnation according to the supposed temper of their public. While the value of such references may too often have been marred by the occasions of their utterance and the ulterior motives or limited knowledge of their authors, they may be taken as evidence of interest in the subject. More germane, however, to the present inquiry is the production by Canadians of a notable if not extensive body of scholarly and candid works concerning the neighbouring republic.

When Goldwin Smith's *The United States: an Outline of Political History, 1492-1871*, was published in 1893, its author may fairly be considered to have become a Canadian; he had been a resident of Toronto for more than twenty years and had identified himself with the intellectual and political circles of his adopted city. His *United States* was a brilliant narrative, so admirably balanced that it found use as a text for several years in universities across the border as well as in Canada. A number of Canadians have written upon the

wars which are part of American as well as of British and Canadian history. Of these at least two have been led into distinctively United States history to such a degree that their authority has been conspicuously recognized by Americans. The editors of that admirable series *The Chronicles of America*, brought out by the Yale University Press after the pattern of the earlier *Chronicles of Canada*, having sought Canadian writers as a matter of course for the peculiarly Canadian volumes, also invited Professor George M. Wrong to deal with the Revolution in *Washington and His Comrades in Arms* and Colonel William Wood to write the military volume on the Civil War, *Captains of the Civil War*. Colonel Wood has also more recently received American recognition in being asked to prepare the two naval and military volumes of the *Pageant of America*, now being published in fifteen volumes by the same Press. Another Canadian scholar who has made important studies of topics belonging strictly to United States rather than general North American history is Professor Fred Landon of the University of Western Ontario, whose writings on the slavery question are well known.

Most of our writers, however, who have dealt with the United States, have done so in connection with subjects which are likewise Canadian or British. Not only wars, but boundaries and fisheries, settlement and communications, tariffs and trade, have inevitably required in their handling some consideration of the American side of the issue involved. Works falling under this category are numerous, but too few of them reveal either as adequate study or as true appreciation of the American background and point of view as they do of the Canadian. In the realm of literary history, nevertheless, there is one to which this criticism does not apply, Professor R. P. Baker's valuable monograph, *A History of English-Canadian Literature to the Confederation: Its Relation to the Literature of Great Britain and the United States* (Cam-

bridge, Mass., 1920), in which the American share in our cultural ancestry and early relations is emphasized as well as the British.

Within the last decade, lectureship foundations have provided occasion for at least three significant volumes on relations between the United States and Canada. In the Cole Lectures delivered at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, in 1917, just after the Republic's entry into the war, the late James A. Macdonald of the Toronto *Globe*, journalist and scholar, expounded the democratic ideals of representative government held in common by the peoples of these two countries. Printed under the title, *The North American Idea* (New York and Toronto, 1917), they educated Canadians as well as Americans in mutual understanding.² After the war the double audience was similarly reached by the lectures which Professor George M. Wrong delivered in 1919-20 on the Bennett Foundation at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., and published in 1921 as *The United States and Canada: A Political Study*. More historical and analytical than Macdonald's, this volume marked the new post-war American acceptance of Canadian status and promoted appreciation in Canada of the importance for the Dominion of a knowledge of America's past and present. Still more recently, and for auditors at British universities, upon the Sir George Watson Foundation for American History, Literature and Institutions, Sir Robert Falconer wrote his penetrating historical account of *The United States as a Neighbour, from a Canadian Point of View* (Cambridge, 1926), the most comprehensive study of the subject, in its cultural aspects as well as its political, that has thus far appeared.

In the narrower field of comparative politics or govern-

²Compare his *Democracy and the Nations; a Canadian View* (Toronto and New York, 1915), which deals largely with the United States and Canada.

ment, the late Sir John Bourinot, for many years clerk of the House of Commons and a notable constitutional authority, was the first Canadian to make expert comparison between the political systems of the Dominion of Canada and the United States. This he did as long ago as 1890, in his *Canadian Studies in Comparative Politics*. Important among more recent comparisons are those drawn by Mr. Justice Riddell, for example, in his Dodge Lectures at Yale on *The Constitution of Canada in Its History and Practical Working* (New Haven, 1917); by Professor Wrong in a chapter of the work cited above; and by Professor H. A. Smith, who has just left the McGill faculty of law to take over the new chair of international law at the University of London, whose *Federalism in North America: A Comparative Study of Institutions in the United States and Canada* (Boston, 1923) presented in engaging fashion, intelligible to the inexpert, a comparison of the Canadian and American systems of government.³

Closely related to the questions thus far discussed is the growth of personal and official relations between Canadian scholars and their professional co-workers across the line. Goldwin Smith maintained links with the United States after moving to Toronto from Cornell, and became a member of the American Historical Association which was founded in 1884. He was its president in 1904 though unable, because of his advanced age, to attend the annual meeting. More active interest was shown, from the early nineties, by Professor Wrong of Toronto and Professor C. W. Colby of McGill, both of whom maintained active connections, through the association, with American historians. Although Professor Colby gradually turned to business and eventually abandoned academic work, it is significant of his continued interest that

³More recently he has done a brief comparative study of the problem of judicial control of the constitution (*Yale Law Journal*, 1925, Vol. XXXIV, p. 277) and a short study of the referendum in both countries (*Constitutional Review*, Washington, January, 1926, Vol. X, p. 21).

in 1920 he was selected by the Executive Council of the Association as one of a small committee, including the French ambassador, J. J. Jusserand, Professor W. C. Abbott of Harvard, and later Professor J. S. Bassett, the secretary of the association, to consider the present state of historical writing on this continent. The publication of their report, *The Writing of History* (Scribner's, N.Y., 1926), has had no small influence in arousing the profession to a larger sense of the need of gracious manner no less than sound matter, if historians as a class are to justify themselves to society and are to realize the possibilities of their profession. Mr. Wrong was for many years a member of the Council of the American Historical Association and took part in the founding of the *American Historical Review* in 1895. For a time also he was on the board of editors of that *Review*. Besides his close and influential connection with this most important organization of the American historical profession, he was elected to succeed Goldwin Smith, upon the latter's death in 1910, as a member of the American Antiquarian Society, and was also elected corresponding member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Such friendly recognition by American bodies doubtless indicates their appreciation not only of his scholarship but also of his zeal in promoting mutual friendship and understanding between the historians and the peoples of their country and of ours. Dr. Shortt also long ago established close and fruitful relations with American historians as well as political economists.

Recently professional links have been increased through growth in the number of Canadians who have studied in the United States. About a third of the present members of the history departments in English-Canadian universities have received training in graduate schools across the border. Canadian participation in the American Historical Association has continued to grow till to-day the Canadian member-

ship numbers sixty, of which about a third are libraries, and the rest individuals. Half the universities in the country have the *Review* on their library shelves and nearly a score of our university teachers of history are found among the members. At the annual meetings, no matter how far from the border the meeting-place may be, there is always at least a handful of Canadians, and lately there have been rumours that in the not distant future the Association might accept an invitation to meet in this country. It is not irrelevant to remark also that numerous Canadian economists and political scientists are likewise increasingly in touch with their professional fellow-workers over the border, as indeed are scholars in all fields of knowledge. But for students of the social sciences, and particularly historians, the validity of whose findings so often depends upon a just estimation of the imponderables in national life and genius and in international relations, such intercourse has possibilities of special worth.

Canadian study of the history, institutions, and literature of the United States, stimulated by growing recognition of its value, and aided by wider and more intimate converse between Canadian and American scholars, is likely to become still more widespread and more thorough, as well as more impartial in its point of view and more significant in its illumination of Canadian history and Canadian problems. Its effects are bound to be felt increasingly beyond university circles. Teachers in our schools who have studied the history of the United States with some thoroughness in the university are likely to carry into their teaching of Canadian and British, and modern European history an understanding of our neighbour which will tend to destroy rather than foster those prejudices, the natural heritage from a jealous and sometimes hostile past, which are inimical to the maintenance of that intelligent good-will upon which depends the happiness of our future relations. To know one's neighbour better is also to

see oneself more truly, and the knowledge is apt to lead to a fuller sense of one's own identity at the same time that it tends to promote more neighbourly living.

In the field of productive scholarship it is fitting that Canadian historians should, as yet, be working chiefly in Canadian history, for which sources of major importance are most ready to hand. Hardly less accessible, however, is material for research in the history of the United States, which Canadian investigations often touch, and which is so important also for its own sake. Those who have had occasion to work in American libraries, whether on Canadian or other topics, know with what hospitality their task has always been facilitated. As Canadian culture grows more mature, the historical profession in Canada will come to have the world for its field of research, but in the immediate future it may be well to remember that the world includes the rest of North America, and that in the process of expanding Canadian interests there is reason for gratitude that the field of the history of the United States is not only near at hand but open to tillage under most favourable conditions.

THE ATLANTIC FISHERIES

BY GEORGE FARQUHAR

THE appointment of a Royal Commission for the investigation of the fisheries of the Maritime Provinces and the Magdalen Islands has turned the attention of Canada to the Atlantic Fisheries. They are among the richest in the world; only two other areas are to be compared with them, that off Behring Strait and that off the western coast of Northern Europe. Nova Scotia is strategically located for their exploitation. From her earliest settlement, fishing has been an occupation of primary importance. Canso was the base of the New England fishing fleet, as Louisburg was of the French. For a time Annapolis, which was little more than a fort, and Canso were the only English settled places on the peninsula. Governor Phillips visiting Canso in June, 1729, found "250 vessels and between 1,500 and 2,000 men employed in catching and curing fish," and he wrote home enthusiastically "that he thought the fishermen there contributed more to British customs revenues than the produce of any other province except Virginia."

Two hundred years later depression lay upon the fishing fleets, and distress was most acute in the area about Canso. Here on July 1st, 1927, when the rest of Canada was celebrating its sixtieth anniversary, a group of 43 fishermen met to consider their sorry plight. The clergy of Antigonish meeting in conference also discussed the situation. Both bodies requested that the fisheries be made the subject of investigation. The Canso fishermen claimed that fishing could be carried on only at a loss by the individual fisherman. The net return was barely enough to cover running expenses and

left nothing for depreciation and replacement of gear. One fisherman said the return from his employment allowed him only ten cents per meal for each member of his family, with nothing for clothing and other household expenses. This was said to be typical of conditions among fishermen in the vicinity.

About the same time an incident happened which showed that all was not well at the other end of the Province. A Clarke's harbour fisherman brought in his boat with fish, asked the buyer the price, learned it was only 75 cents a hundred, and without a word cast off his moorings and dumped his catch overboard. He then ran his boat into harbour and tied her up, saying he was through. As one-seventh of the people of Nova Scotia make their living from the fisheries, the gravity of the situation was apparent. A staff representative of *The Halifax Chronicle* visited the fishing areas, ascertained that the complaints were well founded, and the newspaper aided in making the facts of the situation known. Distress was greatest among the off-shore fishermen, who were almost exclusively employed in the fresh fish trade. The Canso situation was more acute owing to its greater comparative isolation, the lack of ready transportation, and the necessity of taking whatever price the buyer offered. There was no competitive buying. Fish were plentiful but many boats were high and dry because the return did not warrant putting them in the water.

Formerly the fish were either salted and dried or pickled. Both the off-shore and the deep-sea fishermen split and salted the catch, brought it ashore and dried it on flakes in the sun. But about twenty-five years ago the salt fish market declined and the demand for fresh fish gradually took its place. The fish flakes disappeared and the fishermen prepared to meet the changed marketing conditions. For a time they were fairly prosperous but gradually expenses increased, while prices did not advance in equal measure. Prices rose during the war but fell at its close, although the fisherman's costs

remained abnormally high. Then followed a long period of decline, culminating in the distressing conditions of 1927. The actual earnings of one of the larger and better equipped Canso boats of seven men for a season of three months in 1927 were \$135 per man as compared with \$346 in 1926. Fishermen's supplies, clothing, and ordinary living commodities, meanwhile, had risen in price. To add to his difficulties, the Fordney tariff of two cents a pound excluded his fish from the Boston market.

The Lunenburg deep-sea fleet still continued in the dried fish industry, but its costs, likewise, were greater than those of its American competitor who fished in the same waters. Men were leaving the deep-sea fleet, replaced by Newfoundlanders who sailed with it out of Lunenburg. Year after year men left the province for the New England states and joined the Gloucester fleet. Many followed the practice of fishing with the American fleet and returning to their families only for a short period in the winter; others left the country permanently. Along the Nova Scotia coast were derelict houses with windows boarded up, the deserted cottages of fishermen, and the struggling fishing communities bore the marks of depressing poverty. It was estimated that the fishermen were leaving the Province at the rate of a thousand a year. The fishing fleets of New England were being manned by Canadians. Equipping their ships for less, and taking their catch into Boston free of duty, they only made it more difficult for the Nova Scotians who remained at home. The international schooner race, won by the *Bluenose*, was not a competition of Bluenose with "Yankee", but of Bluenose with Bluenose, for the American schooner was captained by a skipper from the Nova Scotia fleet.

The fishermen had never learned co-operation. But in 1927, driven by necessity, they began to draw together. Their position was stated by one intelligent fisherman, whose attitude

may be taken as typical. "My father fished all his life and worked hard and was considered a first-class fisherman. He is seventy-six now and has to look to his sons for bread. I have fished for forty years. I have fished in Gloucester and fished in trawlers and fished here. Now when I get my bait and gasoline paid and keep up the gear, there is nothing left. If we lose an anchor or wreck a net, smash a boat, or have some other loss, if we got anything worth while for our fish, we could go on hoping to make up the loss next time. But what I want to know is whether this is going to keep on the way it is. If there isn't going to be a living in it, then I want to know, so I can get out now. I don't want to end the way my father did." Something was wrong; they asked the authorities to find out what it was.

Figures prepared by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics show the rising fisherman's costs, while the value of the catch was relatively declining. These give the Capital Investment, which includes the value of vessels, boats, nets, traps, piers and wharves, etc., also of canning and curing establishments, and working capital.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Capital Investment</i>	<i>Value of Catch</i>	
1880	\$ 2,895,259	\$ 6,291,061	Over double investment.
1890	3,243,310	6,636,444	" " "
1900	3,278,623	7,809,152	" " "
1910	5,334,083	10,119,243	More than Investment.
1915	7,899,112	9,166,851	" " "
1916	8,661,643	10,092,902	" " "
1917	11,702,311	14,468,319	" " "
1918	13,084,412	15,143,166	" " "
1919	13,971,628	15,171,929	" " "
1920	13,347,270	12,742,659	Less than Investment.
1921	12,265,465	9,778,623	" " "
1922	12,860,960	10,209,258	" " "
1923	12,188,808	8,448,258	" " "
1924	10,890,472	8,777,251	" " "
1925	11,674,790	10,213,779	" " "

This indicates a steady rise in costs up to 1920. Then the capital investment declines, though in 1925 it was still as great as in 1917. Unfavourable fishing conditions (affecting the size of the catch) and variations in the market price combine to change the value of the catch from year to year. But the value of the catch compared with the invested capital shows an almost uniform decline. Beginning in 1880, with a value considerably more than double the investment, it gradually falls until from 1920 forward it is less than the invested capital. The figures confirm the fishermen's contention that high costs and low prices were forcing them out of the industry.

The Reports of the Chief Inspector for the Province of Nova Scotia show that conditions were growing rapidly worse after 1919. The Report for 1920 says: "In some localities the catches did not bring returns sufficient to pay operating expenses and afford a means of livelihood, resulting in a considerable number of the fishermen engaging in other occupations." The same story is told in the Report for 1923. The situation had improved in 1925; the fresh fish market was expanding, the weather had been favourable, and the value of the catch was greater. Discussing the "Problem of the Shore Fishermen" the Report for that year says:—

"While the loss in our fishing population is to be deplored, the industry is in a much more promising condition than in its history, due largely to the creation of fresh fish centres. The demand for sea food is growing more insistent, and . . . the demand is difficult to meet. . . .

To meet the demands of the fresh and smoked fish markets, particularly during the winter season, the steam trawler fleet of six steamers was increased to ten."

This touches one of the bitter grievances of the fishermen—the coming of the trawler. There was opposition to the trawler from the time of its first appearance. But from 1910

trawlers were constantly operating off Nova Scotia until in 1927 there were ten. Some of these were owned by Nova Scotia firms; others sailed on charter out of Grimsby. Many of them were manned by Faroe Islanders, who worked for a low wage.

The decline in the demand for salt fish and the increase in the demand for fresh fish altered the character of the industry. Where formerly the fisherman was able to salt and dry his fish at his leisure, now the fish must be landed and placed on the market in a fresh state. Rapid transit and cold storage became essential. Some sections, such as Lunenburg, still continued curing for the dried fish market, but the larger development looked to meeting the growing demand for fresh fish.

This resulted in a re-alignment of the fishing companies. Cold storage plants had to be provided, and factories erected to prepare the fresh fillets for market and to smoke and can the new brands required to meet the changed demand. This involved localization of the industry and the concentration of control in a few persons. Where there was competition in buying and quick transportation the fisherman did not fare so badly. Where competition, storage facilities and quick transport were lacking, the fisherman was compelled to take whatever price was offered. The fishermen on the isolated coasts were hardest hit; they could catch plenty of fish, but got little for them.

The fish companies chartered the trawlers, which at first fished only in the winter months, because only thus, it was alleged, could they insure a steady supply of fresh fish. But, the ships being chartered, the companies were bound to take all the fish they caught. The shore fishermen supplied the balance. When the trawler catches were large, there was not the same demand for the off-shoreman's fish, and he, naturally, blamed the trawler for his troubles. During these years the

fishing vessels themselves changed. The sail boat and hand line largely disappeared; larger boats, driven by gasoline, and the trawl line came into use. Speed was essential if the fish were to be delivered fresh. As things went from bad to worse, hostility to the trawler became more bitter. The fishermen claimed they were able to supply the whole fresh fish demand without the trawler, which, with cheaper labour and no taxes, was gradually driving them out. Meetings held at different points during 1927 indicated the character of the fishermen's complaints against the trawler. When the price of fish fell, it was said, the trawlers glutted the market; trawler fish were kept in cold storage, and displaced their fresh fish; the trawlers, they claimed, destroyed the feeding grounds and the spawn and thus depleted the fisheries; they were longer at sea and brought in bruised and inferior fish; they killed and flung back into the sea undersized fish and destroyed the fishing gear. They claimed that inspection was inefficient; that inferior trawler fish spoiled the market by reducing the demand; and asked for storage facilities and quicker transportation. These several complaints, supported by the press and the clergy, prompted the federal government to appoint a Royal Commission in October, 1927, under the chairmanship of the Hon. A. K. MacLean, to investigate not only the fisheries of Nova Scotia but of the whole Atlantic coast.

The Commission sat for many weeks at widely scattered points; it visited the chief places on the coasts and paid the expenses of representative fishermen from outlying districts to appear before it. Its report, presented in May, 1928, dealt with the fisheries resources, aids to fishermen, transportation, rapid freezing, inspection, markets, education of fishermen, co-operation, administration, and presented majority and minority findings regarding the trawler. It urged further investigation of various phases of the question. Only its main features can be mentioned in this article.

The report recommended that men should be sent occasionally to study and observe the customs, conditions and requirements of the dried fish trade in other producing and consuming countries; that investigation be carried on to secure further markets for dried fish; that salt fish should be tagged with its name and grade, and, in case of further complaint, that the Atlantic Experimental Station establish standards of grades. It suggested that weather forecasts should be broadcasted to the fleet; that more rapid transportation should be provided and that the question of the reduction in the duty on fishermen's supplies should be referred to the Tariff Board.

As a result of the study of rapid or brine freezing for several years at the Atlantic Experimental Station at Halifax, the brine freezer was devised. With ordinary salt brine at zero Fahrenheit it is possible to freeze a piece of fish an inch thick in fifteen minutes. A tank has been made which will freeze half a ton in an hour. Rapid freezing preserves the texture and flavour of the fish, and prevents deterioration. "As a result of the process, the housewife will be enabled to buy fresh fillets so rapidly frozen at very low temperatures that the fresh cells do not break, the juicy textures and flavour are retained, no bacteria can breed, and all the qualities of fresh fish are present. And the fish is all ready to cook and requires no preparation." Fish can be frozen immediately after landing, collected from the freezers, placed in storage, and with proper refrigerator cars can be delivered at great distances in as good condition as when it left the water. This process, the report suggests, may revolutionize the whole fresh fish industry and increase the market to an almost unlimited extent. It recommends that proper grades of fish and methods for inspection be worked out by the Atlantic Experimental Station as quickly as possible and that Inspectors be appointed to carry them out; that all fish retail shops should be made the subject of municipal regulation; that the Department should

assist in experimental shipments of fresh fish to European markets, and that an adequate plan of education regarding the processes of the industry should be devised.

The Commission finds that fishermen have not been adequately organized. They should get more of the consumer's dollars, and for his dollar the consumer should get more fish. Over 40,000 fishermen have practically no co-operative association. It recommends that co-operative organizations, through which the fishermen could buy and sell, should be formed, and that an experienced organizer should be sent by the Department to help in initiating the movement; that zones should be established and small brine freezers established in each zone; that a large storage plant and possibly a fish waste plant should be established within one day's transit from the brine freezers; that a separate Department of Fisheries be created; that a fisheries intelligence branch be formed, and that inspectors and overseers should be properly trained.

The Commissioners differed regarding the steam-trawler. The majority report, signed by four members of the board, holds that the complaint that the trawler destroys the spawn of cod and haddock and the feeding grounds is not supported by scientific investigation but that there is ground for the claim that immature fish are destroyed, and that the trawlers destroy the fishermen's gear. They recommend an international conference to deal with this problem as it is on the open sea and outside Canadian jurisdiction. "Fish dealers in Montreal said they preferred shore-caught to trawler-caught fish, and would buy the first in preference to the second, but as trawler-caught fish were not marked, there was nothing to substantiate the complaint that inferior trawler fish had had an injurious effect on the market." They then consider the glutting of the market by the trawler.

"All other objections are secondary. The phrase 'glutting of the market' means control of the market.

The consumer's prices of fish do not change materially even when the product is abundant. When there are large catches of fish, the companies operating steam-trawlers do not buy from the shore fishermen, or they buy at their own price. The shore fishermen have received as low as 60 cents a hundred pounds for cod. The average cost of production, it is claimed, is three-quarters of a cent a pound (75 cents a hundred). As the fisherman has to sell, as a rule, in the cheapest market and buy in the dearest, and as the cost of the necessities of life in fishing villages, and of implements of production, has increased rather than declined, he feels that it is hopeless longer to remain in the industry at home, and he seeks employment elsewhere. The figures show a gradual decrease from over twenty-eight thousand in 1890 to about sixteen thousand in 1927, or a decrease of over 40%. The problem seems to be largely one of choice between the steam-trawler and the shore fisherman. One or the other must go. There would seem to us to be no alternative."

Their Report then observes that if the ten steam-trawlers were operating to capacity they would supply more than the entire Canadian demand for the fresh fish of the Maritime Provinces, and the shore fishermen would have no market left them. The trawler crews number only about 200 men. It argues that the shore fishermen are able to supply the whole demand without the trawler and concludes—"Steam-trawlers should in our judgment, without fear of consequence, be prohibited from landing their fish and from obtaining supplies at Canadian ports, in order that the fishing population of the Maritime Provinces may be protected and retained."

The minority report, signed by the chairman alone, is unable to concur with these conclusions.

"Public policy respecting the use of trawlers should not be lightly reversed, after its acceptance for fifteen years. Its prohibition might cause injury to those whom it is expected to benefit. The trawler controversy

is confined to Nova Scotia. On the evidence available to the Commission, it is impossible to state what proportion of fish taken by trawlers are immature. The evidence available does not establish any alarming or wasteful destruction of immature fish by the trawler, or that the supply of fish is thereby diminishing. There is nothing to indicate that the effect of trawler fishing, up to the present time, has been to diminish the stock of cod and haddock. The decline in the number of fishermen from 1890 to 1911-12 in Nova Scotia, was from 28,244 to 21,661; this was greater than the decline from 1911-12 to 1927, which was 21,661 to 16,127; and it was during the latter period that the trawler came into general use. There has been a decline in the number employed in the fisheries as in other occupations, due to general economic conditions, to a shifting of population from fishing sections to the towns and cities, and to migration elsewhere. It seems difficult, however, to assert with confidence that the trawler has been the cause of a decline in the number employed in the fresh fish branch of the industry. The operators assert that these markets can only be held with the assistance of the trawler; and if it is prohibited these markets would be substantially lost to all producers. Were it not for trawlers, during portions of the past winter months, dealers in Montreal and Toronto would have been obliged to purchase their supplies in the United States. It was to meet such contingencies that the trawler was introduced. There is doubt as to the capacity of boat and vessel fishermen, as at present equipped, to supply the fresh fish markets of Quebec and Ontario, and graver doubts still as to their capacity for some years to meet the requirements of all fresh fish markets supplied from the Maritime Provinces. I cannot concur in the recommendation made by my colleagues concerning the prohibition of trawlers, and I must therefore very respectfully dissent from them upon this point."

The minority report also recommends an international

conference to prepare regulations controlling trawlers in the open seas and the creation of an international body to determine whether certain fishing grounds can withstand unregulated fishing by trawlers; how trawlers may be regulated or controlled; and what areas, if any, should be closed to trawler fishing.

“Wholesale and retail dealers of fresh fish in the consuming centres appear willing to pay at the coast such a price for fish as would yield a remunerative return to fisherman and shippers, which neither of them seems to be receiving at present. Nova Scotia shippers are responsible for market quotations which depress the market price below a remunerative level. The severe and unrestrained competition between shippers is the cause of market disturbances which react adversely upon fishermen as well as on themselves. They strike at one another by elevating prices to fishermen in certain localities, beyond the point warranted by general market conditions; and again, by cutting prices at the points of large consumption below the cost to themselves. The number of trawlers in use should not exceed that number which will produce, from time to time, the market requirements in excess of boat and vessel production. The interest of trawler owners and general public interests would be best served by such a policy, and no sacrifice would be required in its adoption. It is difficult to do this by any form of licensing; this would involve discrimination by the licensing authorities and would be difficult of administration. This can best be done by the trawlers themselves.”

The Royal Commission therefore did not settle the trawler question. The majority report would shut the trawler out of the market altogether; the minority report would restrict its use, but leave restriction in the hands of the trawler owners. This would seem to leave the matter much as it is now. While there is no evidence of depletion of the fisheries, when it is stated that if the ten trawlers now operating (and manned by

only 200 men) were operated to capacity, they could produce more than the present Maritime output of fresh fish, grave questioning arises as to the ultimate effect on the sources of supply. It would appear that their greater use would displace the boat fishermen entirely.

Leaving the trawler question to one side, there is little doubt but that the Commission has already done much good. Almost immediately following its report better prices were paid the boat fishermen and this has continued throughout the season. What part, if any, the report played in this, it is difficult to say. The giving of ample opportunity to the fishermen to set their case before the authorities, in itself, produced a better feeling. The fishermen are forming associations. They are calling for organization and seeking leadership. The co-operative idea is gaining headway and they are awakening to the necessity of organization to protect their own interests.

The short courses at the newly established Fisheries School were largely attended and more fishermen are eager to improve their knowledge of the industry. A separate Department has been created under the charge of a Deputy Minister. Storm signals as well as quotations of prevailing market prices are being broadcasted to the fleet. A huge cold storage plant, costing \$2,500,000, is nearing completion at Halifax. The fishermen are hopeful that the new rapid freezing process, or brine freezer, will lead to such an expansion of markets as will insure steady development. This is, possibly, the most encouraging feature of the present situation.

THE DECLINE OF THE ASQUITH REGIME

BY W. M. CONACHER

THESE latest contributions to the literature of the Great War¹ have a common characteristic—some readers will find it a common defect: they make no attempt at a connected narrative of the history of the war on the political side but only comment on certain incidents here and there, leaving out many things of which the informed reader would gladly know more; and yet curiously enough they supplement one another so that reading them side by side one begins to get quite a good idea of the perspective of events on the “Home Front” during the period 1914-16.

Lord Beaverbrook’s work might have a subtitle “The Decline and Fall of the Asquith Régime.” The important part of Lord Oxford’s book states his case on one or two of the crises in that decline. Oddly enough neither of them, although they devote several pages to the minor controversy when a suspended Home Rule Bill was put on the statute book, makes more than the merest passing reference to “Easter Week.” Yet surely this was one of the most important events on the “Home Front,” of equal importance with the vagaries of Greece or Roumania during the same time.

In the beginning of *Politicians and the War* Lord Beaverbrook seems rather to strain a point when he says that a Coalition Government was from the first “in the air” and that “there were three separate attempts to form such a coalition,” when he can only cite sporadic efforts of Winston

¹*Politicians and the War, 1914-16*, by the Rt. Hon. Lord Beaverbrook (Thornton and Butterworth).

Memories and Reflections, 1852-97, Vol. ii, by the Earl of Oxford and Asquith, K.G. (McLelland and Stewart).

Churchill as a basis for two out of these three attempts. Neither is his account of the incidents which did lead up to the first Coalition Ministry quite in accord with Lord Oxford's version of events. He does indeed bring out more clearly perhaps than it has yet been done, how the whole question turned on the relations of Fisher and Churchill and the reactions—one may as well say at once the antipathy—of the Conservative party towards the versatile Winston, but when one examines the data supplied by the two books one is inclined to doubt whether, failing a coalition, the Fisher resignation would have wrecked the Asquith Government.² The general Conservative attitude was "support the experts and to hell with the minister," particularly Winston. But supposing Asquith had refused a coalition and a debate had taken place on Fisher's resignation from the Admiralty, what kind of a case could the Opposition have made out if Asquith had read Admiral Fisher's ultimatum—a document given in the Asquith book but of which Lord Beaverbrook seems to be ignorant? Here it is:—

"If the following six conditions are agreed to I can guarantee the successful termination of the war and the total abolition of the submarine menace. . . .

1. That Mr. Winston Churchill is not in the Cabinet to be always circumventing me, nor will I serve under Mr. Balfour.

2. That Sir A. K. Wilson leaves the Admiralty and the Committee of Imperial Defence and the War Council (for reasons appended).

3. That there shall be an entire new Board of Admiralty as regards the Sea Lords and the Financial Secretary (who is utterly useless),

²Asquith had just succeeded after infinite labours in bringing Italy into the war. In a debate Asquith would not have made capital out of this, but Winston, whose life was at stake, most certainly meant to.

4. That I shall have complete professional charge of the war at sea together with the absolute sole disposition of the Fleet, and the appointments of all officers of all rank whatsoever, and absolute and untrammelled command of all the sea forces whatsoever.

5. That the First Lord of the Admiralty should be restricted to policy and parliamentary procedure . . . as Mr. Tennant M.P. (is) with Lord Kitchener (and very well he does it).

6. That I shall have sole absolute authority for all construction and dockyard work . . . and for the whole of the Civil Establishments of the Navy.

These six conditions must be published verbatim so that the Fleet may know my position."

Surely no war leader has been so truculent since the days of Joab; and if the Conservative party had given Fisher the blank cheque he demanded here, how long would they have honoured it, one may ask, when it is recalled that Fisher resigned once because the Government refused to shoot all German prisoners as a reprisal for Zeppelin raids, and when it is also recalled that no sooner were the Conservatives in office in the Coalition ministry than they joined the hue and cry against Kitchener, using this weapon as one of the indictments against the Asquith régime?

Lord Beaverbrook, however, says categorically that the Fisher resignation was the cause of the downfall of the Government. Lord Oxford is equally categorical the other way. "The determination recorded in my two letters (calling on his Cabinet to resign) was not the result of this communication (Bonar Law's letter demanding an inquiry into the Fisher resignation) . . . It had been come to by me quite independently in the exercise of my own judgment." One consideration, however, does not seem to have weighed as heavily with Asquith as one would have expected. The Parliament expired

in 1915. If an election was unthinkable in war time, the only justification for extending its life was surely a Coalition Government. The Conservative impatience with the Asquith Government seemed to be based on the traditional theory that they understand war and Liberals or democrats do not. Now it is true that the Spartans eventually got the better of their old democratic foes the Athenians, but in the struggle Hellas as a whole came crashing to the ground. In fact the only two sound precedents in support of this claim are the triumph of the Roman Senate over Carthage—a still more conservative power, and the victories of Venice over Genoa, but Venice had already anticipated Lloyd George by the creation of a Business Government. On the other side we have to number the struggles which ended with Marathon and Salamis, the fight for freedom of the Dutch Republics and, above all, the contest between King and Parliament which Cromwell ended at Marston Moor. Nor would it seem that the Conservatives could find much satisfaction in their own recent record in the Boer war—"Fifty thousand horse and foot going to Table Bay"—nor in their subsequent attempts at Army Reform, which was only accomplished by one of their particular *bêtes noires*—Lord Haldane.

One obstinate question that continually presents itself is this. Since Bonar Law and the Conservatives were against Winston Churchill and the Gallipoli adventure, and were in favour of Lord Fisher, were they in favour of his scheme for forcing the Baltic and were they prepared to infringe the neutrality of Danish waters, which it implied? That scheme has always remained a mystery but it would seem that if it were put into operation one of two things must happen. Either the British Fleet must enter the Baltic as a whole, or it must be cut in two. Did Bonar Law and his associates have the nerve to take that risk when they considered the Dardanelles operation a gamble with Britain's final means of defence? Were they prepared to face the resignation of Admiral

Jellicoe, which from his subsequent strategy one would say was inevitable? If not, then one is compelled to think that consciously or unconsciously they were animated rather by the principle that it is the duty of the Opposition to oppose than by a sounder judgment or a purer patriotism.

A great deal of Lord Beaverbrook's book is taken up with a vindication of Bonar Law and an extolling of his character and capabilities. Thus he represents that on the formation of the first Coalition Government in 1915 there was an "intrigue" to keep Bonar Law out of any important office. The Conservatives demanded a fifty per cent. representation in the Government—rather more than their numbers entitled them to; Asquith, it would seem, consented by ear-marking beforehand the Premiership, the Foreign Office and the War Office. This left the Exchequer and the Lord Chancellorship as the next important positions to fill. One would have said that the leader of the Opposition was certainly entitled to the Exchequer, but Lloyd George was the occupant of that seat! True, he intended to vacate it for the new Ministry of Munitions but he wanted the reversion of it when peace should pipe again. So Mr. McKenna got it on those terms. This, says Lord Beaverbrook, was the fundamental weakness of the first coalition. Asquith did not play the game with Bonar Law so never enlisted his loyalty on his behalf and finally paid the penalty. Lord Asquith, it must be said, maintains rather a discreet silence on the matter, but there is just a suggestion that Bonar Law was considered even by some of his own party as an emergency leader only. Balfour probably did not look on him with any great enthusiasm, for had he not supplanted Balfour himself as the leader of the Conservative party? Lord Curzon again was back in active politics with a thirst for power no less strong than Winston's or Lloyd George's. Moreover, if Bonar Law gained little on the positive side, he certainly had made considerable claims on the negative, when

he demanded Haldane's elimination and black-balled Winston Churchill from anything but a minor office. All this formation of the coalition ministry in fact reminds one a little of Shakespeare's version of the operations of the second Triumvirate:—

Octavius. Your brother too must die: consent you,
Lepidus? . . .

Lepidus. Upon condition Publius shall not live,
Who is your sister's son, Mark Antony—

and Antony's subsequent description of Lepidus as "a slight unmeritable man meet to be sent on errands," is perhaps not far from Asquith's appraisal of Bonar Law. Lord Beaverbrook cannot understand Asquith's preference for Curzon, but he seems to forget that Balfour and Curzon were two of Mrs. Asquith's "Souls". For better or for worse Bonar Law did not belong and never could belong to that galley. The following extract from Asquith's diary is illuminating in this connection. A propos of a Bonar Law intervention in the House he writes: "Bonar Law followed with his usual indictment of us, and me in particular for lying and breaking faith, treachery, etc. . . . He did not really make out much of a case, and watching his people carefully I do not think they were at all united or enthusiastic." (Asquith's *Memories*, vol. ii, p. 40). It is in fact no doubt true that Asquith measured people by a cultural test, in which, for example, Lloyd George did not come out very high. Of Bonar Law's capacity the world at large has never had an opportunity of judging. He was chosen leader of his party solely as a protagonist of Protection, and as such he fought two unsuccessful campaigns. His speeches in the House had a note of acerbity which seems to accord oddly with the kindliness of disposition on which his friends insist. Evidently he was a shy man—and Asquith was another.

Lord Beaverbrook's book comes to an end just as our curiosity is most strongly piqued. He seems to be preparing to tell the whole tale but then he leaves off. His penultimate section deals with Lord Kitchener and his final chapter he calls 'the last phase', that is of Asquith's régime. But the reading of these two chapters does suggest a common thought. One knows perfectly well that in the field of athletic prowess some age, perhaps thirty-three, marks the zenith of a man's powers. The point of time is harder to fix in intellectual attainments or in a career depending chiefly on mental fitness. Yet evidently what was wrong with three men, who are considered in this book, is that they were past their prime.³ In the case of Lord Fisher it revealed itself in a childish megalomania and a want of balance, although perhaps the central faculties were unimpaired, the old acumen still there. In the case of Lord Kitchener, by common consent he gave himself too much to do and got muddled in consequence. In the case of Asquith it would seem that the prime requisite was to go slow, when the affairs of the nation demanded the contrary. Lloyd George's triumph over Asquith was, after all, a case of the adage that youth—comparative youth—must be served or it will help itself.

Among minor matters in *Politicians and the War* we have a delightful vignette of Mr. McKenna, admirably illustrated by a photograph in character, which is as telling as one of the cartoons E. T. Reed used to make of "smirking politicians." McKenna, we learn, was the sort of terrier who could give Lloyd George as good as he got, nip for nip and yap for yap. He in his turn as Chancellor of the Exchequer suffered under Lord Cunliffe who as Governor of the Bank of England claimed in his own sphere dictatorial powers.

³What is said here might apply equally to General French and Admiral Jellicoe. It is hard to avoid the impression that in the caution of the latter there entered a physiological element which would not have existed ten years before.

"This is a question of exchange. Leave this to me." Came a morning, however, when with drooping jowl he approached McKenna with a bill from the United States—£65,000,000 and a prompt settlement will oblige. "But this is a question of exchange," said McKenna with the utmost urbanity. It was, but unfortunately Lord Cunliffe could not lay his hand on the amount at that moment. "Leave this to me," said McKenna, and with deft forceps extracted the amount from the Prudential Assurance. Cunliffe *dictator exit!*

Of the actual end of the Asquith rule Lord Beaverbrook, as we have seen, says nothing—*quorum magna pars fuit* perhaps served as a restrainer. Asquith himself, while providing one or two stray leaves, secured from his friend and colleague, Lord Crewe, an outsider's view of the story. One might explain the whole affair quite briefly by saying that it was an example of what invariably happens in a change of ministry in France. The old combination is upset and replaced by a new combination which shapes itself. There is necessarily intrigue in the process and a certain amount of what is vulgarly called "dirty work at the cross-roads." The principals in this particular case might claim with justice that they acted from the highest possible motives of patriotism, and yet it would be a bold man who would assert that there were not also present motives of self-interest, of prejudice, of party-spirit and the settling of old scores. Nevertheless it is perhaps the most formidable indictment against Asquith that he was so oblivious to realities in his own immediate surroundings as to be left finally helpless and defenceless. There is the makings here of a great historical tragedy which will perhaps one day be written. But no dramatist can correctly portray the doers of the deed who does not put daggers in their hands.

One can absolve Bonar Law because as a hard-bitten politician he was convinced of the inferiority of Liberal leader-

ship and control—his attitude in fact is expressed by Lord Beaverbrook's own views and statements, and Bonar Law, be it said, never made anything for himself out of these deals. But the elder Unionist statesmen, those who had acted with Asquith with some cordiality and enjoyed his confidence, did they make no gesture, or was decency dead? Lord Crewe says that Curzon, Lord Robert Cecil and Chamberlain intimated to Asquith that while in favour of a change of ministry they did not desire his retirement. Eventually their scruples were overcome.

An interesting side light is furnished here by Desmond McCarthy in his *Life and Letters* (No. 6, Vol. I, *Lord Oxford: An Appreciation*). "After his fall in 1916, though apparently bearing it with the greatest equanimity, the shock produced an attack which for a few hours was taken for paralysis; when his own followers did not take him at his word that it was impossible to work any longer with Mr. Lloyd George the disappointment struck him down physically. . . . Once I remember he said to me: 'I will show you a comparison in poetry which moves me.' He took down a Coleridge and pointed to the lines:

Like an Arab old and blind
Some caravan has left behind."

Sunt lachrymae rerum.

A word might be said about the respective styles of both books. Asquith's is very much a production *en negligé*, in fact it made a better impression as it appeared in the daily press than in book form. The gaps are irritating—no record for example of Downing Street impressions on Jutland; but some of the little vignettes are inimitable, as for instance when Churchill and Lloyd George respectively lay bare their hearts. Some of the *obiter dicta* on books are very refreshing, although the very fact that these occupy the last half of Vol. II suggest that "all the after passages of life are spent in shallows and in miseries." The incidents of the Paisley election only throw

this into relief like the sun emerging for a moment as it goes down on a day of rain and storm.

Politicians and the War also, though an interesting book is not a great work. The style is marred by an attempt to be incisive at all times and at all costs. The portraits are for the most part well done, fair and often shedding a new light on the originals. But the arrangement is frequently faulty. What justification is there for a character sketch of Birkenhead under a chapter entitled "First and Second Kitchener"? Here and there the descriptive writing is reminiscent of Churchill, who is a first class rhetorician, but at other times it suggests rather John Buchan and is mere picture poster style. Thus, for example, of Kitchener's end—"So on a day in June, unnoticed, uncheered, almost unattended, the greatest living soldier of the Empire, a man who had become even in his lifetime a legend both to East and West, drove down to King's Cross. . . . Then the engine pulled out, and the train with its load of human greatness vanished into the night." And yet Lord Beaverbrook's hero, Bonar Law, made it his main object to send Lord Kitchener after 'Jacky Fisher', and also this ex-ironmonger was quite willing to succeed him at the War Office, if he had not promised to support the claims of his confederate Lloyd George. But the picture of Admiral Fisher, after resigning, peeping round the blind at a Cabinet Minister coming to intercede with him, is absolutely first class, showing all that 'sympathy' which makes a writer.

BRITISH IMMIGRATION

BY ROBERT ENGLAND

“All states that are liberal of naturalization towards strangers are fit for empire. For to think that an handful of people can, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion—it may hold for a time, but it will fall suddenly.”
—BACON.

“Canada wants immigrants; above all she wants them from the British Isles. . . . In her endeavour to secure immigrants of British stock, Canada is prepared to do more than extend a welcome.” This is the message the Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King recently gave to the British public in London. Opinions regarding the desirability or otherwise of any immigration, or allegations of administrative indifference or of obstruction in the campaign for British immigrants need not concern us here. The declared policy of the Canadian Government is clear.

It is claimed that every effort has been made and is being made to stimulate and encourage British immigration. According to the evidence presented to the Select Committee of the House of Commons, we are spending \$16.75 per head on British immigrants, as compared with 11 cents per head on Continentals and most of this expenditure is for the maintenance of an inspectional staff on the Continent. This does not include the cost of medical inspection nor the expenditure of the British Government, Canadian National and Canadian Pacific Railways for the same purpose. It cannot be said, however, that the results have been entirely satisfactory,

although Canada receives more British immigrants than does any other Dominion.

From 1881 to 1927 we admitted 5,447,653 immigrants—

From the British Isles	2,037,732
From the United States	2,105,511
Other Countries	1,304,410
(Chiefly Continental Europe)	

5,447,653

Three-quarters of this total entered during the present century and about one-quarter was admitted in the years 1911, 1913 and 1914. Over this four-year pre-war period the average admissions daily reached nearly 1,000. In 1913 the average per day reached as high as 1,102. From 1920 to 1927, Canada has admitted 928,676 (of which 420,843 have come from the British Isles), compared with over 1,100,000 for the years 1912, 1913 and 1914. The most serious decrease has been that of British, as the following returns show:

<i>Pre-War</i>		<i>Post-War</i> ¹	
1911	123,013	1920	59,603
1912	138,121	1921	74,262
1913	150,542	1922	39,020
1914	142,622	1923	34,508
		1924	72,919*
		1925	53,178
		1926	37,030
		1927	49,784
		1928	50,872

*Includes harvest movement, 1923.

It is clear from these figures that the British movement to Canada is cut in half as compared with the pre-war influx. Various reasons have been assigned for this condition. Steamship fares are now three times those of pre-war days. Conditions in Canada have changed — a decreased supply of homestead and cheap land, lack of railway construction com-

parable with that of pre-war days, post-war agricultural depression, and greater use of machinery in agriculture. Regulations have been changed and the Immigration Act is being enforced more strictly. Other factors, however, affect British immigration that are not so obvious and yet are more stubborn in resistance to treatment, especially from the outside. These arise from the social and economic structure of the Britain of to-day. This social structure and the economic conditions determining its character have changed radically in the decade 1914-1924.

Before the war, England might properly be described as a land of large families, where the young had to seek their future overseas and regarded the adventure as an escape from a sterner discipline than that to which modern youth is accustomed. State insurance against unemployment, sickness and old age had not yet become important. In point of numbers employed, agriculture held a leading place. Those employed in industry were, in many cases, only a generation from the soil. There were still large numbers engaged in transportation, for instance, whose livelihood depended on their knowledge of horses. Urban civilization was not so attractive and a drab and dull environment was the lot of the great majority. Industries producing luxuries such as artificial silk, automobiles, tobacco, radios and chemicals had not yet sprung up. The recruitment of workers into the textile, mining, iron and steel, and other staple industries proceeded along traditional lines, where son followed father, as a rule, into the same industry near his home. Hours and conditions of labour were onerous but the gospel of socialism had not taken its present hold on the working classes nor was there the modern expectation of State aid. Higher education was practically impossible for a child who had attended the average elementary school, except at the expense of health involved in the burning of midnight oil after a hard day's labour. These

conditions formed the background; in the foreground were steamship fares within the possible savings of every young man, reports of good conditions in Canada in an uncritical press, together with Canada's open door policy to all, irrespective of occupation or their wish to engage in other than agricultural work on arrival in Canada.

These conditions present a striking contrast to those of to-day. The present situation may be considered from the point of view of the distribution of population by sex and age and by occupation. The basic facts of the population, as estimated by the Registrar General for 1927, are:

Total population of Great Britain.....	44,182,000
Total population of England and Wales.....	39,290,000
Increase in 1927 about	200,000.

Children under 15 years of age number about 11,000,000. There are about 24,000,000 between the age of 15 and 55; over 6,000,000 over 55 years of age; there are 1,500,000 more females than males. On closer examination it will be found that the population is being maintained partly by the excess of births over deaths, and partly by the declining death-rate. It is highly probable that the death-rate is now at or about the lowest point, and owing to the change in the age distribution of the population it may soon show a slight upward trend.

The following tables show the birth-rate and death-rate per 1,000 population and the infant death-rate per 1,000 births since 1871.

	<i>Birth-rate</i>	<i>Death-rate</i>	<i>Infant ²</i> <i>Death-rate</i>
1871-1880	35.4	21.4	149
1881-1890	32.4	19.1	142
1891-1900	29.9	18.2	153
1901-1910	27.2	15.4	128
1911-1920	21.8	14.3	100
1921	22.4	12.1	83

1922	.....	20.4	12.8	77
1923	.....	19.7	11.6	69
1924	.....	18.8	12.2	75
1925	.....	18.3	12.2	75
1926	.....	17.8	11.6	70
1927	.....	16.6	12.3	70

There seems to be little change in the infant death-rate and with a decreasing birth-rate and an increasing death-rate, it is not surprising to find that the population of England which increased 10% in the decade prior to 1911 showed an increase of 5% only in the 1911-21 decade. It is quite within the bounds of possibility that the census of 1931 may show less than the normal decennial increase and the population *may begin thereafter to decrease progressively*. That constitutes a fundamental change in a country which has hitherto been the Empire's reservoir of potential settlers.

There are, approximately, one and three-quarter millions more females than males, or 1,096 females to 1,000 males. The relative number of women to men is increasing. An analysis of census figures indicates that in 1921 there were about 8,000,000 households, most of which centred around married couples, comprising a total population of over 36,000,000. There were only 59,000 families in England with more than six children, while there were 2,196,000 married men with no children under 16. The number of men and women with the responsibilities of maintaining a home would appear to be about the same but the number of children per home is decreasing. Young married men, who constituted and still constitute the main portion of Canada's British immigrants, now form a relatively smaller proportion of the population than ever before.

In connection with the distribution by age of population, the following table is instructive:

Age last Birthday	Numbers (000s) Males				Percentages of Year's Total					
	1891	1901	1911	1921	1926	1891	1901	1911	1921	1926
0- 4 ..	2,030	2,124	2,204	1,920)		13	12	11	9)	28
5-14 ..	3,775	3,898	4,100	4,091)		24	22	21	20)	
15-44 ..	7,283	8,522	9,404	9,359	9,636	45	48	47	46	46
45-54 ..	2,226	2,609	3,132	3,950	4,224	14	14	16	20	20
65+....	689	749	914	1,103	1,240	4	4	5	5	6
0-14 ..	5,805	6,022	6,304	6,011	5,800	36	34	32	29	28
15-64 ..	9,509	11,131	12,536	13,309	13,860	59	62	63	65	66
All ages	16,003	17,902	19,754	20,423	20,900	100	100	100	100	100

The number of children under 15 years of age in 1921 was much the same as in 1891, though the total population had increased by nearly ten millions during these 30 years. Though absolutely about the same in number, *children are relatively fewer than they were thirty years ago*. In securing immigrants we are thus faced with a situation where the number of younger people coming into the industry of the country in a few years time is likely to be less than it has been heretofore.

The *Survey of Industrial Relations* discusses this change in the character of England's population:

"The normal growth of the population was interrupted by the war, and it is interesting to compare the increase in the decade 1901-11, with that which took place in the next ten years, nearly half of which were war years. The total increase of the population of Great Britain in the former of these periods was over 3.8 millions and in the latter less than 2 millions, or scarcely more than half. The full significance of this contrast is seen if the increase of population is analysed by age groups, when it appears that, as the joint effect of the two causes referred to above, the increase of the population of 10 years of age and upwards fell by nearly 720,000, while in the case of children under 10 an increase of 368,000 was actually converted into a net decrease of 807,000. The figures on close examination indicate that the immense loss of life among the adult male population during the war was partly

offset by the stoppage of emigration, so far as its effect on the aggregate growth of population is concerned. But manifestly the distribution by age and sex, and hence the economic significance of the population lost through the war differed materially from that of the population retained through suspension of emigration.”⁴

England to-day is literally *the old country*. This fact has a most important bearing on the immigration problem. The constituency from which emigrants to Canada have hitherto been drawn, the young unmarried men, is definitely contracting, whilst parents with small families incline to keep their children at home. Furthermore, it may be expected that there will be more openings in industry for the young people now coming forward on account of an increase in the retirement and death rates of what is an older population than in pre-war days.

An examination of the distribution of the population by place of residence, occupation and social status reveals still more surprising changes. No less than 79.3% of the population of England and Wales in 1921 was living in urban areas. The world has never seen such a concentration of population in towns. Unfortunately, a small house in a large town, too often ugly and smoke-laden, is becoming the typical home of the Englishman. Approximately one-half of the population resides in about 100 towns with a population of 50,000 or over; 40% live in towns with a population of 100,000 or over; another 30% live in towns of over 1,000; living in man-made surroundings and shut off for the most part from contact with the country.

How do these make a living in this urban environment? A useful summary of the classification of population by industry in 1921 is given by Carr-Saunders and Jones in *The Social Structure of England and Wales*. They estimate that of every 100 occupied persons in the whole country, 53 were

engaged in making or producing things; 20 were engaged in buying and selling things, whether wholesale or retail, and in moving them where they were required, or were concerned with finance and insurance; 12 were told off to provide for the bodily needs and comforts of the other workers—and of the idlers; 6 were engaged in making and improving regulations under which the production and distribution of goods and services could be carried on in an orderly fashion; 3 were ministers, doctors, nurses, teachers, lawyers; 2 were enrolled in the defence of the State, and 1 in maintaining essential supplies of gas, water and electricity.

This industrial alignment is undergoing a transformation. North of a line joining the Severn and the Humber are the older industries; south of this line are the newer and more prosperous industries such as silk, the manufacture of electrical appliances, modern vehicles, furniture, etc., as the following table shows:

Table showing changes between July 1923 and July 1926 in the Total
Estimated Numbers of Insured Work People in Certain Industries
in Great Britain and Northern Ireland.³

Industry	Increase or Decrease in numbers, July 1923-July 1926	Percentage in- crease or De- crease between 1923 and 1926.
Silk (including artificial silk)	+ 13,420	+35.5
Brick, Tile, etc., making	+ 21,610	+35.2
Electric Cable, Wire and Electric Lamp manufac- ture	+ 15,710	+21.7
Distributive Trades	+260,850	+20.9
Tramway and Omnibus Service	+ 20,340	+18.6
Construction and Repair of Motor Vehicles, Cycles, Aircraft	+ 31,340	+16.3
Furniture Making, Upholstering	+ 14,310	+15.3
Laundries, Dyeing, Dry Cleaning	+ 15,630	+14.7
Printing, Publishing, Bookbinding	+ 23,550	+10.3
Road Transport other than Tramway and Omnibus +	14,700	+10.1
<hr/>		
Coal-mining	— 28,130	— 2.2
Woollen and Worsted	— 16,250	— 6.0
General Engineering	— 53,080	— 7.9
Steel Melting and Iron Puddling Furnaces, Iron and Steel Rolling Mills and Forges	— 18,850	— 8.9
Railways Service (non-permanent workers)	— 30,450	—15.9
Shipbuilding and Ship Repairing	— 46,080	—17.1

It is significant that these older staple trades or industries engage a larger proportion of older men while the newer industries such as automobile, furniture, etc., show a greater proportion of younger men. England is in the throes of a great change which bears heavily on the old, offers new opportunities to the young, and makes for a relatively prosperous South. The Dominions, in attempting to recruit the only category which will or can move—the young men—are met with the keen competition of the newer industries.

Only slightly more than a million are now engaged in agriculture. In 1851 *one in four* of the population was engaged in agriculture, to-day it is *one in ten*. There is no surplus of agriculturists. Three out of four of all occupied persons in Great Britain now follow indoor callings and the number is increasing.

There are, broadly speaking, over a million old age pensioners,⁴ two and a half million persons are occupied in commerce, finance, insurance and clerical work, or nearly 15% of all occupied persons; nearly one million and a half, or 10% of all occupied persons, are engaged in public or civil service; and a further 5% of the population are in receipt of some form of annuity or aid other than the old age pension. These represent classes to which Canada obviously can make little or no appeal.

The manual worker class, from which emigration to Canada has been recruited, constitutes about 50% of the total occupied population. In the October issue of the *Gazette*, issued by the Ministry of Labour,⁵ a comparison of the relative levels of rates of wages in August, 1914, and September, 1928, was made. Increases over the pre-war rates have not been shared equally by all classes. In some cases the increases in full time weekly rates were equivalent to only about 20% of the 1914 rates. In other cases the increases exceeded 100% of the pre-war rates. An exact calculation of the average

percentage increase for all industries and occupations is not possible, but as a guide to the movement of real wages, the following figures are useful:

	August 1914	December 1920	September 1928
Weekly wage rates	100	170-180	70-75
Cost of living	100	169	65

There has undoubtedly been a rise in the real wages of the worst paid worker since 1914 and a corresponding improvement in social conditions. With smaller families than in 1914, the worst paid workers have not only larger incomes but fewer calls upon these incomes.

The enquiry of the Minister of Labour is concerned only with wages and it does not take into account the shorter hours of employment and the increasing protection afforded to the worker by state insurance. The nature of this protection is not fully appreciated in Canada. The moderately skilled workman makes comparatively small contributions to his trade union and the various schemes of state insurance. The employer as well as the state is compelled to contribute to the schemes of state insurance. The worker is thus insured through his trade union, which usually has political representation, against a reduction of his wage. He is insured against sickness, unemployment and old age. When he reaches the age of 65, and if his wife is 65 or more, he is entitled to a pension of £1 per week on his own behalf or on that of his wife. The National Health Insurance Scheme provides for payment to the widow, in the event of his death, of 10/- per week for life, and of smaller weekly sums to the children until they reach the age of 14. In the event of the death of both parents the weekly pensions are substantially increased, and are paid irrespective of means or test. In most of the larger urban centres, in addition to free education, there is free medical inspection in the schools, a certain amount of free

medical attention as well as dental inspection and attention.

The total cost of the public social services of Great Britain, including housing, hospitals and workmen's compensation, etc., has been estimated by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health at £365,000,000 or one million pounds a day. Of this about 41% is derived from the contribution of those who benefited. Over 56 million pounds is paid by employers, and may be regarded as an enforced addition to wages and about £200,000,000 is derived from taxation and rates and is contributed by those who do not benefit. It will thus be seen how much the average worker in Britain has gained.

A pension of £1 per week at 65, which is the equivalent of an income of 5% on \$5,000, the protection against sickness and unemployment for his family in the event of his death, would normally cost the man of the white-collared middle-class from £50 to £60 a year in insurance premiums and he would be unlikely to find any insurance company willing to ensure him against the risk of unemployment. A Canadian seeking the same measure of protection and similar educational facilities and medical and dental services as a man earning £3. 10 a week in England would need a weekly wage of about \$25. It becomes clear, therefore, that the average manual worker in employment in England has much to lose by transferring to Canada.

This State protection and unemployment insurance in particular tend to make labour immobile. Professor Clay, discussing the internal migration of workers into newer industries and into areas of greater employment, says:

“There has been a great deal of movement, but less perhaps than there would have been if rights of benefit under the Unemployment Insurance scheme had not been continuously extended. The scheme has operated to check migration more particularly by encouraging

organized short time; instead of employment being concentrated on a limited number of full-time workers, the rest being totally unemployed and thereby encouraged to leave the industry, the available work is spread by a system of alternating shifts, in which the workers take turns to work and to receive unemployment benefit; so that the industry is enabled at the expense of the Insurance Fund to retain the services of twice as many workers as it can give full employment to.”⁶

This leads directly to the problem discussed in the report of the Industrial Transference Board issued in July, 1928.

“In certain of the heavy industries, and particularly in coal mining, there exists a definite surplus of labour over and above the requirements of the industries. The resulting unemployment, involving probably upwards of 200,000 workers (many with dependents); constitutes a tragic problem, necessitating the urgent and sympathetic attention of the entire country. This unemployment is of a special character; it is concentrated in areas where almost the whole community has depended on one or two industries, and whole communities, therefore, are involved in the slow paralysis it brings with it. It is not susceptible of solution by localized measures of relief.”⁷

The areas referred to are the coal-fields of Durham and Northumberland, South Wales and Scotland, with “pockets” in East Lancashire, Forest of Dean, in the Midlands, and in the Cannock Chase area. Some of the mal-adjustment of the labour supply is the direct result of the war. In England and Wales from 1911 to 1921, 162,000 additional workers were drawn into the mines, 323,000 into the engineering, shipbuilding and iron and steel trades, and 65,000 into the chemical trades. As far as the main munition industries are concerned,

the process of squeezing out surplus workers has been slow and painful, and is still incomplete. Unfortunately, the age distribution of the permanent surplus shows 50% over 36 years and 20% over 51 years; the emigration of these older groups to the Dominions is beset with great difficulty. Lest this should be thought a dark picture, it must be remembered that out of 11½ million working people insured under the Unemployment Insurance Acts, nearly eight million drew no unemployment benefit whatever, and, of the remaining three and a half millions, the benefit drawn by two and a half million in no single case exceeded 100 days in all during a period of two and a half years from October 1923 to April 1926.

There is no general trade depression to-day in the sense in which economists are accustomed to use the term. In many directions the new industries have provided compensation for the decline in the basic trades as regards both employment and the national income. The savings of persons with smaller incomes, for example, show an improvement, even allowing for the change in the real value of the pound sterling. The accumulated savings of small investors in 1925, the last year for which information is available, were nearly treble those of 1913.

Post-war Britain is approaching a stable population, relatively older, increasingly urbanized and industrialized, with newer industries moving towards the south and attracting the younger labour while the depressed staple industries afford insufficient employment. Yet one can point to an increased savings, improved standard of living and welfare, and better housing of the working classes, and their protection against misfortune by the Unemployment, Sickness, Widows' and Orphans' and old age insurance, despite the fact of England's return to the Gold Standard and her effort to balance her Budget and repay the United States. The employed are reasonably well cared for and will not be easily persuaded that

Canada offers them better opportunities; the unemployed and the younger people find it difficult, indeed impossible in many cases, to save the money necessary for transportation across the Atlantic; there is a critical press, opposed to emigration, and there are many advocates of a political gospel that preaches the building of 'a new Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land.'

The patriarchal relation or sentimental bonds that existed in such an industry as Baldwin's in its early days and the transition to the larger unit and purely economic contracts between employer and employed, is well described by Premier Baldwin's famous 'Peace in our Time' speech of 1925. The traditional attitude of dependence, of expectancy of external aid, has survived; the State rather than the employer is now regarded as the patron. The spirit of personal initiative and independence characteristic of the American and of the pioneer is not common among the working classes in Britain. Count Keyserling's comment is pertinent: "The growth of power of the lower strata in Europe is so pregnant with evil because even the most self-conscious and self-determined proletarian still clings to the traditional idea that it is the duty of the higher strata to look after him."⁸ No policy or programme for British immigration which disregards these changed conditions has any prospect of success.

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THE CASE FOR A QUOTA

BY W. BURTON HURD

FEW national issues have given rise to so many different shades of opinion as has immigration. Some believe in throwing our doors wide open. Perhaps the most extreme advocates of this policy are the idealists who think that since all men are brothers, they should be willing to live together. To restrict the entrance even of the Oriental is in their eyes an unchristian and unfair discrimination. Others advocate an open-door policy for whites only. "Before this century ends," writes Sir Donald Mann in a recent issue of the *Financial Times*, "Canada should have a population of 150,000,000 to 200,000,000, if the white man's civilization, institutions and culture are to survive. If the white men do not combine and co-operate to develop the vacant agricultural lands the coloured races will submerge the white races just as the dusky sons of the Arabian deserts and the savage hordes of Tartary submerged the Roman Empire." Such rapid growth of population implies a minimum of restraint on incoming white immigrants and the most generous encouragement of settlement.

Many are not so disturbed about the so-called 'yellow peril' and would be more selective than the above programme seems to postulate. Let people from all white countries come to Canada, they would say, in as large numbers as possible, but impose an effective physical, mental and moral test. They see Canada on the eve of a great commercial and industrial expansion; if her hopes are to be realized she must have people. Failing large numbers of immigrants, her future will be blighted, national stagnation will result and she will continue

to export to the United States the flower of her youth. The protagonists of this policy aver that we cannot afford to be too particular about the nationalities coming to our shores nor about their vocations. Immigrants should be white, sound physically and mentally, not morally deficient; beyond that we can require little.

Some, again, prefer building slowly but well. In their view immigration should conform to the specific requirements of our country rather than to the capacity of foreign peoples to reproduce. If our institutions and standards of living are to be preserved, we should so adjust the stream of incoming settlers that assimilation may readily take place. The assimilative test is applied by many in the economic field only. To prevent economic dislocation selection should be made on occupational grounds. The imperative need of Canada is the development of her extractive industries, agriculture, mining, and lumbering. Most of her immigrants, therefore, should follow these vocations or be prepared to do so, and suitable physical, mental and moral tests should be supplemented by a rigorous selection by vocations even at the expense of limiting the growth of population.

Others maintain that only those peoples should be freely admitted who show a marked predisposition to accept Canadian social standards and political ideals and who mix by intermarriage with the native population. By learning from the experience of the United States, they argue, we can avoid some of the errors which that nation has committed because of undue impatience for numerical greatness and material prosperity. That country has now realized the folly of unrestricted immigration. She has found that the ingredients in her racial melting-pot are not mixing and is trying to correct the mistake made three decades ago when it is all but too late. A short-sighted immigration policy, they say, will lay up never-ending trouble and will earn for this generation

of Canadians the merited rebuke that it sold its birthright for a transient material advantage.

This article presents the case for a restrictive policy. Attention is confined to the social and political aspects of the problem, not because they are the only phases deserving attention but because it is on such grounds that the strongest case may be made for the adoption of a quota system. Appeal to religious prejudice is patently un-British, and has already done much to discredit the quota in the eyes of many fair-minded citizens. Such an appeal, moreover, is particularly unfortunate since it is quite unnecessary. The experience of the past twenty-five years furnishes ample material of a purely secular nature for the construction of a strong argument in favour of regulating the proportions of the several nationalities immigrating to this country.

To provide a proper background, a few facts are presented respecting the sources of Canadian immigration, past and present. In 1901, 59.4% of the immigrants resident in Canada were of British derivation; in 1921, 54.5%. Of the immigrants arriving during the first six years of this decade, 48.0% were from British countries and last year (ending March 31, 1928), British races constituted only 33.6% of the total. The proportion of our immigrants coming from British countries has steadily declined since the beginning of the century, and has fallen off rapidly during the last few years. European immigration, on the other hand, has increased in relative importance. Continental Europeans totalled 18.3% of the immigrant population in Canada in 1901; in 1921, 23.5%. Between 1921 and 1926, 26.7% of our total immigration came from Continental Europe, and in the fiscal year 1927-28, 49.5% or almost half.

A radical change has also occurred in the source of our Continental immigration. Prior to 1890, the majority of European settlers came from Germanic and Scandinavian

countries. In 1891 there were three North Western Continental Europeans in Canada for every one from South-eastern and Central Europe. In 1901 their numbers were equal. By 1921 the South-eastern and Central Europeans out-numbered the North-western Europeans by two and a half times and during the six years following 1920, the proportion of immigrants from that section of Europe was approximately three times larger than that from the northern and western parts of the Continent. Official figures for 1927-28 show that 30.4% of all immigrants entering Canada in that year were of South-eastern and Central European origin compared with 33.6% of British derivation, 19.1% North-western Europeans and 16.5% from the United States. The majority of the South-eastern and Central Europeans have been Russian, Austrian, Polish and Ukranian (including Galician). Italy also has sent large numbers. Between 1900 and 1910 that country stood fifth among the countries of Europe in point of numbers emigrating to Canada, and between 1910 and 1920 it held from third to first place.

The proportion of immigrants from the 'non-preferred' countries of Europe has shown this striking increase in spite of the effort of the Government to encourage Anglo-Saxon, Germanic and Scandinavian countries to send us their surplus population; and available evidence indicates that the increase will be much more marked in future years. The expert advisers to the World Economic Conference in 1927 estimated that the population of Europe was already 5% greater than in 1914 despite losses of about 10,000,000 persons attributable to the war. It is well known that the rates of natural increase are much greater in the countries of Central and Southern Europe than in Great Britain, France, Scandinavia and other North-western European countries where a progressive decline in birth-rate has been in evidence since the early eighties. The greater part of this phenomenal growth in the population of Europe has taken place in the countries of the

South-eastern and Central parts of the Continent where economic progress has been comparatively slow, with the result that the expanding population presses heavily on subsistence and gives a great impetus to emigration. During the next decade the situation will become more acute. The millions of children born in these countries since 1914 will shortly come on the world's labour market. These nations will be forced to look beyond the seas for an outlet; with the United States practically closed, Canada may expect a wave of Slavic, Latin and Greek immigration surpassing in volume anything hitherto experienced. Couple with that prospect a gradually dwindling surplus population in North Western Europe, and one is driven to conclude that within a very few years the nations of South, Eastern and Central Europe will furnish not 30%, as was the case last year, but from one-half to two-thirds of our total immigration, unless we follow the example of the United States and adopt a quota law. There is point to the argument that, if Canada is to be kept predominantly British and French, the present is the time to think of quota regulations rather than five or ten years hence when the situation shall have become much more critical.

The effect on our population structure of this growing preponderance of foreign immigration is accentuated by unusually high fertility rates. In a previous article in the *QUEEN'S QUARTERLY* reference was made to the high fertility of certain foreign stocks but the main facts are briefly re-stated because they are essential to the present argument. The seven racial groups in Canada, showing the largest proportions of children, in 1921, were as follows: Ukranian, Austrian, Roumanian, Lithuanian, Polish, Hungarian and Russian, in the order named. All are of Central European origin. Between 33% and 37% of their population was under 10 years of age as against slightly over 20% for the British. The above figures reflect true differences in fertility. The fact that high birth

rates among Central and Southern Europeans may be attributed in part to larger proportions of their women marrying, and at an earlier age, is of minor importance to this discussion. The essential point is that, relative to their numbers, the aforementioned groups are adding from one-half to one-third larger proportions to future generations than are the British races in Canada.

Of no less significance is the absence of any indication of material decrease in these rates in the immediate future. The second generation of women of immigrant stocks show higher fertility rates than the foreign born of the same races, and that after the corrections are made for age distribution. Though the Scandinavian and Germanic peoples in Canada multiply less rapidly than the Slavs and Latins and Greeks, they reproduce more rapidly than the British. Thus, in the Prairie Provinces where non-British and non-French races already constitute from a third to two-fifths of the population, it is a matter only of a decade or two until foreign stocks will predominate, and a few years more before those of South-eastern and Central European extraction outnumber all others

But it may be urged that before many decades there will be no Russians or Austrians or Ukrainians in Canada—all will be merged in a new Canadian race. The prospect of such an event is not bright even without a constant infusion of foreign stocks from abroad. Assimilation by intermarriage has made little progress in the case of many peoples of non-British and non-French extraction and the present indications are that it will be a very slow process. This is true not only of the Oriental and Negro races where the colour barrier is an effective deterrent, but of certain white stocks like the Hebrews and the Slavs. Up to 1921 less than 11% of the Austrian married men had married wives of a different racial origin; only 10% of the Galicians had done so; 9.2% of the

Finns; 7.5% of the Ukrainians and 4.2% of the Hebrews. And when one computes the proportions of these cross-marriages contracted with the basic stocks of the country the figures are much smaller. Less than 4.0% of the married Poles had wives of British origin in 1921; only 3.3% of the Roumanians, 1.6% of the Hebrews, 1.3% of the Austrians, 0.7% of the Ukrainians and .05% of the Galicians. The above percentages are much greater than those for intermarriage with the French. While assimilation by intermarriage is well advanced with most of the North-western European peoples it has scarcely begun with those from South-eastern and Central Europe, and, if a racially and culturally homogeneous population be our objective, the above figures support the contention that we had best assimilate the Central Europeans who are here before importing many more.

Recent arrival does not explain the failure of the Slavic and Latin and Greek peoples generally to marry with the British and French. Indeed, when the influence of length of residence and of the size and sex distribution of the several racial groups is eliminated from the data by the method of multiple correlation, it is found that the North-western European races generally are possessed of characteristics favourable to assimilation by intermarriage, while the assimilation of the South-eastern and Central Europeans by this means is exceedingly difficult.

This difference in assimilability is especially noticeable in the case of intermarriage with the British and may be illustrated by another method of analysis. In 1921 only 3.3% of the Galicians who had crossed the racial line in marriage had wives of British stock; 8.9% of the Ukrainians; 12.6% of the Austrians; 14.1% of the Roumanians; 18.0% of the Poles and 19.3% of the Russians. In contrast with these figures, that for the Dutch was 82.0%; that for the Icelanders, 78.7%;

for the Germans, 68.0%. When one remembers that on the basis of mere chance at least 50% of the exogamous marriages should have been contracted with women of British extraction, the figures for the South-eastern and Central Europeans are significantly low.

Part of the difficulty is segregation. Some immigrant stocks tend to settle in colonies—both in urban and in rural districts. This is particularly true of South-eastern and Central Europeans. Cultural differences are also important though hard to measure. Yet the causes of inassimilability, however significant from some points of view, have little bearing on the present argument. The fact remains that many elements in Canada's racial melting-pot are not mixing, and that such elements not only constitute the bulk of our Continental European immigration to-day but promise to exceed immigration from British countries at a very early date unless a restrictive system is introduced to ensure a readjustment in the proportions of immigrant stocks entering Canada. Consequently, it may be stated with confidence that under existing immigration laws non-British and non-French peoples and, in particular, the South-eastern and Central Europeans will shortly outnumber the native stocks in several of our provinces.

But will this be a calamity? How do the races showing the least inclination to marry with the basic stocks of the country measure up in other respects? Many types of data could be used in answering this question but considerations of space preclude more than two, namely, illiteracy and crime.

Of the ten most illiterate immigrant peoples of Canada, nine are from the South-eastern and Central parts of Europe, the tenth being the Chinese. Among the foreign born of North-western European origin less than 3.0% were illiterate in 1921, while over 22% of the immigrants of South-eastern

and Central European extraction were unable to read or write any language. The Slavs as a group are our most illiterate, and the Austrians were not much better with 35.0%. Such proportions seem very high when compared with 3.0% for the foreign born of Germanic extraction and 1.8% for the Scandinavians.

Mr. M. C. MacLean of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in his Census monograph, *Illiteracy and School Attendance in Canada*, has demonstrated first, that these differences are by no means accounted for by length of Canadian residence; secondly, that large percentages of illiterate are associated with large proportions unable to speak either of the official languages of the country and with irregularity of school attendance among the children; and thirdly, that while our Canadian schools have accomplished wonders in reducing illiteracy among those of school age, "illiterate communities, whether rural or urban, tend to remain illiterate." The term 'illiterate' is used relatively. A high percentage of illiteracy, moreover, implies a low educational standard on the part of those of the group who are able to pass the literacy test.

Statistics on crime tell a similar story. With the exception of the Ukrainians, the most criminal of the immigrant peoples in Canada are from South-eastern and Central Europe. In 1921 the North-western European races, other than British and French, showed 36 per 100,000 children between 10 and 20 in reformatories while the South-eastern and Central Europeans had 184 per 100,000. The rate for the Scandinavians was 32, and for the Germanic races, 38; but for the Slavs it was 166 and for the Latins and Greeks 340. The number per 100,000 children of Slavic extraction in reformatories was thus about five times greater than for the Scandinavian and Germanic races, and that for the Latin and Greek children approximately ten times greater. The following table proves that differences of a similar character occur

among the Canadian-born as well as among the foreign-born sections of the several racial groups.¹

Racial origin	Canadian-born children in reformatories	Foreign-born children in reformatories
North-western European	27	63
South-eastern and Central European	102	297
Scandinavian	35	31
Germanic	25	97
Latin and Greek	204	508
Slavic	95	268

As a measure of difference in the behaviour of the children of the several racial groups, commitments to the reformatory are by no means perfect but when the figures for children born of Italian, Greek, Polish, Russian and Austrian parentage are so widely divergent from those for the children of Germanic and Scandinavian racial origin, it is reasonable to conclude that real differences in the matter of respect for law and authority exist.

This conclusion is confirmed by penitentiary records. The five Continental European countries sending to Canada the largest numbers of immigrants in recent years and the penitentiary rates for the male immigrants from each country are as follows:

Italy—337 per 100,000 adult males.

Austria—273 per 100,000 adult males.

Roumania—209 per 100,000 adult males.

Poland—182 per 100,000 adult males.

Russia—144 per 100,000 adult males.

The rate for male immigrants (21 and over) from Scandinavian countries was only 42 per 100,000, for those from Germanic countries, 68, but for Slavic immigrants it was 161

¹The rates shown for the Slavs are probably not as high as they should be because no returns were given for the Ukrainians, yet they formed almost a third of the total Slavic children in terms of which the above rates were computed.

and for the Latin and Greek, 290. By actual count in 1921, immigrants from South-eastern and Central Europe serving sentences for major offences in Canada outnumbered those from North-western Europe by seven to one.

That racial origin is an important factor in criminality is seen when the rates for the Canadian born of the several stocks are compared. Direct comparison of these rates is not invalidated by differences in nativity or sex distribution since the data deal only with those born in the Dominion and birth statistics reveal no significant variation in the proportions of girls and boys born in the several racial origin groups. Moreover, the recorded age distribution of the Canadian-born section of the French, British, Scandinavian and Germanic races in Canada was at least as favourable to crime as that of the Slavic and Latin and Greek peoples. Yet the Canadian born of the latter races showed proportions in penitentiaries from 6 to 16 times greater than those recorded against the Canadian born of the various North-western European peoples. While the rates for the Canadian born are, on the whole, much lower than those for the foreign born, statistics on the parentage of penitentiary inmates furnish irrefutable evidence that racial tendencies towards crime persist unto the third and fourth generation. The Canadian born of races showing marked criminal propensities are much more criminally inclined than the Canadian born of the other races in Canada.

One may argue that penitentiary statistics are not a satisfactory index of criminal propensities in the various sections of our adult population. In certain nativity and racial groups major offences may be rare while minor offences are unusually common, with the result that the number in penitentiaries is comparatively small in spite of a very general disregard for law. Yet one would not expect to find respect for law in less important matters in a group where major offences are

frequent. Large numbers in penitentiaries, consequently, are usually indicative of a very general disregard for constituted authority and in such groups it is safe to conclude that many minor offences are also committed. Clearly, then, the South-eastern and Central Europeans as a class are our least desirable immigrants, not only from the standpoint of inter-marriage and educational status, but from that of obedience to the laws of our land.

Statistics of Mental Hospitals in the West reveal a situation similar to that shown by the penitentiaries; but enough has been said to furnish ample proof that the open-door policy is involving this country in a serious problem of assimilation—a problem the magnitude of which is not generally appreciated in the eastern parts of Canada because a disproportionate number of non-British immigrants have settled in the western provinces. This leads to a further serious indictment of the immigration policy followed by Canada during the last 25 years. It has produced a distinct racial division between the eastern and western provinces which cannot fail to be reflected in cultural differences. In 1921, less than 1% of the population of Prince Edward Island was of continental European origin; Nova Scotia was the only province east of Ontario with a significant inter-mingling of European stocks, (9.3%). In Ontario and British Columbia less than 12% of the population was of foreign Continental extraction; but in Manitoba and Alberta the proportion was approximately one-third and in Saskatchewan as many as 40% were of non-British and non-French racial origin.

The political significance of the concentration of such large numbers of foreign stocks in certain sections of the Dominion merits serious consideration. The proportions of the foreign-born who had become Canadian citizens by 1921 in the Prairie Provinces were from a third to a half greater

than in the province of Ontario. When these figures are related to the numbers of immigrants in the different provinces, the naturalized foreign born are found to form a proportion of the population four times larger in Manitoba than in Ontario, and in Alberta and Saskatchewan the proportion is six times larger. While in Ontario naturalized immigrants constituted 3.0% of the population, in the Prairie Provinces they totalled from 13.0% to 21.0%, and these figures take no account of the Canadian-born whose parents were reared in foreign countries where the political traditions and ideals were in many cases anything but British.

In emphasizing the political aspect of the problem there is no intention of casting reflections on the many new Canadians in these Western provinces who have accepted the British standards and ideals of government. Yet the concentration of disproportionate numbers of non-British and non-French peoples cannot but have a vital influence on the political outlook of a section of the Dominion which one day promises to rival the more populous East in voting power, particularly when in that section the relative density of the more illiterate immigrants is unusually high.

Many disruptive influences are at work in Canada to-day, and not least serious are those separating East and West. An open-door policy on the existing basis of distribution of incoming immigrants cannot fail to accentuate the racial division that already exists, and will probably lead to much greater cultural differences than obtain between the states in the Republic to the south. The consequences may not be serious yet, but twenty more years of immigration similar to that of the first two decades of the century and aided by differing rates of natural increase will transform this population cleavage into a cultural and political problem of the first magnitude. We already have one population division in Canada — that between the French and English-speaking

sections of the country—and one seems justified in questioning the wisdom of creating another which may prove even more serious because it is reinforced by divergencies of economic interest based on geographical differences of more or less permanent nature.

It may be urged that the issue is not one of restricting immigration but of controlling its distribution. Theoretically, something may be said for this contention but it has little practical value, for three reasons. In the first place, once immigrants are within the Dominion they may go where they will; secondly, if our analysis of the European situation is correct, the pressure of Continental immigration in the future, even more than in the past will tend to come from peoples who are essentially agricultural—and the great agricultural opportunities of Canada are in the West; thirdly, the agricultural opportunities offered by Western Canada are not especially attractive to the Nordic peoples. There are good reasons for this situation. During the past eight years the purchasing power of the principal cereals produced from an acre of land in the Prairie Provinces averaged between 21% and 40% less than for the eight year period preceding the war. That fact lays bare the root of the local difficulty in getting British and North-western European immigrants to take up farming in Canada. Agriculture in the west is very much less prosperous than it was a decade and a half ago. This, however, constitutes no deterrent to the peasant from Central Europe. The basic conditions are therefore favourable to the settlement of the remaining agricultural lands of our Canadian West with Eastern and Central Europeans, and that is what will happen unless restrictive measures are adopted.

There is, finally, the argument that the competition of immigrants accustomed to a comparatively low standard of living, in so far as it affects adversely the standard of life of the rural

farming community or depresses the status of the worker in the city, is not in the best interests of the country at large.

No claim is made for the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon and French races nor for the British culture. Nor is any blame attached to individuals or groups for circumstances beyond their control which make their assimilation in Canada difficult. The writer's object has been to direct attention to certain social and political arguments in support of a quota law. He does not presume to prescribe an immigration policy for Canada. That, in his judgment, can be done with confidence only after an impartial and exhaustive investigation of all phases of our many-sided immigration problem. A public commission with sufficiently wide powers to conduct such an investigation could render invaluable service to the government and the people of Canada at the present stage in our national development.

CURRENT EVENTS

THE NOVA SCOTIA ELECTION.

On September 5th Premier Rhodes dissolved the Legislature of Nova Scotia. In 1925 he swept the forty-three year old Liberal government from power, electing a following of 40 in a House of 43. On October 1st, 1928, this majority was all but wiped out. With the standing of the parties 23 to 20, on the election of a Speaker the government is left with the dubious majority of two.

The election was unexpected. The government's term did not expire until 1930. Stories of a coming election circulated from time to time, but were not believed. The people were weary of elections; the previous provincial election was held in June, 1925, one federal election in October of the same year, a second in September, 1926. Hence another provincial election in 1928 was disturbing.

No great issue divided the country. The Liberals were broken in 1925; their executive had announced a Convention in October, 1928, but the day had not been fixed. Only twenty-four days lay between dissolution and polling. The Liberals were caught unprepared, with no candidates in the field, while almost all the government sitting members offered for re-election. Thus all the more striking was the result which all but swept the government from power.

The election had no apparent cause. It will probably be known in provincial history as the election without an issue. The abolition of the Legislative Council was the ostensible reason, but it played no part except in the manifesto of the Premier. For half a century the Province had tried to abolish the Council. Confederation left the provincial constitution unchanged until such time as the Province itself changed it. Membership of the Council was believed to be fixed at twenty-

one and to be for life. Bills providing for its abolition were lost in the Upper Chamber. Forty years ago Mr. Fielding resorted to the expedient of pledging all new appointees to abolition, but a learned legal committee decided this to be unconstitutional. Here matters remained until Mr. Rhodes assumed office. He re-opened the question and submitted a test case to the Privy Council. It decided that Councillors held office only during pleasure, that they were subject to dismissal, and that their number was unlimited. Forthwith a majority of the Council offered to pass a bill for abolition. Several, however, were dismissed, their places filled, and the Council passed out of existence on May 31st.

This created barely a ripple throughout the country. Yet the Premier gave this as the reason for the unusual dissolution. His manifesto declared:

“In view of so significant a change, it is of the essence of democratic government and in accord with sound constitutional principle that the electors be asked to return a new Legislature to which their chosen representatives will be sent, clothed with all the authority of this enlarged mandate. Hence the dissolution of the Legislature and the holding of a general election.”

As abolition was the settled policy of all parties this could by no possibility be construed into an issue. The Premier's manifesto dealt also with alleged misdeeds of his predecessors, claiming that “certain of its officers had been defrauding the treasury, without let or hindrance.” As the old government was dead and buried, this played but little part in the campaign. The government was assailed upon its record.

In 1925 Mr. Rhodes promised to give a purely “business” government, to investigate the economic conditions of living and producing, to make an inquiry into farming, fishing, and the basic industries, to reduce taxation, to balance the budget,

and to keep expenditures within the provincial revenue. The first and most emphasized plank in his platform was a promise to "divorce" local from Federal politics. "He would hew to the line, let the chips fall where they may."

Yet Premier Rhodes presided at the Winnipeg National Conservative Convention. In the federal election the whole weight of his government was thrown in the Conservative interest. During the recent visit of the Hon. R. B. Bennett, the Premier spoke from his platform and "subscribed" to his policies. His Minister of Mines, speaking from the same platform as Mr. Bennett, said, "if one is in agreement with the principles of the Conservative government in Nova Scotia, it is impossible not to be a Conservative in federal politics as well."

The promised economic inquiry was not made. When distress grew most acute in the fishing industry, the government claimed it had no authority under the British North America Act to investigate. In the end investigation was made by a Commission appointed by the federal government. With new federal subsidies and increased revenues, the budget was never balanced. Each year closed with a deficit. The dairy industry declined, due, it was claimed, to the tuberculin testing of cattle, a measure carried out by the federal authorities, but applied on the request of the provincial government.

The fishing districts voted Liberal. The agricultural constituencies cut large Conservative majorities by thousands. The constituency of Halifax elected three Conservatives and two Liberals. The Minister of Natural Resources and three cabinet members without portfolio were defeated; 84,911 voters voted Conservative, 81,039, Liberal, and 2,432, Labour. This is in the ratio of 22 to 21; the standing in the House, 23 to 20, fairly represents the popular will. In the last Legislature only one of the opposition, its Leader, had the gift of speech; in the new House the opposition is superior in debating power.

Premier Rhodes ascribes the result to "over-confidence" and ill-prepared election lists. He had power to make new lists but did not use it, because this would have given more time between dissolution and polling. Mr. Bennett says the result was due to lavish expenditure on trunk roads and neglect of secondary roads, spending money on tourists and neglecting citizens, and to dissatisfaction with the tuberculin test.

It would seem, however, that there were political reasons for the premature election. Mr. Bennett's tour of the Maritime Provinces was to be capitalized and the provincial elections carried to pave the way for the next Conservative federal campaign. Had Mr. Rhodes fared better, Premier Baxter of New Brunswick might have tested opinion in his province. While there are sound reasons for local and federal politics being "divorced," the fact remains that they are not. Mr. Rhodes' first lieutenant, the Minister of Mines, said, "I am not one of those who believe in divorcing federal and provincial politics in their entirety. It cannot be done. One cannot be a political chameleon." In face of this, the Hon. R. B. Bennett says the Nova Scotia elections have no federal significance. It is but fair to say that this opinion is shared by nobody conversant with the situation.

The federal Conservatives opposed the appointment of the Duncan Commission, which brought about a reduction of freights, an increase in the federal subsidy, and made clear the disadvantages under which Nova Scotia laboured. They opposed the lowering of automobile duties and Mr. Bennett himself opposed the completion of the C.N.R. terminal programme at Halifax. The Rhodes government openly allied itself with the federal Conservative party. There is a marked change in public feeling in Nova Scotia. The appointment of the Duncan Commission, of the Fishery Commission, the reduction of coal rates and of automobile duties, the completion of the C.N.R. terminal programme, the establishment of a

huge Cold Storage Plant at Halifax, the payment of an additional subsidy, and the passing of the Old Age Pension bill stand to the credit of a Liberal federal government to which the government of Premier Rhodes is actively opposed. Nova Scotia is thinking more of policies than of parties. Ottawa has done more for the province in the last two years than in the previous forty. In the light of these facts it is generally recognized that the result of the elections of October last cannot but have far-reaching repercussions in the federal arena.

GEORGE FARQUHAR.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

To those who have followed the course of Newfoundland affairs at a distance, the results of the late elections will occasion some surprise. A few years ago, serious charges affecting the honour of Sir Richard Squires in his conduct as premier were made public, and after lengthy hearings the commissioner who was appointed to investigate the charges, Mr. Hollis Walker, K.C. of the English bar, pronounced Sir Richard to have been guilty of grave malversation of the public moneys. To-day, Sir Richard is again premier with a majority of 16 in a House of 40.

Those who have had the privilege of closer acquaintance with Sir Richard, and with the conditions prevailing in Newfoundland are not equally surprised. In personality, Sir Richard has an advantage over his opponents. He is a man of titanic energy and of great resource, while his opponents are greatly lacking in both these qualities. He managed so to conduct the campaign that these charges had but slight influence. His rallying cry, which reached nearly every constituency in the Island by means of phonographic records, was an appeal for support of the Liberal party of which he is chief. But the victory was only in part due to this appeal. Sir

William Coaker, the head of the Fisherman's Protective Union, was able to deliver to Sir Richard 13 out of the 14 seats in that part of the Island north of Trinity Bay. Mr. Monroe, the former premier and a man justly esteemed, was beaten by some hundreds of votes in one of those constituencies.

Sir Richard's dependence on Coaker is of great significance. The latter's moods and notions cannot be disregarded, or Sir Richard might find himself bereft of his majority. Since the formation of the Fisherman's Protective Union, which in prudent hands is an instrument of great value to the fisherman, Coaker, its creator and master, has been a powerful influence in Newfoundland politics. In 1913, Sir Robert Bond formed an alliance with him, but the revelation of Coaker's aims dissolved the alliance and caused Bond's withdrawal from public life. When Squires formed his ministry in 1920, Coaker became Minister of Marine and Fisheries. He conceived the quaint notion that, by Legislative action, he could sustain the high prices for fish which foreigners were compelled to pay during the war. He had a bill passed empowering him to withhold clearances for vessels laden with fish for the Mediterranean and other ports until he had satisfied himself that the stocks in those markets were in the way of being absorbed. By this means, he hoped to remove the danger of a reduction in prices due to over-supply. From the fisherman's standpoint, the purpose of the bill was worthy of praise, but unfortunately for them, the close of the war released fishing vessels from Scandinavian waters, and the bill, instead of benefiting the Newfoundland fishermen, placed them at a great disadvantage in the competition for trade.

How far Coaker may have profited from experience cannot be known, but his recent utterances on the external relations of the Colony, which have somewhat agitated our newspapers, seem to indicate the desirability of a muzzle on

occasions. Sir Richard has repudiated Coaker's expression of his views, but there is ground for anticipating that Coaker may prove an embarrassing colleague.

Newfoundland is in a serious position financially. Not since 1920-1921 has there been an effective surplus of revenue over expenditure. The deficit for 1926-1927 is shown by the Year Book of 1928 to be rather more than \$1,600,000. The shortages have been regularly met by loans which have ranged from \$1,000,000 to \$6,000,000, and since 1920-1921 have amounted to more than \$30,000,000. In the fiscal year 1919-1920, the public debt was \$43,033,000; seven years later it stood at \$72,018,000, an increase of over 67%.

If these statements excited alarm and aroused a general resolution to apply the only remedy possible, the situation would be more hopeful. But it is doubtful if that disposition exists. Mr. Monroe confessed last year in the Assembly that he had little hope of bringing the expenditure within the revenue so long as the present form of government continued. There are those who believe that salvation can come only from an outsider, whose instructions would require him to see that the expenditure did not exceed the revenue. This would mean reversion to the position of a Crown Colony, from which the Island was raised in 1855. However advisable this might be, such a solution is impossible. No self-respecting people would give up the right of managing their own affairs, which they have exercised for two generations.

Politically, as well as socially, Newfoundland is unique. It is still in an early stage of development. It has not yet completely emerged from the conditions of the eighteenth century, when the merchant in one of the Devon ports fitted out a vessel for the Newfoundland fishery and exercised a control not far removed from ownership over the men he sent out. When, one after another, the merchants transferred their headquarters to St. Johns, the old relations remained, and

have in part persisted to the present day. Each spring the fishermen are fitted out by the St. Johns merchants, largely on credit which they must discharge by disposing of their catches to the merchants. The accounts are kept by the merchants, and doubtless accurately kept, but the settlements have an awkward trick of disappointing the fishermen. The class feeling which exists naturally is embittered by the helplessness and consequent suspicion arising from these circumstances.

Conditions such as these, coupled with a widely extended franchise and the itinerant orator, explain much in Newfoundland politics. The mass of the people, with the exception of a few thousand employed in mining and in the pulp and paper mills, live in hamlets and villages along the sea coasts, isolated from one another by large expanses of stormy water. The development of a sound public spirit, capable and desirous of exercising an effective control over legislation, is a task of supreme difficulty. The political quack has a fertile field for his operations and he makes the most of it. He is seldom disinterested, and, when honest, is often little in advance of his audience in knowledge of public affairs. It is little to the credit of the cultured class which is uncommonly large in St. Johns, that they have failed to aid in the creation of sane public opinion. That they have evaded their duty, as a class, seems an undeniable fact. One of the unfortunate consequences of the ignorance of the electorate is the steady deterioration in the quality of the membership of the Assembly. The House has already lost the respect of the public. How far disrespect could go is shown by an incident, one of several, of which the writer was a witness during a visit to St. Johns several years ago.

He had occasion to visit the Legislative Building on day, and saw it surrounded by a large mob. An appropriation had been made for the relief of hardship due to unemployment

and the money was being spent in repairing roads. The rate of pay allowed the men engaged in this work had been reduced and they had gone on strike. After the House had been sitting half an hour, the outer door was opened and within two minutes the galleries and aisle were packed. The spokesman of the crowd rose, demanded a hearing and, without waiting for permission to speak, protested against the reduction in the wage. The Premier made a conciliatory but inconclusive reply, and the spokesman expressed his utter dissatisfaction. The leader of the Opposition then denounced the Government for the way they had dealt with the poor men. Two other speakers from the crowd followed with vigorous attacks on the Premier. Finally, the Premier surrendered and announced that there would be no reduction in the wage. The excitement made it impossible to continue with business and the House adjourned.

Is the situation, then, quite desperate? By no means. What an outsider, governor or other, could not do by coercion is still within the powers of a leader, who would lay the issues clearly and honestly before the people and appeal for their co-operation in the arduous task of restoring financial stability. There are no more honest people than the Newfoundlanders, and none more amenable to a moral appeal. The resources of the Island are unfolding themselves year by year. The success of the Northcliffe Paper concern in Grand Bay and of the British Empire Steel Corporation in Bell Island, and the confidence with which the International Pulp and Paper Company are pursuing the development of vast areas on the west coast are sure indications that any faint-heartedness from which Governments may suffer is not shared by business men. The operations at the Buchan copper mines commenced recently hold out high promise of employment for many hundreds of men.

The one man among present day political leaders who

has it in his power to make an effective appeal to the patriotism and good sense of the people, fortunately, is the present premier. Sir Richard Squires, as far as can be seen, is the one man who possesses the political insight, courage and energy necessary to make the people accept unpalatable truths, and to inspire in them a resolution to endure the sacrifices demanded to place the affairs of the colony in a more satisfactory condition.

X.

BRITAIN, THE UNITED STATES, AND CANADA.

That the friendship of the peoples of Britain and the United States is promoted by the fact that they speak, presumably, the same language is open to grave doubt. Similarity of language encourages an easy and unquestioning assumption of likenesses and identities which do not exist in fact. If the people of the United States spoke Italian or Erse or one of the dialects of the Chinese, differences in mental habits would be assumed to exist and efforts would be made to understand them. The present unsatisfactory position of the relations between these two English-speaking peoples is due in large measure to the fact that they are both English-speaking.

Differences of natural environment, differences in social and political habits, extending over a period measured by centuries, have fashioned the English stock which came to the American colonies in a new mould and have created a distinct differentiation in type. The original Anglo-Saxon stock in the United States has been diluted by successive waves of people from the four corners of the earth whose mental habits differed fundamentally from those of Englishmen. The mentality of the people of the United States to-day differs essentially from the mentality of Englishmen. They have constructed an immense industrial system involving trade, either in buying or selling, with all parts of the world. The mass of the people have shared in the huge profits made by

this system and have thus been enabled to establish a new standard of living providing greater material comforts than have hitherto been known. These differences in conditions of life and in habits of thought, despite superficial similarities, may readily become the cause of serious international misunderstanding.

The discussions relating to the reduction of naval armaments illustrate too well the dangers involved in mutual misunderstanding. Each nation, seemingly, is unwilling to concede to the other the same pacific intent which it claims determines its own programme of naval construction. Each professes inability to understand why the other should require a more powerful naval force. For this lack of understanding the statesmanship of both nations, it would seem, is responsible. The British public has found it difficult to realize that the United States, likewise, is in reality a world-wide empire. The imperialism of the United States is none the less real because it is economic in character nor is its control over the resources of areas in all parts of the world less effective because it is unaccompanied by political sovereignty. The value of this economic empire to the United States no less than of her Empire to Britain depends on the maintenance of uninterrupted communications with the "mother country." She can scarcely be expected to entrust to another the protection of her commerce. The conditions which justified the construction of a large British navy in the past seem to justify the building by the United States of a navy adequate for the protection of its commerce.

In one important respect the two empires are different. The significance of this difference does not seem to be fully appreciated in the United States. The integrity of the empire of the United States is essential to the preservation of its industrial system and the high standards of living which it has created; the integrity of the empire of Britain is essential

to the maintenance of human life in the United Kingdom. Were the communications with their empire cut, the people of the United States would be obliged to accept a lower standard of living; were Britain unable to protect her commerce, her people would be reduced to starvation. That condition, for the present at least, imposes a limit on the reduction of British naval armaments.

With one assumption which seems tacit in the discussions regarding limitation of armaments many Canadians will find it difficult to agree. The British naval expert, in providing for the effective strength of the British navy, is inclined to regard the armed ships of the United States as potential enemies. It should be possible for the governments of Britain and the United States to eliminate war between the two countries as a means for the settlement of disputes and to rely with confidence on the assumption that, should either be drawn into armed conflict, the forces of the other at least will not be ranged with the enemy. Were such a determination accepted by both peoples as a fixed principle of public policy the problem of naval armaments would be materially simplified. We should like to suggest as a simple and effective mode of relieving the present tension that each nation forget that the other has a navy.

The Canadian people have a vital interest in this problem. War between Britain and the United States might conceivably alter the course of their development materially. Nature has ordained that we shall live next door to the people of the United States. It will be much more pleasant for us if the utmost of friendly relations are maintained between our nearest neighbors and our closest relatives. There rests on the people and government of Canada a heavy burden of responsibility in contributing to the preservation of such friendly relations.

The Canadian people are interested in knowing the extent to which their government has met this onus during the course of the discussions relating to naval disarmament. The breach between Britain and the United States widened perceptibly during the Naval Conference of 1927. Canada was represented at this Conference. There were rumours that the Canadian representative was made to feel that he was given the rôle of errand-boy. In the light of Mr. Meighen's achievement at the Imperial Conference of 1923 in promoting Anglo-American accord in the Pacific, one wonders what he would have done at Geneva in 1927. Many Canadians would like to know whether on this occasion the influence of Canada was exerted to the extent justified by her interest in the preservation of friendly relations between Britain and the United States.

Similar questions are being asked regarding the so-called Anglo-French understanding touching naval armament. This utterly stupid agreement may be explained but is no longer justified even by its sponsors. The less said about it the better. There remains, however, a feeling of uneasiness based on the pitiful incapacity of British statesmanship to realize the inevitable "reaction" of the United States to such an agreement. The efforts of the "big navy" group in the United States had been smothered by the protests of an outraged public in 1928. Mr. Chamberlain presented them with more effective weapons for carrying through their programme in 1929 than they could have devised themselves.

Again, what part had Canada in the Anglo-French agreement? Successive Imperial Conferences have emphasized the necessity for consultation between various parts of the Empire in the conduct of negotiations affecting their several interests. The vital interest of Canada in the maintenance of a good understanding between Britain and the United States gave her a right to be consulted; her knowledge of public sentiment

in the United States gave her opinions a peculiar value. Was she consulted in connection with the Anglo-French understanding? If not, the spirit, if not the letter, of the agreement embodied in the report of the Imperial Conference of 1926 was violated. If she was consulted it is inconceivable that she would have failed to indicate the disastrous consequences of the proposed arrangement. Her advice may have been sought and then ignored. In any case, the situation is not comforting. The Canadian people have a right to insist on knowing more about this affair.

D. McA.

RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOKS

NEW LIGHT UPON WOLFE

James Wolfe, Man and Soldier. By W. T. Waugh, Montreal: Louis Carrier & Co. 1928. pp. 333. \$5.00.

One approaches this book, after admiring it as an altogether delightful piece of book-making, with a feeling of doubt: "But, after all, is there room for another life of Wolfe?" Professor Waugh has clearly demonstrated that there is. It is an admirable example of that combination of sound scholarship and the ability to grip and hold the attention of the reader that mark the really successful historian or biographer. It embodies the results of recent research without so thrusting them upon the reader's attention that he becomes discouraged and abandons the book half-read. It is a book for the general reader, but it is at the same time one that every serious student of the life and period of Wolfe will read with interest and profit.

Mr. Waugh has made such good use of the meagre data available on the early years of Wolfe that one gets a clear picture of the child, the boy and the young man. "He must have been a very ugly little boy. His flaming red hair did not go well with his blue eyes. His nose was tilted heavenward. His chin fell away as the chin of no man of action ought to do. He soon began to grow too fast, and throughout life he was very thin. His legs were much too long, his movements ungainly. From the earliest years he suffered from a delicate chest and other physical weaknesses." He was handicapped from the beginning, handicapped in more ways than one, but his indomitable will carried him through to that glorious September morning when he wrote his name forever on the pages of history.

“Despite his mother’s care, James grew up”, says Mr. Waugh. Lest this criticism seem too caustic, consider the kind of medicine that this estimable but domineering Yorkshire woman poured into her unfortunate child. This is her own recipe:

Take a peck of green garden snails, wash them in beer, put them in an oven and let them stay till they’re done crying; then with a knife and fork prick the green from them, and beat the snail shells and all in a stone mortar. Then take a quart of green earth-worms, slice them through the middle and strow them with salt; then wash them and beat them, the pot being first put into the still with two handfulls of anagelica, a quart of rosemary flowers, then the snails and worms, the agrimony, bear’s feet, red dock roots, barberry brake, bilberry, wormwood, of each two handfulls: one handfull of rue, turmeric, and one ounce of saffron, well dried and beaten. Then pour in three gallons of milk. Wait till morning, then put in three ounces of cloves (well beaten), hartshorn, grated. Keep the still covered all night. This done, stir it not. Distil with a moderate fire. The patient must take two spoonfuls at a time.

When the modern child is inclined to rebel at the innocuous but somewhat unpalatable doses administered by a fond mother, let him consider this witches’ brew and be thankful. Perhaps an almost incredible incident of James’ school days, recorded by Mr. Waugh, may be attributed to the influence of this uncanny medicine. “One of Swinden’s assistants, an Oxford man named Weston, also won the respect and affection of the boy, who actually used to write to him in the holidays.” Now I ask you!

That Wolfe, who entered the army in his fifteenth year, learnt much of the art of war in the next decade was due not to the example of his superior officers, “the generals appointed to high command were mostly infirm dotards or brainless swashbucklers”, or to the lessons to be learnt from battles in the War of the Austrian Succession, as to which Mr. Waugh

remarks "there has scarcely been a war in which the British army appeared to worse advantage", but altogether to his own untiring industry and enthusiasm for his chosen profession. The hard work he performed at this time, and the subsequent application of the principles of training he had developed to his own regiment, stood him in good stead later when Pitt was looking for the right man to capture Louisbourg and Quebec.

Curiously enough, although so deeply interested in the art of war, Wolfe found mathematics uncongenial. He writes his mother on one occasion:

I don't know how the mathematics may assist the judgment, but they have a great tendency to make men dull. I, who am far from being sprightly even in my gaiety, am the very reverse of it at this time. I'm heavier in discourse, longer at a letter, less quick of apprehension, and carry all the appearances of stupidity to so great a height, that in a little time they won't be known from the reality; and all this to find out the use and property of a crooked line, which, when discovered serves me no more than a straight line, and does not make me a jot more useful or more entertaining, but, on the contrary, adds to the weight that nature has laid upon the brain, and blunts the organs.

Either Wolfe was not writing in a very serious vein to his mother, or else he learned to take a different view of the importance of mathematics, for we find him in 1756 writing to Thomas Townshend in regard to the military training of his younger brother Henry, "I would advise him by all means to give up a year or two of his time now while he is young, if he has not already done it, to the study of the mathematics, because it will greatly facilitate his progress in military matters."

The more important chapters of Mr. Waugh's book are those that deal with the Louisbourg campaign and the siege of Quebec. Space is lacking to deal with these chapters as they deserve, but it may be enough to say that Mr. Waugh

has admirably condensed a long and intricate story, and brought a series of complicated military movements within the comprehension of the average reader. In an Appendix he brings together the facts relating to the Gray's *Eligy* incident, Wolfe's relations with Jarvis, his last moments, and verse on his death.

It is only the publishers' due to say that they have produced a most attractive book, well printed in excellent type, on good paper, and enriched with twenty illustrations, many of which have never before been published. One slight typographical error may be noted. At the top of p. 69 two lines are repeated.

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE.

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Betwixt Heaven and Charing Cross, by Martin Burrell.
Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada, Limited.
1928, pp. 328.

Dr. Martin Burrell in *Betwixt Heaven and Charing Cross* has given us an interesting, and chatty, and well-informed, and, above all things, an intimate volume. When you have laid it down you will have touched upon much that is most fine in letters and in life, and, what is the test of the essay, you will know that you have shaken hands with Dr. Martin Burrell. You will be able to tell what half-dozen books he would take with him if he had to spend two years alone on a desert island. As one of the books is the New Oxford Dictionary, the reader is free to speculate which of the other five books would suffer from the inevitable neglect. One's guess is that with the Bible, Shakespeare, Montaigne, Boswell and Emerson, Montaigne at all events would not be passed by even if Boswell and the Bible had to be taken as read.

Dr. Burrell is interested in smells, especially good smells. He knows that the smell of something burned is above all smells that most likely to quicken association, and he can tell

you who it is that has written of that most delicate of all the scents, gorse. He lets you know what Lord Acton thought of Buckle and it is good to have one's half-informed judgment of that harsh, and negative, and dogmatic "History of Civilization" buttressed.

For the real essay must be more than a cold-blooded review or statement of a case. It must reflect the writer's likes and dislikes whether it deal with Montgomery the poet, or with flashing fists in a rudely made ring, or with Lord Beaverbrook. It is interesting to know that Lord Beaverbrook, in estimating the characters of Lord Balfour and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, writes them down "below the level at which nearly all my contemporaries in politics value them. I cannot be convinced of error." And it is equally interesting to have the sly suggestion from Dr. Burrell of a doubt whether "the author of *Success* is the right man to appraise the character and quality of the author of *The Foundations of Belief*." Behind all the geniality and Montaigne atmosphere of this book there is much that is suggestive and provocative. The opening paper on *A German View of Napoleon* is full of knowledge, and it is good to know that not for the first time in history have those who were sure that they won the war been those who appeared at the eleventh hour. The essay on John Morley is admirable. Dr. Burrell feels that in him the man of letters will live much longer than the statesman. The study of *Burke*, and the *Essay on Compromise*, and *Cobden*, and *Gladstone* will live long after the Indian entanglements are forgotten.

Dr. Burrell has given us a happy book which makes one realize how much excellent occasional journalism appears in three or four of the Canadian newspapers. But then he is a Librarian and above all others a Librarian should be a happy man.

R. B. T.

What Philosophy Is. By Harold A. Larrabee. Macy-Masius. The Vanguard Press. 1928.

"I will be flesh and blood;
For there was never yet philosopher
That could endure the toothache patiently."

As You Like It.

Professor Larabee will be both flesh and blood and a philosopher. There runs through his book a certain fine indignation against those who regard philosophy as the refuge of the intellectual ascetic whose speculations are perpetually too vague to satisfy the makers of science, and no less perpetually abstruse and too impractical to gain the sympathy of the man in the street. "The philosopher", he tells us, "is a thinker who wishes to be just as clear and orderly as the scientist, and still more inclusive." The first philosophers were "supernormal rather than subnormal," versatile and practically successful men. The modern philosopher must be the "critic of all societies, and of much more besides." He must provide an intellectual conscience for the religious man, clarity and system for the curious one. Not only must he endure the toothache as patiently as other people; he must also, the while, lecture on the meaning of pain.

In spite, however, of the book's generous enthusiasm the reader finds himself somewhat disappointed. The programme is not carried over into practice. In place of the great torrent of philosophical thought that sweeps down on us with the irresistible momentum of twenty-five hundred years, one gains, perhaps unfairly, the impression of a dessicated trickle of quotations from competent modern practitioners. Not, indeed, that the greater names are never mentioned; but the non-professional reader, for whom the book is presumably intended, would for example surely learn from it more about the views of Montague than those of Kant; which seems a strange emphasis. The chapter entitled "The Scientific Approach and Naturalism" concludes as a matter of fact with

five pages of small print tracing the development of the naturalistic idea by means of notes, necessarily brief, on Democritus, Epicurus, Lucretius, Hobbes, La Mettrie, Buchner, Darwin, Spencer, Huxley, Kropotkin, Feuerbach, Marx, Haeckel, Stirner, Nietzsche, and Bertrand Russell. This is surely not the way to answer for the layman the question "what is philosophy?"

Perhaps the task which Professor Larrabee has set himself is impossible of solution. One endeavour of those to whom is entrusted the teaching of philosophy in a university is to rid the over-booked mind of the text-book habit. It may perhaps be lamentably the case that in order to do so we are really forced to write text-books.

GEORGE HUMPHREY.

* * * * *

The Privacy Agent and other Modern Proposals, by B. K. Sandwell, illustrated by A. Lismer. J. M. Dent & Sons, Limited, London and Toronto.

The Privacy Agent is a little volume of gently railing skits, in the typical Sandwell—not Leacock—manner. Most of the papers we had read in such publications as *The Atlantic Monthly*, *Toronto Saturday Night*, *The Dalhousie Review*, *The Canadian Forum*, but we welcome their appearance in book form. The little volume is a real contribution to Canadian literature, not an end but a beginning—the beginning of a genre. *The Privacy Agent* is, in a manner of speaking, pioneer work, and it is well done.

Mr. Sandwell has a shrewd and observant eye. He sees and realizes the weaknesses of Canadian life—could if he chose suggest a remedy. He could, if he would, chastise our vices—the true aim of satire is the castigation of our vice—but he has not so chosen. He has preferred to skim along the surface of things lightly, gracefully, charmingly, hurting and offending no one, and the result is a pleasant little volume of

skittish skits—and nothing more. Behind the graceful essays of Addison and Goldsmith there lurked invariably a certain homiletic aim and urge. This moral fibre has given them their permanent place in English literature. Neither Addison nor Goldsmith was a saint. We never suspected Mr. Sandwell of being one either. But, both Addison and Goldsmith spoke out. Mr. Sandwell has done admirable work. He has achieved, no doubt, what he set out to do; he has interested, delighted and pleased his readers. And a touch of this genuine scorning lets his readers realize that he means what he says, that he is capable of more than mere graceful persiflage and badinage. Mr. Sandwell will, we believe, take a permanent place in Canadian literature and a place in the front rank.

Grace, charm, an amusing airiness, an excellent and pleasing style—all the ingredients of a stronger writer are there. Let Mr. Sandwell only “hit out”; give over being 25—the Beverley Nichols age—and his place and influence are assured. But the little book is thoroughly to be commended and admirable for an hour of ease.

J. A. Roy.

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The Seigneurs of La Saulaye, by Johnston Abbott, Toronto:
The Macmillan Company of Canada, Limited. 1928,
pp. 379. Price \$2.00.

Our Daily Bread, a novel by Frederick Philip Grove. Toronto:
The Macmillan Company of Canada, Limited. 1928,
pp. 390. Price \$2.00.

The Macmillan Company of Canada has in the past rendered a notable service to Canadian literature in its sponsoring of numerous works of Canadian authors. The record for 1928 is quite equal to that of any previous year. The novels of Johnston Abbott and Mr. Grove are distinctively

Canadian though presenting scenes widely differing in time and character.

The Seigneurs of La Saulaye is a delightful story of French Canada of the days of the elder Vaudreuil. The hero, Paul de Ste Etienne, and his father, the *Seigneurs*, are lured by the story of an Indian to the country about Lake Temiscaming in search of minerals. They borrow money from their kinsman, the Marquis de la Raux, who comes from France to Quebec accompanied by his son and his ward, the charming Denise, heroine of the story. The love of Paul for Denise, his final conquest after overcoming obstacles seemingly unsurmountable, is the thread about which the tale is woven.

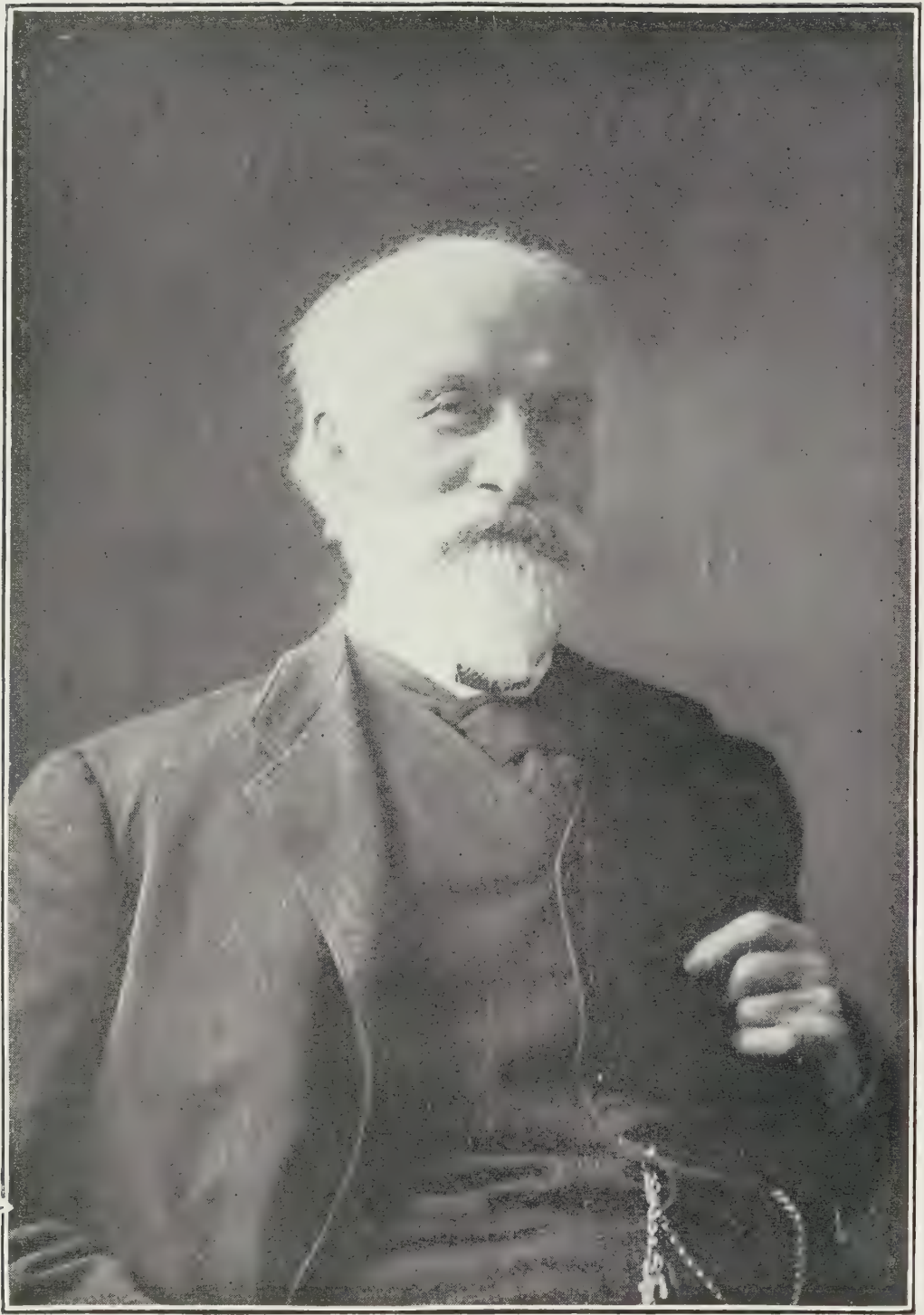
The author has caught the atmosphere of his period admirably. His pictures of life at the little court at Quebec and in the camp of hostile natives are equally well done. It is an entirely pleasing story.

Mr. Grove in *A Search for America* aroused expectations which are not wholly satisfied by his latest production. He set out to do something very different from that attempted by Johnston Abbott and much more difficult. *Our Daily Bread* is the intimate record of the spiritual evolution of a pioneering family in Saskatchewan. John Elliot and his wife, Martha, had "gone west" from southern Manitoba and had carried with them ideas regarding thrift and family relationships which were derived, seemingly, from John's Puritan ancestors. He expected his own ideas and outlook to be reincarnated in his children and in this—twelve children appear—he was cruelly disappointed. A vein of tragedy runs throughout the story as one after another of the younger Elliots forsakes his mode of life and displays feelings of deep ingratitude toward their parent.

There is much good descriptive writing in the book; it is vividly realistic, portraying with accuracy many of the vicissitudes of the frontier farmer. The picture of the mother is

particularly well done; Mr. Grove knows the atmosphere of pioneering in its relation to the life of women. One wonders, however, whether he has not done his job too well. He intended to paint a drab picture but he has been so sparing with his bright colours that the dull shades almost lose their drabness. We cannot agree with the publisher's claim that the book presents "an honest picture of Canadian prairie life a generation ago." There may have been John Elliots but there were others—one could name many of them—who enjoyed the adventure of life and who asked much of it and were not disappointed.

D. McA.



Sanford Fleming

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

SPRING, 1929

SIR SANDFORD FLEMING

BY SIR ANDREW MACPHAIL

SIR Sandford Fleming died in Halifax on Thursday morning, July 22nd, 1915, in the eighty-ninth year of his age. He was born on January 7th, 1827, in Kirkaldy of Fife. His father was Andrew Greig Fleming, and his mother Elizabeth Arnot. He was named after his maternal grandfather, and an uncle, a Sanskrit scholar of some renown, then living in India, who both bore the name, Sandford. His mother's grandfather of the clan Cameron fought at Drum-mossie Moor, and was one of the eight Highlanders who sailed the Prince to France. An uncle of hers served with Wolfe at Quebec.

He received his early education under William Bethune, who was afterwards headmaster of the Montreal High School; and in the Kirkaldy Burg School, where Thomas Carlyle had once been master. At the age of fourteen, he became an articled pupil to John Sang, an engineer. During his term, he gained experience in harbours, waterworks, and on railway

surveys; in drawing with line and colour, in etching on copper and engraving on stone. On January 7th, 1845, his birthday, he then being eighteen years of age, he went with his father to consult one Ellice about migrating to Canada. For the adventure he received from Mr. Sang a pocket sextant; from an uncle a compass; from a friend a book, "Gems from British Poets"; from his cousins two pound and two crown pieces; from his grandmother the assurance that she would pray for him.

In company with his brother David, he sailed from the Broomielaw, about half-past one, p.m., on April 24th, 1845, in the *Brilliant* of 428 tons register, for Quebec. His contract ticket, which is yet extant, cost him 13 pounds 10 shillings. It called for a passage in the second cabin to Quebec, and to Montreal without further expense. He was to supply his own utensils for eating and drinking, and his bedding; but he was entitled to a daily supply of three quarts of water, and seven pounds of provisions a week, to include bread, biscuit, oatmeal or rice. Potatoes might be substituted in specified proportion; but no mention is made of meat. The voyage lasted 44 days. The passage was stormy. The *Brilliant* was driven 400 miles off her course, as determined by his pocket sextant. The cargo shifted; the ship rolled fearfully. He wrote a letter to his father, the last he might ever write; he sealed the letter in a bottle and cast it into the sea. The letter was safely delivered to his father some seven months afterwards.

The two young travellers thought the people of Quebec had a foreign appearance. For the first time they saw the inside of a Catholic chapel; it was richly adorned and elaborately finished. In Montreal, they met their old master, Bethune, and all three proceeded westward in company. Their journey was by steamer to Ottawa, through the Rideau Lakes to Kingston. As it was illegal to pass through the locks on the Sabbath, they had time to attend the Scotch church in

Lachine. The young stranger neglected to avail himself of such opportunities as were to be found in Montreal. It may have been just as well in view of what he observed twenty-two years later. It was in Montreal, at St. Andrew's Church, too, he then being of the mature age of 40 years, that he first heard an organ in a Presbyterian church with chaunted psalms. Surely, he exclaims in anguish, we are losing the extreme simplicity and piety of the good old Church. What would my grandfather; yea, my father and my mother say to this?

He was well pleased with Kingston: wide streets well laid out; a large and fine building with a colonade and pillars in front supporting a dome and clock-tower; some good churches, one a new Gothic structure—and a large plain college. Thirty-five years later, he records, March 17th, 1880: Received notice that I was elected Chancellor of Queen's University. This is the strangest thing of my life. What made them elect a man to the highest position, who has never been in his life at college? One may surmise that the powerful hand of the Principal, Rev. G. M. Grant, was moving in the election. The two had long been tried companions and firm friends.

Eleven days out from Montreal, the brothers arrived at Peterboro, their destination, where they had good welcome from their kinsman Dr. Hutcheson, and remained two months. Early in August they arrived at Toronto, where David found work, but the more professional Sandford could find none. He sought refuge with his master Bethune on his clearing twenty-four miles west of Hamilton. The log-house lacked a chimney and fireplace. The ingenious engineer opened a quarry. With the aid of a yoke of oxen and sled, he cut and hauled the stone. Isabella, a child of three, was his companion in these labours. She fell sick of a fever, and was laid upon his bed, where she fell asleep. In the evening, he records, when he saw her curly little head on the pillow, he could not have her

disturbed; and the wee one cuddled down contentedly until the morning's sun called them to their pleasant labour at the quarry. Nineteen years afterwards he was passing that way, and sought out the little Isabella, now a handsome young woman well married. "There he is," she cried from an inner room, as she heard the tones of his voice.

He returned to Peterboro, and secured employment with a land surveyor. He conceived the idea of making a survey of the town and of the surrounding district. With his own hand he transferred the plans to stone, and printed the maps. He then travelled through the country selling his maps. The diary for the year discloses the itinerary and the meagre returns. Money was scarce. He traded maps for various pieces of harness, and finally achieved a complete double set, except one collar.

On his travels he made sketches and plans which he engraved to order, a tedious piece of business compared with drawing sawlogs. In the meantime his father, mother, and their family had arrived from Scotland. They bought a saw-mill on the Humber, but the seller was a bad man, void of principles; and they had much trouble with the dam and mill. In a diary covering a period of seventy years, that is the only harsh word. These new immigrants encountered all the trials of the early settlers, and surmounted them by the aid of their sons. Let us learn, this son writes, to live the life of honest men, if for no other purpose than to honour our father and our mother and to comfort them in their old age.

For seven years he worked as surveyor. He made, and printed, a complete plan of Toronto; he made nautical surveys of the harbour, of Lake Ontario, and even of Lake Huron; he engraved the first postage stamp ever issued in Canada. In 1852, he began his definite profession of railway engineer, for three years as assistant and eight as chief, on the line from Toronto to Collingwood, known as the Northern Railway, the

first in the Province of Ontario. These years are the most interesting part of the diary. They show the development of his nature and expose the foundation of his fame. In later years the diary loses interest. The entries could be made by any other great man. He met, and knew intimately, every personage of note in the Empire; but he records nothing profound of what they said. It may indeed have been that they said nothing worthy of record; but they trusted him, and he was their friend.

Sir Sandford Fleming had one main idea, which few men have. By his own energy he developed it into universal use. Every man who looks at his watch, and observes a standard time, comes face to face with that idea. Many of his lesser ideas have come into so common a use that they pass unregarded as a transcontinental railway or a submarine cable. He was Engineer-in-Chief of the Canadian Pacific Railway for ten of the most difficult years; he constructed the Intercolonial Railway; he was President of the Royal Society; he devoted his later years to the creation of an all Britannic cable encircling the earth, which would perform a great Imperial service. Finally, he was Chancellor of Queen's University from the year 1880 until the time of his death.

Such a man is a natural subject of curiosity, and that curiosity in respect of his more spectacular performances has been fully satisfied by various printed books. The most complete of these is written by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, who justly describes him as an Empire builder. The book opens with a likeness which in the beauty of it, the largeness, freedom, strength, and gaiety reminds one of those pictures the Greeks made of the most humane and cheerful of their gods. The bibliography contains 150 items dealing with a corresponding range of subjects.

Sir Sandford Fleming was a great engineer. Many engineers before and since have had a greater technical skill;

as there must have been, and are, many tinkers more competent with the soldering-iron than John Bunyan was. To say, even in view of his achievements, that he was the greatest engineer who ever lived, would involve one in controversy and possibly in contradiction. Mr. Burpee has presented the evidence with instructed and loving hand. The present intention is quite different, namely, to suggest that he was the greatest man who was ever concerned with engineering. The evidence lies in the diary of his more intimate life, which begins with the year 1845 and concludes on August 3rd, 1914.

One of his subsidiary ideas was the electric light. On May 28th, 1848, he records, I have been thinking for some time that the charcoal light of the magnetic battery might be brought to practical use. I only require one experiment, but it would be an expensive one, unless I could meet with a powerful battery, but I don't think there is one in Canada. It is to try if more than one light can be formed with one set of wires by breaking the connection and interposing charcoal points. If this is the case, we have a good and clean substitute for gas, would give a much better light, and at least could be easily adapted to lighting streets or churches, just by having a wire like telegraph ones with a charcoal appliance here and there.

Four times he traversed the continent on foot, on snow-shoes, by dog-team and canoe, on horseback and by wagon. At times he used a raft or a dug-out log, and waded in the streams when the banks were inaccessible. Day after day he drove 76 miles over rough roads. In the year 1863, he travelled 20,000 miles by such means as were available in those days. In 1869, he drove in a sleigh from Shediac to Rimouski, the daily journeys being 90, 76, 83, 55, 65 miles—very cold. He continued the journey to Ottawa, stopping in Montreal only long enough to buy an overcoat which cost him twenty-eight dollars.

His food at times was a mere matter of chance. One Christmas, he sat on a log in a swamp, and eat a red herring for his dinner. To Cape Breton he ascribes the credit of the worst meal he ever had, at Peter Stewart's, a very dirty poor one, but he makes no complaint. That was in 1864; the hotels of Cape Breton are now much improved. The diary of those early years is the most authentic document of Canadian history. The diary of his later years and of his European travels is not remarkable. He saw what any one may see, but with naïve wonder. In Naples, however, he did discover a hotel kept by Mrs. Macpherson; in Rome the Presbyterian church was closed. In Genoa he had better luck; after attending the Scotch church, he had a talk with the minister who was a native of Fife.

And yet, it must not be assumed from these devotions and from his Chancellorship of Queen's University that he was any more ascetic than, for example, the past or even the present Chancellor of McGill. Indeed, the appearance is to the contrary. He used, without abusing, the good things of this world. He had a true discernment between the things of the spirit and the things of the flesh. These two forces he kept in coördination with a just balance. He would not have a warfare between them, nor allow the one to tyrannize over the other. He preserved a well ordered life, rendering to the body the needs of the body and to the spirit every just claim. He was, therefore, neither fanatic in his age nor hypocrite in his youth.

The main amusement of those pioneer days appears to have been parties and dancing. On the opening page of the diary for the year 1848, he describes a wedding party which he attended with his brother and sister. They were very merry; they finished at 3 a.m.; but most of them went on to another party, and did not go to bed until 7 o'clock. They were up at 11, and continued the merriment throughout the day, that

being the custom of the time. On the fifth anniversary of his marriage, he gave a party to seventy people. The dancing must have been pretty late, as he did not get to bed until 5 o'clock, after assisting to put the house to rights. On a survey party, the Indians danced in costume, and he joined, dressed in a wolf-skin.

The common drink of the day was "champain." It may be noted that he was not concerned over-much with the conventional spelling of words; but he wrote with the dainty hand of the draughtsman, which makes of his diary a pleasure to read. That dissolute wine flows freely on the earlier pages. Once there were eight baskets, and it was employed on occasions that do not now appear to have been adequate. He kept wine in the office. It was rare that the more substantial liquors were used. Only once did he venture upon a native wine fermented from raspberries. He suffered from nightmare, and did not repeat the experiment. Drank too much last night, he admits, possibly in a spirit of boasting, at a very early age; but he rather exculpates himself by the entry, Was up before church time. At night he paid a visit of condolence to John Buchanan who was just getting better from being drunk. The poor fellow had kept sober a long time, he notes. He went to a Fair, there was very little fighting; but equally not much business done.

On the other hand, Walter Moberley and he "resolved not to eat flesh, smoke, or drink strong drinks for a month." In due time they were at "Hancock's, where they had oysters, etc.; but they did not take any until after 12 o'clock; there was much excitement over the first glass of ale and cigar for a month." The first time he ever played cards for money was at Casey's; he won seven dollars, but left all on the table. But all those years, whilst he was constantly, honourably and profitably employed, he was incessant in his studies. He attended Geometry classes every evening. He heard a

lecture by Dr. Ryerson, which was very good. He spent an evening trying to solve the problem: Given the four sides of a quadrilateral figure inscribed in a circle—to construct it; but, like many another, he was not successful. He heard Jenny Lind sing; he illustrated the programme for her concert. He saw William Lyon MacKenzie in the Free Church. He heard Joseph Howe speak in Halifax, Alexander Mackenzie in Quebec, and Dr. Tupper at the first Dominion Parliament. He was down a Pictou coal-mine and up in a balloon in Paris.

A man's conduct of his love affair is the best indication of his character. In that great issue Fleming's conduct was profound, seemly, and romantic. The incident is recorded in his diary of the year 1854, prefaced by the comment, "In confidence for no one but the author's use." On October 15th, of the previous year, there is the ominous entry, At Wm. Hutcheson's in the evening—Miss Hall. He was there again on November 1st; but it was dull, dull. On the 6th, he was at the English Cathedral for the first time, and found it a pleasing religious experience. On the 25th, he was at the Cathedral again—with Miss Hall. His final reflection on the last day of the year reads, An intimacy has grown up with Miss Hall of Peterboro. How it may terminate, I don't know,—an amiable well-bred woman, with her peculiarities. The only other woman in whom he professes any interest was poor B. But she was very dull, naturally dull; he felt very sorry for her, but would always have the kindest remembrance of her; he saw her off on a steamboat—with ill concealed satisfaction.

For next day, wearing a new suit of winter black cloth, and having called upon his father and mother to wish them a Happy New Year, he was with the hospitable Mrs. Hutcheson for dinner and tea,—Miss Hall there. With discretion the black cloth was chosen. Fleming was colour-blind. He could

not distinguish red from green. In painting, he labeled his colours with words, to avoid their misuse. At a later period in this emotional experience, he ventured to array himself more handsomely; but the young woman was compelled to explain to him that he was wearing a pink suit.

Miss Hall paid her philopena very handsomely, a nice pair of wool cuffs; he put them on and went home reflecting on the past year and the future. On the following Saturday, he started in the train with Miss Hall for Peterboro. At Newmarket he secured horses and sleigh; but from that point the journey was dogged by disaster. He lost his new plaid; the pole of the sleigh broke; the repairs cost eleven shillings and three pence; near Uxbridge Mills the sleigh upset as they made way for a passing farmer, and their heads were among the horses' feet.

Then they took the wrong turn: traces loose, horses ran away furious, dreadful upset, dashed against a stump, insensible, lay in the snow, thought ribs and breast-bone broken. Fortunately, Miss Hall not much hurt; horses ran away $1\frac{1}{2}$ past nine; managed to crawl up; met two Highland women, showed us the nearest house, Neil A. McLean's; supported by them; doctor sent for; great pain all night; Miss H. and Dr. Kellog very attentive all night; no sleep. In the morning they transferred to Dr. Kellog's house, having given seven-and-six to McLean's children. The sufferer spent a long tiresome night, having no company, and was glad to see daylight. Honest McLean found the horses, and after an interval of four days the journey was resumed. The incidental expenses were five-pounds-ten, which included the fee to the tavern-keeper who drove them as far as Lindsay,—jolting pretty heavy, where they met the Halls who had been waiting for them for three days. There was yet the distance to Peterboro by stage,—small, cramped, and full, a very tiresome journey. But they arrived safely at the hospitable Halls.

Just a year later, the pair returned by the same route. They were now married, on January 3rd, 1855; and that day after breakfast started off in a spring wagon for Toronto. A clear sun shone. They stopped at the hotel in Lindsay all night, and spent the evening in the same room that they occupied nearly twelve months ago under different circumstances, the diarist notes. In the rainy morning, they started off in the carriage, well wrapped up, the roads not bad but wet, and in the afternoon arrived at Dr. Kellog's once more. Jeanie was so well wrapped up, their host mistook her for Dr. Richardson, but soon found out and was taken by surprise. They spent a pleasant evening smoking, chatting, laughing, and next morning, a fine clear frosty morning, were up early, as Dr. Kellog had a threshing-bee. They remained a week, and had many pleasant diversions. They called upon the McLeans, good honest Highlanders, where they had tea; they walked to the post-office, where for fun he posted a letter addressed, Mrs. Sandford Fleming, Toronto. They had a slide on the ice, and a big turkey for dinner. In their spare moments the two men helped a Darky mason to build a chimney. One morning there was preaching in a log house without heating. Jeanie did not go. In the afternoon, Highland Preacher called—argument. That is the austere text of the diary. There is no comment. With hard reticence, it will receive none upon these pages.

At length, he read in the *Globe* an advertisement relative to various railway works. The halcyon days were at an end. In the morning, an hour before daybreak, dark, rain, and sleet, a Scotch plowman driving, roads rough, sleet changing to snow and cold, they were on their way to their new home. On the last day of the visit, as he records, Jeanie and I walked along to see the stump on which I was thrown out of the sleigh, and so nearly killed. After all, I believe I have to thank it for my wife. Walked to the grist-mill, and afterwards went

down and cut the stump, and carried it up on my shoulders. Let the present generation smile if it will; the newly wedded pair carried the stump with them in the wagon to Toronto. Ten years later, he presented to her a picture of their five children, framed in wood from that stump.

The present generation may also learn from this diary the seemly way of conducting a courtship. It will be remembered that on January 10th, 1854, Fleming arrived with Miss Hall at her father's house in Peterboro, after the accident. The family was very kind and attentive. They sent for Dr. McNab, who bled the sufferer. His arm was too stiff for writing, and Miss Hall answered a letter for him; kind people. He remained seven days. After two weeks he wrote to Miss Hall, Peterboro, and on March 21st, wrote what he describes as *the* letter. On April 10th, the reply came; and on the 14th, having bought a new hat, he went to see Mr. Hall, who appears to have been in Toronto. He rather awkwardly broke the ice; but Mr. Hall, seems to have been a prudent man. He said he was in the habit of leaving such matters to the girl's mother and herself. Four days later he wrote to Jeanie.

On May 14th, he arrived in Peterboro once more, at one o'clock in the morning. He stayed at Casey's hotel, the place where he first played cards for money, and at the proper time went to church, a few pews in front of Jeanie,—afraid to look round. He went to Mrs. Hall's for dinner; Jeanie came after Sunday-school. He stayed afternoon and evening; to bed in old room about 10 o'clock. Next day he returned home. On June 21st, he sent a likeness to her. In August he made another visit of three days; and with her and her brother drove six miles in the country. It was January 1st, that he told his father he was going to Peterboro to get a wife; and he started about 8 p.m., roads very bad, no snow, on box seat of stage, arriving at the Globe hotel in Cobourg at six in the

morning, a ten hours ride. Here he was, he reflected, in the same hotel where he was eight years ago; but now, a great big Canadianized Scotchman, with rather an ungainly figure, large head, red or sandy-coloured beard and moustache,—going to marry Jeanie Hall. Her baptismal name was Jean Ann.

By noon he was at the end of his journey, and after some delay Jeannie appeared. That evening and next morning he amused himself with the children, as Jeanie was very busy. On January 3rd, he records with all the precision of a railway time-table: Beautiful morning, walked to town to get license, one pound ten shillings; Rev. Mr. Rogers expected in 2 or 3 minutes; it is now 11 o'clock; all ready to start off in an hour; ceremony to take place at once; 12 o'clock, now married to Jeanie Hall,—she at the time being 24 years of age, and he twenty-eight.

In Toronto they lived in his boarding-house, where Jeanie and he were at their own table for the first time. All were pleased and surprised. In the evening he went to the Canadian Institute, but was home at 9 o'clock. The next week was spent in displaying his treasure to his family, and in house-hunting. His first purchase was auspicious, 3 bottles of port, 3 sherry, 2 decanters, 1 doz. glasses; cost 5 pounds. The next purchase was a carpet; then some furniture, a cord of wood, and a ton of coals. Amidst these activities he found time to stop with two friends at McConkey's for oysters and champagne; but he was home to tea. On January 31st, they moved from Mrs. Buchan's to their own new house on Richmond and Carlton Street.

The winter of 1855 must have been a pleasant one. Jeanie would often meet him at the office, and they would have dinner. One evening they tried to sing in unison; another, he read aloud Thomson's "Seasons." In one week, however, he confesses that he had supper at the hotel, whereby she was

disappointed; twice he had an excellent supper, pipes, etc.; and returning about 1 o'clock found poor Jeanie sitting up for him. In the Spring he took her to the old home in Peterboro and was much delighted to have her back in three weeks. In September they had a short holiday at Lake Simcoe.

By November 7th, he was anxious to be home from Collingwood, for next day Jeanie was taken ill; sent for Dr. Telfert and Mrs. Lewis; about 2 p.m. Mrs. Hutcheson comes in and tells me I am the father of a son—Frank Andrew. Seven months later all three were at Sunnyside, sketching, a beautiful day, when Jeanie discovered the baby had cut his first tooth. This was the child in whose honour he and Jeanie, whilst planting apple-trees at Weston, put 3 gallons of whisky under a Pippen near the asparagus bed. The liquor was disinterred and duly drunk on his 21st birthday. That autumn they removed to York Street next to the Rossin House, afterwards the site of the old Toronto Club. In that house the second child was born, November 20th, 1857. At seven minutes to 2, the watcher heard little cries; another pilgrimage begun, if our common Father and Creator see fit.

They left Toronto for Halifax on May 17th, 1864; all debts paid, as far as he knew. He was under engagement to choose the location of the Intercolonial Railway. The survey for a railway is not a simple problem. There is always a choice of routes. Across the Rocky Mountains this choice lay between the Yellow Head and the Kicking Horse Pass. For the Intercolonial the obvious route was the course of the St. John River; but the engineers encountered the barrier of the American frontier, as established by the Ashburton Treaty. Fleming accepted the legend current at the time, that Lord Ashburton had yielded to the Americans territory to which they were not entitled. He was not aware that the exact contrary is the truth. Ashburton secured for Canada from

the Americans an area of 1,000 square miles to which we had not the slightest claim; he threw back the American frontier from a line that passed within twenty miles of Quebec, and flanked the British colonies for a distance of 200 miles, where it had been established by the Battle of Yorktown and the Treaty of Paris eighty years before. The origin of the grotesque fiction was unknown to Fleming. Daniel Webster, one of the arbitrators, to induce Congress to accept the Treaty, persuaded them that they had the best of the bargain. Fleming believed the legend, as some Canadians yet do. Lord Ashburton was heavily censured in the British House of Commons for his lack of frankness in dealing with the Americans; and Lord Brougham was compelled to come to his rescue by affirming that it would be carrying British frankness too far if a negotiator set out with showing "that he had no case, and not a leg to stand on." As a result of the Battle of Yorktown, the Intercolonial Railway follows the present route; but the engineer was compelled to make alternative surveys.

Only once did he undertake an actual contract to build a railway. In 1865 he received instructions to complete the line to Pictou,—*carte blanche*, any means he deemed expedient. After five months it appears there was some criticism. He offered to abandon the contract, if the Government thought they could do any better. They would not hear of it for a moment. He extended the railway three-quarters of a mile further; although he was not bound by the contract, the spirit and intention was to arrive at the deep water of Pictou harbour. In this connexion occurs the single cryptic entry in the diary, To Dr. Tupper 400 dollars Elex. Exp. The meaning can only be surmised from the name of the recipient and from the preceding entry, Recd, from Receiver-General on account Pictou Railway, 40,000 dollars.

He had under his hand during his career the con-

struction of four thousand miles of road. When he was asked by the Premier of Upper Canada what his charge would be, he answered, Ten dollars a day with the usual expenses. In time he received 5,000 dollars a year. When one reflects upon the fortunes made by the transcontinental railway builders of those days, one cannot refrain from reflecting upon the rectitude of Sandford Fleming.

If one were compelled to use only a single word to define Sir Sandford Fleming's character, no better term than Rectitude could be found. His hands were clean, his eye was single, his heart was pure. On every page of the diary these qualities shine out; and if a man has anything unworthy to conceal, he had better not write a diary. There are too many eyes on the alert. A like strictness he demanded from his subordinates. He suspended one for allowing inferior work, and stopped the masonry which he thought defective.

The impression made upon all observers by his wisdom and rectitude was instant. The Duke of Newcastle sent for him in 1863, to discuss his proposal for connecting the Red River colony with Eastern Canada by a simple road which, as the need grew, could be converted into a highway and finally to a railroad. If that plan had been adopted in later years, Canada would have been the gainer, although Fleming was well aware that the plan would not satisfy the precipitate or the impatient. When it became a question of assigning a route for the Intercolonial Railway, the task was to be entrusted to a commission of three engineers, one chosen jointly by Ontario and Quebec, one by New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and one by the Imperial Government. The four Canadian governments chose Sandford Fleming. The Duke of Newcastle who was Colonial Secretary concurred,—the character of Mr. Fleming was so unexceptionable. This rectitude is disclosed in his financial operations which are noted in finest detail,—the little sums he borrowed and the

larger sums he lent, the cost of a pair of gloves for St. Andrew's Ball, what he paid for mending a whiffle-tree, and even for the two spades and pickax required for turning the first sod of the North-Western Railway,—4 shillings 11½ pence.

And all those years, he had his own increasing family to support. He had in addition the care of his father's family. It is not clear how they came migrating to Canada, as the diary of the period is not available. The young David who accompanied him and so promptly found work in Toronto does not appear to have had a permanent success. Twenty years later, he required a loan of 20 half-sovereigns, although the same day he had received 15 dollars for copying a report. Something was always happening to him; his boy was drowned in the East River of Pictou. It is often that way with families.

This elder family, after the misadventure with the saw-mill on the Humber, moved to Collingwood on a farm of 400 acres; but it was many years before the final payment was made. At a time when his father was 74, and his mother 66, they then having been married 45 years, he made a hurried visit to them; and in the house were all their eight children, the youngest being 32 years of age. They had never lost a child, he notes. He himself was not so fortunate. The little daughter who was born in Halifax, September 9th, 1867, died at sea the following year, when the return voyage from England was nearly over. She was buried in Halifax beside the little brother Paul. That one also was born in Halifax, on December 29th, 1865; 3 boys and 3 girls now, the joyous father records. The boy had been taken seriously ill; and although they had the professional attendance of Dr. Tupper, and the kind nursing of many friends who sat up every night, the little child passed quietly away. To occupy the vacant cradle, which years ago had been built with wood from the

memorable stump, there was a new child, a fine plump little boy—Walter, born on October 6th; 1868. That same year, Mrs. Hall died at sea. It pleased God to take her spirit unto himself the day before the steamer reached Queenstown. She was buried at Broughton on June 1st, near Manchester, beside a pretty little church overgrown with ivy.

In those Intercolonial days, Sandford Fleming moved among the springs of the Canadian Confederation. In St. John, on June 13th, 1864, he sought out the proper persons for inviting the Canadian members of Parliament who were then in the Province. At Halifax, he shared in their entertainment which included a brilliant affair described as a "bonnet hop," a performance which now would probably be designated as *thé dansant*. He met them again in Fredericton, and on the way to St. John by steamer had long conversations with them. He had arrived in Fredericton at 2 o'clock on the same morning, having travelled 110 miles by wagon that day. He was in the Nova Scotia Assembly on March 18th, 1866, when the debate terminated successfully. On July 1st, 1867, he was up at 5 o'clock, a very cloudy morning, putting up flags; the clouds cleared off; a beautiful day. The demonstration for the first Dominion Day was splendid. On November 9th, he was present at the first meeting of the Dominion Parliament in Ottawa.

He was always diligent in hearing the word, and in Nova Scotia there were advantages not to be missed. Even at Little Metis, he heard the Rev. Mr. McCulloch preach, the old minister who had baptized Jeanie. In Pictou, he sat under Rev. D. M. Gordon; again in Ottawa, and at various other places. It was in Halifax he first heard Rev. George M. Grant preach. On April 21st, 1867, he and Jeanie took their first communion in St. Mathew's Church—Rev. G. M. Grant. With impartiality they dined at Archbishop Connolly's. Mr. Grant was there. He was the first passenger on the railway

to New Glasgow; and six years later the two friends crossed the continent in company from Ocean to Ocean. They shared the hardship and perils of the adventure, and equally the pleasure. When they crossed the Yellow Head Pass, they met the party from the West with fresh supplies. For supper they had bread light as Parisian rolls, made from Columbia flour, delicious Java coffee sweetened with sugar from the Sandwich Islands, and crisp bacon. In the morning they had porridge, and then divine service. The congregation was twenty-one men. They joined in singing "Old Hundred," and in common prayer. Then a sermon was preached,—not very short as Dr. Grant admits in his own book, on the plea that few of them had heard a sermon for three months. Few ministers in those days had so sound a plea for a long sermon.

The successive residences occupied by this devoted family, in Toronto, Halifax, and Ottawa are all described. They increase in grandeur as time went on. In Halifax the Flemings entered upon a larger social life. They gave a dinner for 23 persons; again a nice evening party, dancing, about forty in all; Prince Louis of Battenburg was among the midshipmen present. On another occasion the number rose to 90 persons. In Ottawa they gave a party for 150 people; they dined with the Marquis of Lorne, with Lord Lansdowne, and all successive Governors-General, often as the only guests. On New Year Days he made 40 or 50 calls upon friends. In 1907, Sir Sandford Fleming was created Knight; but his wife was not to share in the Courtesy.

Throughout the diary for nearly forty years, the gentle spirit of Jeanie lives and moves. On March 26th, 1888, the spirit departs,—and leaves me with my children; at the funeral my four boys with me. Thank God and bless them. I am grateful to God for his goodness in the comfort and kindness of my children.

On every recurring anniversary of her birth and death,

he notes the event, The memory of her Birthday only is left: in 1892, The four years that have passed have softened, but not lessened the loss. To conclude—with the words of Richard Rolle, addressed to the aged Cistercian of Hempole: If thou wilt ask how good and great is he or she, ask how much he or she loves.

THE SON OF MAN

BY N. MICKLEM

THE break-up of the old theological dogmatisms in the course of last century synchronized and was closely associated with the application of scientific literary and historical canons to the Christian Scriptures. Under the influence of such remarkably different books as Renan's *Vie de Jésus* and Seeley's *Ecce Homo* there arose a "Back to Jesus" movement epitomized in the title, *Jesus or Christ*, ascribed to a volume of essays published in connection with the *Hibbert Journal*. The so-called "Jesus of history" was sharply contrasted with the "Christ" of Christian speculation. The life of Jesus was retold on the supposition that he was prophet, reformer, wisest and best of rabbis, as if, indeed, he was the embodiment of "sweetness and light", of the emancipated wisdom and enlightened philanthropy of the Victorian age.

From this position there has been an extreme reaction. Eminent scholars, amongst whom Johannes Weiss and Albert Schweitzer may be named pre-eminent, have laid the greatest stress upon elements in the Gospel portrait of Jesus which the liberal, modernizing reconstructions of the very "human" Jesus had glossed over or ignored. The teaching and the life of Jesus, said these scholars, is to be understood in the light of the "eschatological" expectations of the age; for Jesus proclaimed first and last the "end of the world" and the Last Judgment, heralded by his own return "with the clouds of heaven" as the supernatural "Son of Man" of Daniel's vision (Daniel VII). This reaction, extravagant and intemperate as it has sometimes been, has done great service in that it has set problems which Christian scholarship must answer.

Around the "eschatological" sayings ascribed to Jesus in the Gospels, their interpretation and their authenticity, the storms of controversy and discussion are raging. A convenient history of the discussion up till a short while ago can be found in Albert Schweitzer's *Leben-Jesu-Forschung*.¹ This paper is concerned with that solution of the question which commends itself to the writer. It is not the only possible answer, nor does the writer suppose himself in any degree to have demonstrated his case. Indeed, the problem is not susceptible of any merely literary solution. Even though the interpretation here suggested is possible, or even intrinsically probable, upon literary grounds, it will in the long run be accepted or rejected upon theological or religious grounds rather than literary.

When Jesus is reported to have said, "there be some of them that stand here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the kingdom of God come with power" (Mark IX, 1), or "you shall not have gone through the cities of Israel before the Son of Man come" (Matt. X, 23), or "this generation shall not pass, till all these things be done" (Mark XIII, 30), or "ye (his judges) shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power and coming with the clouds of heaven" (Mark XIV, 62), the ordinary Christian reader tends to ignore or explain away the obvious meaning of the words. The instinct of the ordinary Christian reader may be sound, but it is not permissible for scholars to cut the problem in this simple way. Jesus is also reported to have spoken frequently of the unquenchable fire, the undying, insatiate worm, of the imminent day of Judgment, of a wailing and gnashing of teeth awaiting the impenitent. There would, perhaps, be no great literary problem here, if there were not, much deeper, a religious problem. The religious problem is threefold:

¹English translation, "the Quest of the Historical Jesus."

(1) If Jesus taught that the end of the world and the last Judgment were imminent, and that he himself was shortly to return "with the clouds of heaven", he was grievously mistaken on a point of fact.

(2) The expectation of a sudden catastrophic end of the world and of a heavenly Assize upon all souls cannot be a peripheral belief to any one who holds it; it must dominate and condition whatever else he teaches. It cannot be irrelevant to his "real" message.

(3) Some of the "eschatological" teaching ascribed to Jesus is logically and in principle inconsistent with certain elements in the teaching of Jesus which are of indubitable authenticity.

This last point deserves elaboration.² The eschatology of the apocalyptic writings current in and about the days of Jesus is homogeneous in spite of great differences of detail. The following message from Enoch (I, 3-8, V, 6) may be quoted as typical: "the Holy, Great One will come forth from his dwelling . . . and all shall be smitten with fear . . . and the earth shall be wholly rent in sunder, and all that is upon the earth shall perish . . . And behold! He cometh with ten thousand of his holy ones to execute judgment upon all, and to destroy all the ungodly, and to convict all flesh of all the works of their ungodliness which they have ungodly committed . . . And for all of you sinners there shall be no salvation, but on you all shall abide a curse."

The theme of all these writings is the imminent outbreak of the wrath of God against all sinners and impenitents, the felicity of the "elect" being balanced by the doom of the wicked including all but a handful of the Gentile world. The special vocabulary of these apocalypses, the "Gehenna of

²The case it set forth with admirable lucidity and discernment by Miss Dougall in *The Lord of Thought*, even if the solution offered by her and her colleague is not wholly convincing.

fire", the "avenging" of "the elect", the "day of judgment", the imminence of the great Assize, is found here and there in the Gospels ascribed to Jesus. On the other hand, nothing is more distinctive of the teaching of Jesus than the attitude which he told men to adopt towards their enemies; they must love their enemies and pray for their persecutors; they must forgive the offender "unto seventy times seven"; thus and thus only will men show themselves sons of the heavenly Father, for such is God's attitude towards his enemies: "he makes his sun to shine on the evil and the good, and sends rain upon the just and the unjust." Thus men are to be "perfect" (or "merciful") as their heavenly Father is perfect (Matt V, 43-48, cf. Luke VI, 35f). God is likened to the father who ran to meet the prodigal on his return and grieved over the elder brother, to the shepherd who leaves the ninety and nine folded sheep and goes out after the one lost sheep, "till he find." If any reader judges this conception of God to be compatible with that of the apocalypses, there is no more to be said.

If, then, Jesus used the eschatological language ascribed to him by the evangelists, and used it in the sense undoubtedly intended by them, such teaching must have been central to his message; it was based, furthermore, upon a profound misapprehension of facts, as the future showed, and he was guilty of such inconsistencies of thought as to appear almost a case of psychological dissociation. In other words, the Gospels do not present us with a homogeneous and credible picture of Jesus. Whatever theory, therefore, out of several possibilities we ultimately select, we are bound in some degree to reconstruct and reinterpret the Gospel narratives. In any reconstruction we shall be wise to start from elements that are certain or relatively certain. Of these I suggest four:

(1) We know that the mind of Jesus was steeped in the language and thought of the Old Testament.

(2) We know that since the Maccabean wars a large

number of Jewish "apocalypses" had been written, but we do not know to what extent these ideas were "in the air" nor in what circles these books were studied. It is probable that the influence of these writings in the times of Jesus has been greatly exaggerated.³

Thus it is almost universally assumed, but on very insufficient evidence, that the preaching of John the Baptist was thoroughly "eschatological." Josephus gives no hint of this, possibly, no doubt, because Josephus sought to commend Judaism to the Gentile world; the evangelists, on the other hand, were biased, as will be generally agreed, partly because they looked back at John's work in the light of the movement that followed it, and partly because for polemic reasons they wished to assert the inferiority of John to Jesus. It is quite possible, though not by any means certain, that the preaching of John was entirely *prophetic*, as opposed to eschatological, i.e. that like the pre-exilic prophets he predicted a judgment of God, terrible and cataclysmic, but still upon the stage of this earth. I should judge that, in the days of Jesus, probably the followers of John, certainly the "quiet in the land" and the "god-fearers" of the Gentiles who gathered round them, presumably those who thought that they should themselves take up the sword, the many Pharisees who were prepared to grumble and wait and who feared nothing more than popular excitement, certainly the mass of "sinners" whom the Pharisees despised, and certainly the members of the Hellenistic synagogues—all these were not on fire with eschatological expectations of a sudden, imminent end of the world and final judgment heralded by a "Son of Man" on the clouds of heaven. It is likely, however, that they were in varying degree aware

³Cf. G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, Part VII. Also G. Kittel, *die Probleme des palästinischen Spätjudentums u. das Urchristentum*, p. 14. "Als Hauptlinie des nachexilischen Judentums, unbeschadet aller Nebenerscheinungen, kommt zu allen Zeiten nur eine einzige in Frage, die 'unverrückbare Grundlage' des Gesetzes"; at most the apocalyptic is a "Nebentypus."

of such hopes and in various degrees sympathetic towards them.

(3) We know that in the first days of Christianity the Christians felt themselves bound to explain, or explain away, the *skandalon* or stumbling-block of Jesus' death as a criminal. We have no reason to think that the non-fulfilment of his prophecies was a difficulty to them in their missionary work. We know that they explained the Cross from Scripture, and that they projected upon the imminent future those other Scriptural predictions of a triumphant Messiah which Jesus had not as yet fulfilled. Shortly he would return, they said, as "Son of Man," to inaugurate the Judgment and the Messianic age. Beyond question they took over from Judaism a large part of its eschatological hope and expectation. But did they in this repeat and elaborate or contradict the teaching of the Master?

(4) We know that there was current in the Church, and accepted as a saying of the Lord, an oracle concerning "the abomination of desolation," which could only have had its origin in connection with the plan of Caligula in 40 A.D. to set up his statue in the Jewish Temple.⁴

The early Church in Palestine undoubtedly believed that Jesus would shortly return upon the clouds of heaven to inaugurate the Last Judgment and the Messianic age. They believed with all the Jewish nation that all the prophecies of Scripture must be fulfilled; it could be only Jesus who could fulfil them; if there were no remembered sayings of Jesus predicting his fulfilment of every expectation, they might assume that he must have predicted that of which he now assured them in the Spirit. But were there no sayings of Jesus to which they might appeal?

My thesis is, not indeed that Jesus rejected all the new teaching in Israel since the great days of prophecy were closed,

⁴Cf. the full discussion in B. W. Bacon, *The Gospel of Mark* pp. 120 ff.

but that the dominant background of his thought and ideas was the Hebrew prophets, rather than the later apocalyptists, that his teaching was interpreted and edited by the early Church in terms of its own eschatology, and that phrases used by Jesus first and foremost in the sense of Hebrew prophecy, were understood by the Church in terms of eschatology. In this connection the fundamental differences between the prophetic and the apocalyptic (or eschatological) outlook are as follows:

(1) The apocalyptists despaired of this world as altogether corrupt and looked to God to destroy this world (eschatology) and to create "a new world to redress the balance of the old." The prophet, though he condemned this world as it was, yet looked to "see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living"; that is, this world would one day be vindicated as God's world, not the devil's.

(2) Thus, while both prophet and apocalyptist predicted doom and judgment, the apocalyptist looked to a heavenly Assize after the destruction of this world; the prophet, on the other hand, looked to see God's judgment taking place in history in the working out of God's moral order; thus the "day of the Lord" is revealed in the overthrow of the proud kingdoms of Egypt or Babylon or in the destruction of Jerusalem.

(3) While prophets and apocalyptists alike predicted a day of blessedness in the future, the apocalyptists declared that this day would dawn when the cup of God's anger was full and at the moment predetermined by God. The advent of the day of blessedness in the teaching of the great prophets, on the other hand, is always ethically conditioned and therefore undetermined.⁵

⁵These three propositions are treated at length and, in respect of the pre-exilic prophets, in detail in my book *Prophecy and Eschatology*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1926.

If this article is to be written in English, and not in "telegraphese," it will be impossible to relate the thesis to every relevant passage in the Gospels; at most certain crucial passages can be treated and the reconstruction adumbrated in somewhat general terms. If the following statement seems dogmatic, it should be excused on the ground that detailed discussion and *Auseinandersetzung* are here impossible.

During his public ministry Jesus did not point men to himself as "Messiah," *à fortiori*, not as Danielic "Son of Man." This is shown, *inter alia*, by the following considerations: (1) that he was popularly considered a "prophet" (Matt. XIV, 5, XVI 14, XXI, 46; Luke VII, 16, 39, XXIV, 19); (2) that he was not immediately arrested by Herod in Galilee, and that he was allowed by the Roman garrison to enter Jerusalem and teach there at the time of the Feast; (3) that it was notoriously difficult to get evidence against him such that a case would lie before Pilate. In Galilee the subject of his preaching was not himself but the kingdom or rule of God. The kingdom of God would be consummated in the future, after death, in heaven (Mark IX, 43-47), but the powers of the age to come were already at work in this present age; his hearers were exhorted to enter the kingdom now; this kingdom on earth was to grow till like the kingdom spoken of by Daniel (VII. 18, cf. II, 34) it "fill" the whole earth (cf. II, 35). Of this three instances may be taken, the Beelzebub controversy, the sign of Jonah and the parables of the kingdom.

(1) Mark III, 23-27=Matt. XII, 25-29, cf. Luke XI, 17-23. The exorcism of the demons proves, says Jesus, that Satan's house, or kingdom, is tottering. This spoiling of Satan's goods is only possible because he is no longer able to

^eFor the kingdom as present cf. Mark XII, 34, III 23-27, X, 14f. Such passages may be understood thus: the perfected *conditions* of the kingdom lie in the future; the essential *nature* of the kingdom, faith and righteousness, sonship toward God, brotherhood toward man, may be realized now.

prevent it; Satan, therefore, is "bound", though not yet slain.⁷ The powers of the age to come are already at work. The Pharisees are unconvinced; they ascribe to Satan the redeeming works of God. For that sin, says Jesus, there is no forgiveness; it cuts a soul off from God.⁸ This vital passage is wholly non-eschatological.

(2) The Pharisees ask Jesus for "a sign"; Jesus refuses any sign but "the sign of Jonah, the prophet."⁹ The Pharisees ask for a sign of what? Of the coming End of the world? Of the personal claims of Jesus? Of the presence now of God's kingdom? Of the resurrection (Matt. XII, 40)? Jesus' answer clinches the matter. A prophet is in himself a sign from God, a sign clear to all who, unlike the Pharisees, can distinguish between the works of God and the works of Satan. The men of Nineveh in the story recognized and received the "sign" in their day; now Jesus is himself the sign. But why Jonah and not one more famous of the prophets? Because Jonah represented and symbolized the mission of Israel to the Gentiles, the opposite of Pharisaic exclusiveness and of the apocalyptic hope!

(3) First, there is a group of parables in Luke all of which are fundamentally inconsistent with the ending of God's patience, the proclamation of unalterable doom, the advent of a supernatural figure on the clouds and the catastrophic winding up of the present order, in fact, with the essential furniture of apocalypse. These parables are the Good Samaritan, the Royal Feast, the Lost Sheep, the Lost Coin, the Prodigal Son (Luke X, 29ff., XIV, 15ff., XV). If Jesus

⁷In Mark, Jesus himself is "the stronger" who binds Satan. The parallels, Matt. XII, 27f and Luke XI, 19f, make it clear that Jesus meant "the Spirit of God" as "the stronger."

⁸Mark III, 28f. Mark again has done manifest violence to his source by identifying speaking against Jesus with the sin against the Holy Spirit, contrast Matt. XII, 32, Luke XII, 10.

⁹Mark VIII, 11-13, Matt. XVI, 1, 2a. 4, XII, 38f, Luke XI, 29. Mark says "a sign from the sky" because he has just narrated the feeding of the four thousand which he stresses as a stupendous miracle. He omits Jonah because Jonah was not a sign from the sky.

was a fiery apocalypticist, as some suppose, who transmuted his message of doom and terror into this new Gospel?

Second, another group of parables, the Sower, the Seed, the Mustard Seed and the Leaven (Mark IV, 1-9, 26-28, 30-32, Matt. XIII, 33), to each of which Bacon's comment on the first of them applies: "the conception differs fundamentally from the apocalyptic. It does not deny a catastrophic *dénouement*, but lays emphasis on a present, hidden 'sovereignty of God' whose manifestation belongs to the unknown future."¹⁰ These are parables of the growth of the kingdom closely parallel to the growing, triumphing "kingdom" in Daniel represented by the "stone cut out without hands" (Daniel II, 34).

Third, by the early Church the parables were taken as riddles and as allegories of the Church's eschatology. Thus Mark would have us believe that Jesus spoke in parables that the common people might not understand (IV, 12), that conversely, the teaching of the parables is only for the public, not for the disciples who already understand the esoteric mystery (IV, 11), and yet that the disciples themselves did not understand the parables (IV, 13)! Hence we find Church allegorizing explanations attached to some parables,¹¹ and many parables more or less palpably glossed and edited to give them an eschatological colour. Thus, the parable of the Importunate Friend is followed and explained by the great *à fortiori* argument of Jesus: if you being evil know how to give good gifts, how much more God (Luke XI, 5-13). The parable of the godless Judge (Luke XVIII, 1ff) is closely parallel and requires the same explanation; in place of this we are given a contrary interpretation—how much more shall God *avenge* "his elect."¹² Similarly the parable of the Seed

¹⁰B. W. Bacon, *The Gospel of Mark*, p. 141.

¹¹Cf. Mark IV, 13-20, Matt. XIII, 36-43, 49f.

¹²For other illustrations of this editing, cf. Matt. XIII, 49f, Luke XII, 46, Matt. XXII 6f, 13f.

quoted above has been edited and distorted by an eschatological reference to the sickle.¹³

But if Jesus did not proclaim the imminent crack of doom, the resurrection and Last Judgment, he certainly proclaimed judgment in the manner of the prophets. He said of Chorazin and Bethsaida, as Ezekiel had said of Jerusalem (XVI, 53) that it would be more tolerable for Sodom in God's judgment than for them; he applied to Capernaum Isaiah's threat of a "Day of the Lord" against "all that is high and lifted up (II, 12). But that this judgment should come in the working out of God's moral order *in*, and not *beyond*, this world is proved by his later woe over Jerusalem (Mark XIII, 1f, Luke XIX, 39-44); in both these passages Jesus, entirely in the manner of the prophets,¹⁴ predicts a terrible overthrow of the city in the natural course of history which is God's moral order. The prediction that not one stone of the Temple should be left upon another is not "eschatological" and was certainly not invented by the Church after the actual destruction and *burning* of the Temple in A.D. 70.¹⁵

Jesus came into Galilee, then, preaching a message at

¹³Mark IV, 29. Indications that this last verse is spurious are, first, that the parable is complete without it; second, that it seems to contain a literary allusion to Joel III, 13, out of place in a parable; third, because it turns a parable of the growth of the kingdom into an allegory of the effect of Jesus' preaching.

¹⁴*Prophecy and Eschatology, passim.*

¹⁵It is impossible within the limits of this paper to discuss all the problems raised by Mark's great eschatological chapter (XIII), the integrity and authenticity of which, I suppose, no scholar would maintain in its entirety. It must suffice to point out here that the disciples' question about the date of the destruction of the Temple (v. 4) is followed by a long apocalypse dealing with an entirely different question, the End of the world, some of which is indubitably of later date (v. 14); verses 31 and 32, however, do answer, and in an entirely non-eschatological manner, the question with which the chapter opens: the disciples had asked, when will the destruction of the Temple come? Jesus answers by a parable bidding them read the signs of the times, and adds that the day and the hour are known only to God. This is the authentic kernel of the chapter; it is possible, however, that other sayings of Jesus are incorporated elsewhere out of their original context. We may note that vv. 5-9 and 14-20, 24-31 constitute a complete "apocalypse," which, so far as their content is concerned, might as well have been written by a Jew as a Christian. There is nothing to be said for the authenticity of any of these verses as a saying of Jesus.

once of joy and deliverance and at the same time of sternest warning. The hour had struck, he said; the kingdom of heaven was at hand, the powers of God were overthrowing the works of Satan, men might enter now by a change of heart and thought into sonship with God, into eternal life under the conditions of time; but woe to those who could not see in his message and his works of healing and redemption the very finger of God, who ascribed to Satan or Beelzebub the workings of God's Spirit, and woe to those cities that knew not the day of their visitation! They were heading for disaster; inevitable destruction would come upon them for their blindness and rejection of the light; they would be laid low in the dust like Sodom in the days of old. There was therefore a tension, an earnestness, an urgency, as well as the thrill of a new hope, the dawn of a better day, in Jesus' preaching.

But can we say how Jesus visualized his mission? If the nation had listened and repented, what would he have had them do? If Jesus had been an apocalypticist, he would only have urged the people to cleanse and rectify their lives, and then to wait in trembling hope for God to act and avenge himself upon all sinners. A number of scholars actually so interpret the mind of Jesus. If Jesus so taught, not only was he completely mistaken in his outlook, but his religious thought was on a far lower and more primitive level than that of the great prophets of Israel who preceded him.

The great prophets had believed that it was the divine call and destiny of Israel to bring the knowledge of God to the whole world, to be, in fact, a missionary nation¹⁶ Since the time of the building of the Second Temple in 520 B.C., the religious universalism of the great prophets had been set aside, though not without occasional protest and the dissidence of

¹⁶See further *Prophecy and Eschatology*. The argument is summarized in a short article in *Theology*, October 1928=*Theologische Blätter*, of same date.

certain groups, in favour of a policy of national exclusiveness of which the Temple with its carefully guarded courts and the Law with its "fence" of traditional elaborations were the symbols. This nationalism expressed itself politically in a vitriolic hatred of the Roman Empire; political impotence projected its desires upon the future in the phantasmagoria of apocalyptic expectation and the proclamation of the terrible things God would do to the Romans when their cup of iniquity was full. Jesus Christ went back to the universalism of the great prophets, and called Israel as a nation to be united, not against the Romans, but on behalf of all mankind. He called Israel to be indeed, as already in name (Jer. XXXI, 20. Hosea XI, 1), the son of God, to be the "Servant of the Lord" who was called to be "a light to the Gentiles" and God's "salvation unto the ends of the earth" (Is. XLIX, 6). It is not unlikely also that he spoke of that "Man" or "Son of Man" representing "the kingdom of the saints of the Most High" of which Daniel had spoken (VII, 18). We know that these titles, "Son of God", "Servant", "Son of Man" were applied to Jesus himself in an individual and unique sense. It is likely, however, that if he used them, he applied them in their Old Testament and corporate sense with reference to himself and all who with him would stand loyal to the true destiny of Israel.¹⁷ Jesus came, then, on a

¹⁷This sentence requires a paper to itself. I have room but for three brief comments. (1) On the first title see B. W. Bacon, *Jesus the Son of God*, Yale University Press. (2) There are a number of passages in the Gospels where indubitably a "Son of Man" eschatology has been superimposed upon a "Servant christology" in the source, e.g., Mark IX 12, XIV, 21 (where the reference to "Scripture" must be to Is. LIII 12, cf. Luke XXII, 22, 37), also Mark IX, 31 (for it is the "Servant" of Is. LIII who rises again; the "Son of Man" on the other hand comes "with the clouds of heaven"), similarly Mark X, 45 (for it is the "Servant" of Is. LIII, 11, not the Danielic "Son of Man", who gives his life as a "ransom"). (3) Finally, not only is it certain that Jesus was not understood by his hearers in public to be claiming that he was the "Son of Man" of Daniel's vision, but also there is no evidence that "the Son of Man" was a current Messianic term, for both in Enoch and IV Esdras "the Son of Man" is always by implication "the Son of Man to whom Daniel referred"; the phrase is not used as a self-explanatory Messianic term.

national mission of repentance and hope, calling upon his nation to rise to its great God-given destiny. If, once again, Israel refused the call, then, as the prophets had taught, God would raise up a new Israel "after the Spirit" through a "remnant" of faithful souls, the nucleus of the true Israel to be; this remnant would be "the Church", though it is very doubtful whether Jesus used the equivalent of this word. If all the disciples should desert him and flee, yet he in his own person must represent the true Israel, the Son of God, the Servant, the Son of Man. Thus the Church was justified in applying these titles to him; but he, it is to be surmised, never wished to hold them by himself and as an individual.

His mission in Galilee failed. Many followed with more or less understanding of his call, but the cities of the Lake including Capernaum, where he made his headquarters, rejected him. He might, however, have continued his ministry, had not circumstances, "the leaven of Herod and of the Pharisees" (Mark VIII, 15), made it impossible. This phrase had already become unintelligible when Mark's Gospel was written, for he makes nonsense of it (VIII, 19ff.); Matthew and Luke (Matt. XVI, 6, Luke XII, 1) frankly alter it to suit their own ideas. It means that for once the civil and religious forces combined to put an end to this new movement. Jesus was threatened with the fate of John the Baptist if he did not leave the country. This crisis, I believe, is the occasion for the sending out of the disciples two by two in desperate haste, not "to preach the Gospel" in general terms, not to announce the approaching dissolution of the Universe, but to bid the people be ready for the call and signal of God at the forthcoming Feast. Jesus himself retires across the Lake, to avoid arrest or assassination, into Philip's territory.¹⁸ When he is rejoined by his disciples, he ascertains from them the state of

¹⁸This crisis is further considered in the article in *Theology=Theologische Blätter*, October 1928. If there is an authentic core to the oracle in Matt. X, 23, it may be connected with this occasion.

public feeling with regard to him, learns that he is popularly regarded as a "prophet", accepts, but, in Mark, does not welcome Peter's assertion that he is "Messiah,"¹⁹ and announces his determination to go up to Jerusalem.

What was his plan, what was "the mind" of Jesus in this matter? It is more than hazardous to seek to interpret the "self-consciousness" of Jesus; we run the risk of the rebuke: "Sir, thou hast nothing to draw with and the well is deep." None the less, certain conclusions can be drawn without any claim to describe the secret thought of Jesus. First, we note, negatively, that he did not retire from public life in order to write a book or organize a sect; nor did he adopt such a life as that of the Stoic itinerant preachers of his day, moving from town to town with a message of consolation and spiritual guidance. Nor, though rejected by his own people, did he say: "your blood be on your heads; I go to the Gentiles." Doubtless Alexandria or even Athens offered him more fruitful soil than Palestine; yet it was to Jerusalem that he steadfastly set his face. This is presumably to be explained by the fact that he conceived his mission to be first and foremost to his own people, to summon them to their great national missionary task; he would make one last, decisive, dramatic appeal to them.

Second, did he go up to Jerusalem in order to die there? Did he conceive his death to be "necessary" (Mark VIII, 31) to his work? It is clear enough that the disciples were not expecting the crucifixion, when it came, and it is impossible to suppose that Jesus foretold his fate in detail; on the other hand, it is almost certain that he must have anticipated his death at least as a possibility. He undoubtedly warned his disciples that in coming up to Jerusalem with him they took their lives in their hand. The Servant of the Lord, the

¹⁹It seems that Jesus never denied that he was Messiah, but regarded it as a title dangerously misleading and therefore, so far as possible, to be avoided.

righteous remnant in Israel, it had been foretold, would die a martyr and rise again, and only so would see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied. On the other hand, the prophetic predictions were always contingent; if the people rejected him, he must die; yet he must make the last appeal to them, if by chance they yet might believe. It seems therefore that Jesus went to Jerusalem, not to die, but to do something which might involve his death.

What, then, was this? Not, as is usually supposed and as the Gospels represent, to challenge the nation by a triumphal entry into the city with a public claim to Messiahship. The crowds were gathering for the great Feast; it was therefore a moment of particular anxiety for the government, for riots were always to be feared at these times. If Jesus had publicly approached Jerusalem claiming to be the expected Messianic king, we may reasonably assume that he would have been arrested long before he reached the city gates. Moreover, the people, we are told, recognized in him a "prophet", not a claimant to the Messianic office (Matt. XXI, 11), and the "Hosannas" of which we read would not naturally point to Jesus himself as the "coming one." Jesus came to challenge not the Roman government but the exclusiveness of the dominant Jewish religion. Of that exclusiveness the Temple was the outward and visible sign, the centre and stronghold. Before the nation could rise to its great destiny, that mountain on which the Temple stood must be, metaphorically, uprooted and cast into the midst of the sea. Jesus came as a religious, not a political, revolutionary. While, then, his whole concern was religious, his opponents were determined to trip him up on a political issue; hence the tension of those last days.

By one great prophetic act Jesus made clear as daylight what his call and purpose were; there could be no mistaking his meaning; he raised purely a religious issue, something with

which the Roman government could have no concern. Jesus entered the city and looked round about the Temple courts; next day in the name of God and of the true religion of Israel and in virtue of the terrific force of his personality, he took control of the Temple, none being able to resist him, cleared the courts of the hucksterers there, and proclaimed, in the words of the great prophet (Is. LVI, 7), that the Temple was meant to be, not the symbol of Jewish exclusiveness, but a house of prayer *for all nations*.

For three days at least he seems to have held the Temple, doubtless with a large measure of popular support; it was a *coup d'état*. The Pharisees and Sadducees were powerless against his preaching. Their one hope lay in persuading the Roman government that here was the beginning of a political revolt; but what evidence could they adduce? Then Judas played into their hands by betraying Jesus; it is much more likely that Judas betrayed some event, possibly, as Bacon suggests, the anointing at Bethany, which could be used as evidence, than that he merely betrayed where Jesus could be found on a certain evening. Even so, the evidence was not very satisfactory; Jesus was arrested; the attempt was made to get him to incriminate himself:²⁰ did he deny that he was the Messiah? That indeed he could not deny, though the name meant one thing to him and another to his enemies. This, however, would suffice. He was brought hastily before Pilate; at the Feast-time Pilate could run no risks, and Jesus was promptly executed. His followers scattered; they probably fled back in panic to Galilee;²¹ the movement was extinguished, and once again in the history of Israel the forces of a narrow

²⁰The "confession" before the High Priest, Mark XIV, 62, is of very doubtful historicity. (1) From whom is the account supposed to be derived? (2) *prima facie* the saying distinguishes between Jesus himself and the "Son of Man." (3) The whole incident of the midnight trial is open to suspicion; it was illegal, and worse than illegal, if, as Mark supposes, it was held on the Passover night, when no man might leave his house.

²¹Of the two traditions that which puts the first Resurrection appearances in Galilee is much more probable.

nationalism had triumphed, or, for a moment, seemed to triumph.

Can we interpret "the mind of Christ" in connection with this tragedy? Or, in other words, can we understand what he said to his disciples at the Last Supper when he clearly foresaw his doom? In times past the illimitable controversies, as, for instance, between Catholics and Protestants, turned upon the meaning of sayings which both sides accepted as authentic. The situation for scholars has entirely changed to-day. The salient facts are these: we have two almost totally different accounts of the Supper; the earlier, to-day almost invariably used in the Communion Office, comes from Paul (I Cor. XI, 23-25). Here the essence of the rite seems to be that it is a memorial of the Lord's death, that the elements are tokens of his body and blood "given on behalf of many," and that the cup represents a "covenant" concerned with "the forgiveness of sins." The other account is the so-called "shorter text" of Luke, which runs as follows (XXII, 15-18, 19 and 21-22): "And he said to them: with desire I desired to eat this Passover with you before my suffering; for I say unto you, I shall not again eat of it until it be fulfilled in God's kingdom. And taking the cup he gave thanks and said: take this and divide it among yourselves; for I say to you that I will not drink of the fruit of the vine henceforward until God's kingdom come. And taking bread and giving thanks he broke it and gave to them saying: this is my body. But behold the hand of him that is betraying me is with me upon the table, for the Son of Man goes according as it is ordained, but woe to that man through whom he is being betrayed. And they began to enquire of one another as to who then this might be who was about to do this thing." This is nearly certainly the original text of Luke.²² If it is read by itself, it will be found

²²If not, it is the text of one of his sources which corresponds with early Church tradition in the East as is proved by *Didache* IX.

to contain not one of the ideas which Paul regards as essential! The disciples are simply bidden to look forward in faith to the greater Festival of Redemption which they shall celebrate hereafter in the kingdom of God.²³ The cup comes first, but all the emphasis is upon the bread which is said to be or represent the Lord's "body." In this text of Luke there is no reference whatever to the redeeming death of Christ. In Mark, who doubtless represents the praxis of the Roman Church, we have a conflated account, mostly Pauline, but Lukan in its reference to the heavenly banquet (XIV, 25). Thus Mark very oddly connects the cup with two quite different associations (1) the sacrificial death, (2) the heavenly banquet. Is it likely that the confusing double reference goes back to Jesus himself?

How shall we decide between Paul and Luke? We note first that Paul claims to have received his account "from the Lord." He presumably means that, though he learnt the facts from the disciples, he received the meaning and interpretation of them from the Lord. Second, we know that the Christian Eucharist came to be regarded as the fulfilment of the Passover,²⁴ and that the Last Supper was supposed, quite erroneously, to have taken place on the Passover night. The shorter Lukan account, supported as it is by the *Didache*, is straightforward and, as far as it goes, convincing. It is intrinsically possible and even probable that at the Last Supper Jesus referred more explicitly than Luke suggests to his imminent death. If he did so, it is likely, as Mark suggests in the phrase "for many" (Is. LIII, 11), that he would use the language of the Servant prophecies in Isaiah; this, however, is uncertain. It is as certain as can be, however, that at that Supper Jesus bade his followers look forward to the heavenly banquet in the consummated kingdom beyond

²³Cf. Bacon, *The Gospel of Mark*, p. 180.

²⁴In Mark the "covenant-blood," XIV, 24, refers to Exodus, not to Jeremiah, for the word "new" is omitted by the best authorities.

his death. This is of the greatest importance for our present subject. The heavenly banquet is certainly an idea taken from the scenery of eschatology and apocalyptic; moreover it is used eschatologically in that the banquet and the kingdom lie beyond this present world. Here then the strictly prophetic outlook is transcended, but here there is nothing of the fiery judgment, that national vindication, that doom upon the heathen, that terrible scenario of contemporary apocalyptic; only the sure conviction that beyond this seeming tragedy and disaster, in God's purpose and in God's good time, the Servant of the Lord should see of the travail of his soul and should be satisfied, that the missionary task of Israel should be fulfilled and that the Master with his disciples should celebrate the victory in the everlasting kingdom.

In the outline for which alone this sketch can find room, many passages have been omitted which would require detailed treatment in a full discussion. If any reader suppose that this "human" representation of the figure of Jesus Christ jeopardizes or ignores his "divinity", I can only answer that this does not seem to me the upshot of the argument. I see no religious value in the affirmation of the "divinity" of Jesus, if we do not know what he was in history and for what he stood.

THE TRAVELS WITH A DONKEY

BY MARIE-LOUISE PUECH-MILHAU

JUST over fifty years ago Stevenson finished his *Travels with a Donkey* which took him from Le Puy to Alais across a mountainous and sparsely inhabited country that the public of his day knew very little about. The wild beauty of the region appealed to this Scotsman, who was familiar with nature in her sterner moods, and found in him a comprehensive and sympathetic interpreter of quite superlative worth. To my mind not one of our French provinces or racial groups has been depicted with such precision and feeling as Stevenson bestowed on the district of Gévaudan and the Cévennes.

Anyone who has read *An Inland Voyage* will readily understand why Stevenson chose the high tableland of Central France and the mountains of the Cévennes as the scene for subsequent rambles. Remember the sort of satiety which seemed to possess him towards the end of his journeyings on the Oise: always those same meadows, that same restricted horizon mirrored in the canal or the river's expanse, and always all that water draining away to the Ocean. And so after the excitement of the first few days and the more or less comic happenings which fell to his lot in the various inns along the bank, he began to succumb to that kind of lassitude which monotony engenders. His listless body did what it had to do mechanically to the rhythm of the oars, but his mind was elsewhere, nowhere, quite dull and weighted down. Another day and he would have been able to stand it no more, so the traveller pulled himself together, resolved to break away from this sameness, which seemed to lack, above all else, any intellectual stimulus, and betook himself joyfully back to "civilization" once again. The last few pages of *Travels with*

a *Donkey* are without a trace of any such weariness and this, the reader realizes, is not merely because of the wanderer's countless adventures, but is due also to the fact that anyone who really appreciates natural beauty is kept in a sort of state of mental exaltation by scenic magnificence, while in Stevenson's case the keenness was doubly great because of his real, personal interest in the religious life of the countryside. He actually lived his journey through the Cévennes, while in the North he merely drifted with the current.

Mrs. Stevenson tells us in her preface to the Scribner edition that her husband and his comrade of *An Inland Voyage*, Sir Walter Simpson, had decided to set off again together, but that gradually Sir Walter felt less and less enthusiastic at the idea of a walking tour, in which Stevenson with his long legs was sure to leave him far behind. At different times along the way the fact that Stevenson was alone proved somewhat of a hardship to him, but, in return, his readers are the richer from the strikingly personal form of his narrative and the wealth of uncommon incident which this very solitariness entailed.

Stevenson spent about a month preparing for his journey at Le Monastier, a village some fifteen miles from Le Puy. If we are to take Stevenson's word for it, this little town of three thousand inhabitants was at that time divided into so many political factions that he must surely have remembered the place towards the end of his life when he became entangled in the complicated politics of the Samoan Islands. At Le Monastier he found himself the rallying-point of this Poland in miniature, but, as he says, "I was looked upon with contempt, like a man who would project a journey to the moon, but yet with a respectful interest, like one setting forth for the inclement Pole." He conceived the ingenious idea of a big sleeping-sack lined with that blue sheep's fur one still sees

used as a trimming for horse collars in a good many French provinces. During the day time he intended to use this sack as a portmanteau for his spare clothing, provisions and other miscellaneous objects such as a spirit-lamp, a pan, an empty bottle, a number of books, a basket, an egg-beater and a revolver. It is fortunate that he had no occasion to use the last of these articles, for it was a very old model, and, as Mrs. Stevenson says, would probably have been more dangerous to him than to the enemy. The sleeping-sack did not mean that Stevenson wished to avoid the wayside inns—no one has written with more wit and good temper of these chance shelters, which might well have offended a man of his refinement—but he realized that large expanses of deserted countryside lay before and for him a night in the open had no terrors. In fact the nights he spent thus were the great adventure, the supreme delight of the whole journey.

Stevenson pretends to have attached no importance to her who became his capricious and indispensable companion. "She was," he says, "only an appurtenance of my mattress, or self-acting bedstead on four castors." It is but natural that he should have had recourse to the local means of locomotion: the donkey. Even to-day the motorist driving along the roads of Central France on a market day often has occasion to call down curses on the processions of donkeys with pack-saddles or harnessed to little carts which continually block the way. The "four castors" took their revenge; moreover, Stevenson exaggerates. *Modestine* hit his fancy at first sight, for she had that seeming gentleness, that modest elegance, which always prove attractive to men. At moments when his exasperation seems most justified, he is careful never to forget the consideration due to her sex, for she reminded him somewhat of a lady who had once been kind to him.

It might be well to give a brief outline of the itinerary

from Le Monastier to St. Jean du Gard for the benefit of the reader who has no book before him and who might wish to follow out this somewhat zigzag journey on the map.

Stevenson set out on Sunday, the 22nd of September, 1878. The reader will not have forgotten those first vicissitudes: the pack would not stay fastened on the donkey's back and she insisted on tripping along with mincing steps which her master despaired of ever inducing her to lengthen, until at last a passer-by with a sense of humour cut a switch for him and taught him the magic word—*Proot*; this worked wonders on *Modestine*. After that the pack started slewing round again on the brand-new, slippery saddle, a more serious matter this, for it brought Stevenson to grips with himself. Those fingers of his, so skilled in penmanship, now seemed stiff and knotted. In other words he was what Scotsmen call "a handless man," as his wife tells us. Moreover, none of the systems he devised to keep the load balanced proved at all practical and, finally, quite worn out with the struggle, he finished the day by loading the contents of the sack on his own back.

This first day's march, which should have brought him to a camping place on the shores of a lonely lake, if he had not managed to lose his way several times, finished up at the inn in the little village of Bouchet St. Nicholas, where his modesty was outraged at having to sleep in the same room with a young married couple and their child. Actual material difficulties had so far left Stevenson little opportunity to wax enthusiastic over the landscape, but what a powerful impression of Sabbath peace he seems to have felt brooding over him in these valleys and with what virtuosity he managed to pass this impression on to us in a page typical of the man's genius. Next morning, equipped by mine host with the goad which was to enable him to regulate *Modestine's* gait at last, he reached the high tableland which separates Velay from Gévaudan. In this labyrinth of peaks he made out the winding courses of the

Loire and the Allier, still mere brooks at this stage, and got as far as Langogne, a place famous for its fairs, though he seems not to have been aware of this fact. The 24th was a disastrous day. The rain, which is such a constant element in these sparsely grown upper regions, made walking a dreary business and a difficult one, too, because both man and beast were tired and afraid of losing their way. A silent, ghostly circle of dancing children suddenly loomed out of the mist at him, but refused to give the traveller any assistance. It made him sigh for the famous Beast of Gévaudan, who once upon a time is said to have devoured about a hundred children in this very district, and he wished it had been there to avenge him. A stupid, suspicious-minded, old peasant refused to cross the door of his house to set him on his road. And finally, soaked to the skin, ravenously hungry and quite worn out, he made up his mind to unroll his famous sleeping-sack under the first tree he could come upon in the darkness. It was here that Stevenson discovered the beauties of a night in the open country. This same experience was to befall him on four other occasions during the twelve day journey and each time Stevenson describes his feelings in a passage of magnificent prose. These *Cévenole Nights* which, as far as I know, have never been published separately in any collection and which retain the beauty of their touching simplicity even in the French translation, seem to me every bit as deserving of inclusion in anthologies as certain other famous English *Nights*.

At dawn a kindly old man set Stevenson on his way again and he reached Cheylard and then Luc, where the inn made him sigh for the previous night's resting place. Another day's march brought him still closer to the Mediterranean slope, whose jagged peaks were to prove such a delight to this good Scotsman's heart after the arid upland wastes. But first he paid a visit to the Monastery of *Our Lady of the Snows*. Here

his enquiring mind, nourished in a puritan and anti-catholic atmosphere, went seeking after the opportunity for theological discussion, so dear to one of his race. There he met Father Appolinaris, the gardening brother, who seemed so glad to be able to break his silence and who led him to the Trappist establishment itself, where an Irish priest, who had been in retreat for the last five years, showed him round and was no less delighted at having some one to talk to. In the cell assigned to him in the part of the monastery set aside for travellers he found, among a number of other edifying works, a *Life* of Elizabeth Seton, who at one time had been an evangelist in North America and, more particularly, in New England. "As far as my experience goes," Stevenson remarked, "there is a fair field for some more evangelization in these quarters; but think of Cotton Mather! I should like to give him a reading of this little book in Heaven, where I hope he dwells; but perhaps he knows all that already and much more; and perhaps he and Mrs. Seton are the dearest friends, and gladly unite their voices in the everlasting psalm."

This free-thinker who was so tolerant of other men's beliefs gave himself over for twenty-four hours to a perfect orgy of observation and critical reflexion. It availed him nothing, however, to conjure up all his love of the picturesque, all his sympathy for a faith sincerely held, as in the case of Brother Damien; this faith was not the one in which he had been nurtured. The discussions he had with a priest and an ex-officer, who had "retired" to this Trappist monastery, made him feel more antagonistic towards Catholicism than the sight of the good monks who, at least, were inoffensive in their isolation. It was with a sigh of relief that Stevenson went on his way again, thanking God that he was free to wander over the face of the earth, free to hope and free to love as he hummed the old song:

“Que t’as de belles filles,
Giroflé.
Girofla.
Que t’as de belles filles,
L’amour les comptera.”

His journeyings of the next few days led Stevenson back in a westerly direction. By way of the Forest of Marcroire he reached Chasseradès, where he spent the night with the workmen who were surveying the proposed railway line, which to-day links Clermont Ferrand with Nîmes and is one of the most picturesque in all France. Across the valley of the Chassezac, over Le Goulet and through Bleynard his way led him under the more clement skies of the Mediterranean slope to a part of the country which is extraordinarily variegated and beautiful. No more rain now. Even *Modestine* broke into a jolting trot and, by Sunday the 29th, they had reached Pont de Montvert in the heart of the *Camisard* country. For this was the scene of the famous war which Stevenson had read up diligently in every detail before he set out on his travels. The first building to catch his eye as he entered the town was the Protestant temple and immediately this wandering foreigner felt quite at home. At the inn he noticed that even the women were better looking and Clarisse, the servant girl, aroused the artistic enthusiasm of this man who had rubbed shoulders with the painters at Barbizon.

With mind and senses keyed up to a harmonious pitch by a night spent under the giant chestnut trees he next reached Florac which, along with Alais, had been one of the two centres of *Camisard* resistance. There he came across the descendants of these people who, though proud of their ancestors, seemed quite pacified, utterly tolerant of their fellow-citizens of the other faith and accustomed to join with them in the hundred and one contacts of daily life. Stevenson seemed astonished

to find the memory of these ancient struggles still so green. He felt that his native Scotland had been much more ready to forget her own religious conflict and he wrote a fine page or two on a comparison of the Covenanters and the *Camisards*, in which he declares that the religion of the latter was brighter and clearer because of the southern sun. This same sun still shone down on him in spite of the fact that it was already October and, because of it, he was able to camp out for one last time under the trees, having "no other tent but the sky, and no other bed than my mother earth," as Cavalier, the *Camisard* leader, once said. He was awakened at dawn by a dog from a nearby farm. "There is something of the clergyman or the lawyer about this engaging animal," Stevenson remarked. "I respect dogs in the domestic circle; but on the highway or sleeping afield, I both detest and fear them." Finally he came to the last day of his journey and tramped along beside the Garden of Mialet. He and *Modestine* climbed their last hill together and when they reached the summit, whence they could look down on St. Jean du Gard, he fed her from his own hand. To the right of them rose Mount Aigoual, the scene of the most romantic episode in the history of the *Camisards*. It was up there that the chieftain, Castanet, sought refuge with his young bride. One fine day she was kidnapped, but he got her back by exchanging her against a lady of quality, whom he had promptly seized as a hostage at Valleraugue; the first and last exchange of prisoners in this relentless war. The memory of all these things filled Stevenson's mind as he hastened along in the twilight. For some days now he had been living in the company of heroic ghosts, seeing visions of dragoonades and secret conventicles, and suddenly he came upon the little town which was to mark the end of the *Travels with a Donkey*. Next day he sold his poor beast, who was quite worn out by this time and, in spite of all the annoyance she had caused him, it was with tears in his eyes that he took

his leave of her. It was only then that he really understood how dear she had become to him, for it is a commonplace that we readily assume responsibility for whatever causes us either joy or sorrow.

Last summer I had occasion to go over most of the ground that Stevenson covered in his journey of half a century ago. The towns have hardly changed at all, but, if an exception be made of the southern part of the Cévennes, which has always been more civilized and milder mannered, the same cannot be said of the highlands of Velay and Gévaudan, where changes have been much more pronounced in the course of the last fifty years than in the two centuries preceding. Here the people of our generation seem as far removed from those of Stevenson's day as were the ones he met with from the Beast of Gévaudan. Since Stevenson visited these parts, modern education with its free primary schools and compulsory attendance for all children up to the age of twelve along with the substitution of universal military service for the old conscription by lot have proved very real civilizing influences, though in different ways. The schools have done much to "scrub up" the younger generation in both senses of the word, for formerly most of the children grew up in blissful ignorance of soap and the commoner social graces. At the same time the fact that all the young men are obliged to spend two years with their regiment quartered in some town or other, where they come in contact with fresh ways of life and mix with men from different parts of the country, has wrought great changes in the outlook and habits of the present-day peasant household. Alas! Only too often this new mode of life keeps the young men from going back to the country; temptation is too strong for those who have had a glimpse of the comparative leisure and the amusements of the urban worker, more especially since the general adoption of the eight hour day, and who then stop to think of the rude struggle against an impoverished soil and

a harsh climate that awaits them. To appreciate this one should see these patches of barren-looking, rock-strewn land which Stevenson wandered over to his sorrow the night he lost his way. One should see the patiently wrought terraces of the Cévenole valleys, where every square inch of precious cultivated land has to be conquered at the cost of whole days of labour, and then one will begin to understand that a man must have true greatness of soul or an irresistible love for the land if he is to dedicate himself to this life of toil. Only the advent of the machine age will be able to bring the deserters back to this part of the country, either by the construction of factories near the waterfalls or by the introduction of modern agricultural equipment of a sort that can profitably cope with the stony wastes of the upland plateaux. But agriculture is not the only question of importance. A number of local industries, which have thrived for years in the villages of the Cévennes, are at present going through a period of readjustment for much the same reasons. The silk-spinners, who supply the looms of Lyons with much of their material, are faced by abnormal conditions and many of them have had to shut up shop because of the shortage of labour. To attract the female workers employed in this industry an effort is being made to establish other forms of manufacture, where the men can find employment at high wages, for once the men have been persuaded to stay, there will always be a supply of women and girls. Where this has been tried out the change in economic status in some of these families, whose ancestors knew want and actual poverty for so many generations, has been stupendous. And what a change in their habits and customs! Local costumes and styles of headdress have vanished and one sees silk stockings and patent-leather shoes in places where fifty years ago only bare legs could have walked. I am sure the little cowherds who put out their tongues at Stevenson would nowadays have at least a hair-ribbon, that is unless they

took the Langogne bus to go and have the barber put a wave in their shingled locks.

But, after all, the tourist traffic is the most important of all the factors tending to bring the uniformity of civilization into the remotest backwaters. In this connection Stevenson was a precursor indeed and the *Club Cévenole*, which was founded in 1894, should have elected him their honorary president. This roving spirit which Stevenson, as befitted a good Britisher, was one of the first to popularize in this part of the country is now so widespread that there is hardly a family in all the plain of Languedoc which does not embark on an annual excursion to the Cévennes, while a good many of them, tempted by the existence of hotels, charabanc routes and travel bureaux, prompt to furnish all the information one can require, make more or less protracted stays. The lassie Stevenson met on the bridge at Langogne would no longer be likely to hail him with a "Where do you come from?" but would probably remark, "There goes a fellow without a car." While if he were now to ask to be shown the way to the inn some one would reply, "All the hotels have central heating." And a good thing, too, I might add, for the weather in the district round about Langogne has not changed and one appreciates central heating when one comes in soaked to the skin by the same sort of rain as that which, in September, 1878, seemed unusually heavy even to a good Scotsman like Stevenson.

The country round about the Monastery of *Our Lady of the Snows* has also taken on a worldly air. Quite close to the former home of the Trappists is the health-resort of St. Laurent-les-Bains, where people go to cure their rheumatism, and which seems to be becoming increasingly popular. The monastery itself is wrapped in slumber. It was destroyed by fire in 1912 and has not yet been completely rebuilt. But if Stevenson would no longer find any Trappists to charm him

with their archaic picturesqueness, he would come across many other things: a sanatorium 3,000 feet above sea-level, where city children go to get fresh air and sunshine; excellent roads, too, plentifully provided with signposts of such accuracy that he could no longer imagine he was just wandering at his own sweet will, or perhaps his donkey's. On the summit of Mount Aigoual of romantic memory, besides the Observatory he would find a luxurious hotel of recent construction which overlooks the gorges of the Hérault and the magnificent panorama of the Cévennes from a height of some 4,000 feet. Last, but not least, between St. Jean du Gard and Alais—now spelt Alès and become quite a Communist centre with its railway workers and its miners—he would come across the Musée du Désert which French Protestants have erected as a pious tribute to their ancestors. The *Mas Soubeyran*, the very house of Roland, the *Camisard* leader, has been selected to shelter all the mementoes donated by various families of the district, and people are still shown the hiding-place where the leader on more than one occasion sought refuge before falling under a hail of bullets with his back against an olive tree. One can imagine Stevenson staying in one of the rooms which the caretaker of the Museum rents to tourists and examining these relics of an age which interested him so deeply with his usual boyish curiosity. But perhaps he would have scorned this accumulation of historic tokens, preferring to follow up himself the traces of an heroic epoch in the hills and dales, the caves and forests of the Cévennes.

In more recent times these same forests and valleys have found a place in literature in works which, though in every way worthy of Stevenson, by no means overshadow him. From the time when the *Travels with a Donkey* first appeared in French, as a serial in a local newspaper to start with, and then in book form, the Cévennes have been the source of inspiration of a number of literary productions, which it would be fitting

to mention here. In addition to a series of religious novels of doubtful literary value, among which *Le Psaume sous les Etoiles* is perhaps the best known, due to the fact that the Paris *Temps* published it in serial form, there are also the novels of M. André Chamson, which are indeed more worthy of special attention. His *Roux le Bandit* has for its protagonist a peasant who is a conscientious objector and who deserts from the Front and goes into hiding in the mountains, where he is fed by his family until the gendarmes come and find him. *Les Hommes de la Route* is a study of two families of peasant stock and of their doings during the building of the new highway between Le Vigan and L'Aigoual. The latter novel came very near to being awarded the *Prix Goncourt* in 1927 and they are both charmingly simple and moving studies of the life and scenic beauty of the Cévennes, much in Stevenson's own manner. But they do not surpass his work by any means. In fact any Frenchman who has read the *Travels with a Donkey* always thinks of him in connection with his journey through the Cévennes, and in this way he has become a French classic.

It would seem that Stevenson's little book still excites the same interest in Scotland. Mr. Robert Skinner, the headmaster of Donaldson's Hospital in Edinburgh, has published an account of his travels in the footsteps of his illustrious compatriot and not long ago an article appeared in *Chamber's Journal* on an expedition undertaken by a number of Scottish boy-scouts in these very Cévennes.

Stevenson got twenty pounds and an invitation to dinner from Kegan Paul, the first publisher of the *Travels with a Donkey*. Since that day this book of his has brought him what an author seeks above all else: the affection of countless readers in every quarter of the globe.

THE COMING GENERAL ELECTION IN BRITAIN

BY J. A. SPENDER

IN order even approximately to understand the electoral situation in Great Britain, it is necessary to look back over the three elections which have taken place since the break-up of the Lloyd George Coalition in 1922. Each of these elections has presented the spectacle of three parties bidding for power, and in neither of them has any party succeeded in obtaining a clear majority of votes. With three candidates soliciting the vote of an elector who has only one vote to dispose of, the winning of a seat is, in a great many constituencies, the problem of securing the largest of three minorities. The Conservative party has, on the whole, had the luck of this erratic system. In 1922 it secured a majority of 80 seats, though in a minority of nearly three million votes; and in 1924, the year of its greatest triumph, a majority of no less than 200 seats, though still in a minority of 500,000 votes. In the intervening year, 1923, seats and votes worked out in better proportion; and the Conservative party, with about the same number of votes as at the previous election had given it a majority of eighty seats in the House of Commons, now found itself in a minority of ninety against the other two parties.

Taken together these three elections make it plain that the single-member constituency is a very unsuitable instrument for three parties, and that, if it continues and three parties remain in the field, it will bring great confusion to British politics. But the British people are slow to move in matters of constitutional machinery, and nothing but experience is likely to convince them that any change is necessary. In the meantime two out of the three parties, Conservative and

Labour, though agreed on nothing else, are at one in desiring to extinguish the Liberal party; and each believes, or professes to believe, that if this can only be accomplished, it will succeed to the Liberal inheritance. The kind of electoral reform which would give a third party a fair chance has accordingly had few friends in recent Parliaments; and the present Conservative Government has definitely decided that the country is to poll again on a system, which in five hundred out of six hundred constituencies will give any candidate a chance of winning a seat, if he can secure a little more than one-third of the votes registered at the polling booth.

This may be excused as political strategy, but it makes prognostication extraordinarily difficult. In the old days when the two-party system was supreme, it was comparatively easy to forecast the result of a general election from the trend of by-elections, and prediction on that basis was seldom wrong. When there were only two lobbies in the country as in the House of Commons, it might be taken for granted that a movement of opinion against the Government of the day would bring the Opposition back to power; but, when there are three, it is by no means certain that the anti-Government vote will not be so split up between the Opposition lobbies as to leave the Government in power with a substantial majority of seats. The hopes and fears of all parties at the present moment are based on more or less obscure calculations as to the manner in which the anti-government vote will be divided at the next polling, but substantially the present position is that the Government hopes to retain power by the splitting of the Opposition vote between Labour and Liberal, and that Labour hopes to win it by persuading Liberals that their votes will be wasted for the purpose of getting the Government out, if they vote with their own party instead of supporting Labour. There are no doubt constituencies in which Liberals, if driven to the choice, would vote for the Government rather

than put Labour in, but there are not many, and there is, I think, very little doubt that, if there was no organized Liberal party for them to rally to, a substantial majority of modern Liberals and Radicals would vote with Labour and take their chance of converting the Labour party to their views.

To forecast the degree to which these causes may operate or the results which may follow from even a small redistribution of votes between the three parties would in any case be a very complicated business, but for the coming election it is rendered all but hopeless by the addition to the register of some 6,000,000 new voters, mainly young women who have been enfranchised by the present Parliament, and who will now vote for the first time. A great many of these are of the young operative and domestic servant class, and what view they may take of politics is pure guess-work at the present moment. It seems to me idle to speculate on this subject, but that they may have some surprise in store for us is at least a possibility to be reckoned with, and their power to influence the result may be seen at a glance from figures of recent elections. In 1923 an addition of about 200,000 votes to the Liberal and Labour poll, and a subtraction of about 20,000 votes from the Conservative poll converted a Conservative majority of 80 in the House of Commons into a Liberal and Labour majority of 90; and at the coming election a transfer of a million votes from the Conservative to the other parties or any decided possibility on the part of the new voters might easily destroy the Government's majority, even if it did not give either of the two parties a clear majority. With the immense number of voters now on the register, the comparatively small number of votes that may effect great changes, and the large element of chance in three-cornered elections, only a very confident partisan will dismiss such a result as impossible or even very likely; and when the Government itself puts its expectations no higher than getting back with

a majority of 60 or 70, its life must be regarded as at least very uncertain.

Leaving the question of the electorate, let me now consider the position of the three British parties and what they stand for. The Conservative or Unionist party—now that the Irish question is settled, it naturally prefers to call itself by the former name—has been in power for six out of the last seven years. Unlike the Liberal party, it emerged from the war-period intact, and had the good fortune to find a leader who, having played no prominent part in Coalition politics, could give it a fresh start when the Coalition broke up. Mr. Baldwin's fortunes were founded on the bold challenge that he threw to Mr. Lloyd George at a moment when Conservatism seemed in danger of being absorbed into an opportunist party; and he has gained not a little of his favour with the British people out of the contrast which he presented to the brilliant and restless leader of the Coalition. Tranquillity was his watchword, tranquillity after the storms and adventures in which Mr. Lloyd George seemed to revel. After seven years, Mr. Baldwin is personally liked and esteemed, and has won many hearts by the discursive non-party speeches in which he philosophises about things in general and reveals himself as a reflective and broad-minded man and a reader and taster of many kinds of books. In his photographs he almost invariably appears as smoking a cherry-wood pipe, and the public has an image of him in its mind as a friendly, charitable, pipe-smoking man who takes nothing very tragically and wishes to be at peace with all his neighbours, to whichever party they may belong.

These qualities and the sense of loyalty to leaders which is still strong in British parties carried him through an escapade which might easily have been fatal to a man less trusted. For in 1923, after only a year of being Prime Minister, and while still in the enjoyment of an unimpaired majority, he shattered

his party and threw it out of office by suddenly raising the issue of free trade and Protection, and inviting what proved to be a disastrous election on that. His critics and opponents thought him finished as a leader after this, but there was no other man on whom his party could agree, and within a year the Labour Government gave him the fortunate opportunity of another election in which law, order, property and society seemed, or could plausibly be made to seem, at stake against Bolshevism and revolution. The enormous majority of seats with which his party came back was, as I have already indicated, out of all proportion to the votes cast for it, but the result was undoubtedly a very imposing triumph which placed it beyond challenge for the next five years.

These years have been very difficult years, and they have tested Mr. Baldwin's qualities. As the leader of a party he has come out of them well. It is no small feat to have kept his enormous party together without a whisper of dissent through the controversies of these times, and to be at the end its undisputed leader. Evidently he knows how to inspire confidence and avoid friction among his own friends. But the question arises whether these qualities serve equally well for the leadership of the country, and his opponents very vehemently say not. The indictment against his Government at the end of five years is that it has taken the easy and safe course at a time when bold and constructive statesmanship was needed, that it blundered into the coal crisis and general strike, wasting the public money in a useless subsidy while it refused to face an unescapable problem; that it drifted again while the numbers of the unemployed mounted up, and refused to contemplate any large scheme of public works which might have kept them at work on projects of general utility, instead of living in idleness on the "dole."

Mr. Baldwin and his party of course have their answer. They say that the increase of unemployment is due not to them

but to the reckless proceedings of Labour leaders who instigated the coal strike and the general strike; they claim credit for having checked the lawless element in the Labour movement by their amendment of trade-union legislation. They think that large schemes of public works would dislocate other industries for the benefit of the unemployed, and point to their de-rating and Local Government Bill, which relieves productive industry of the greater part of the burden of local rates as the more likely way of helping industry and reducing unemployment. This last measure was clearly intended to be the chief item in their election bill of fare, but, whatever its merits, it is stubborn material for the platform, and, though Parliament has been very busy over it, electioneers fight shy of it. Its main principle is, in my opinion, sound enough, but it has the disadvantage of showering its benefits equally on those who need them and those who do not—on prosperous brewers and tobacco manufacturers as well as upon indigent coal-owners and ironmasters—and if it helps one class of ratepayers it hurts others who are becoming vocal about their grievances.

But behind its formal programme, the question of protection is still very much alive in the Conservative party and threatens to play a considerable part in the coming election. It is, I think, true to say that about two-thirds of the Conservative party believe in Protection as they believe in nothing else, and that in spite of all rebuffs they are determined to go forward with it. Their belief is that if taxation on food can be ruled out for the time being, and duties on foreign imports obtained for industries taken one at a time, a tariff on manufactured goods will gradually be built up and the popular objection to an all-round system of duties on imports be avoided. This method, which is called "safeguarding" industry, has been carried as far as—its opponents say a good deal farther than—is compatible with the pledge which the Prime Minister gave at the last election not to use his majority

to promote Protection; but it is hedged about with restrictions—chiefly the necessity of satisfying Committees appointed by the Board of Trade that the industry applying for this assistance is subject to unfair competition—which have hitherto ruled out the principal industries. In the last few months, however, the demand has been put forward that iron and steel shall be safeguarded, and Mr. Baldwin, though fencing with it, has used words which his supporters interpret as meaning that, if the Conservative party wins the election, iron and steel will be brought in.

There can, I think, be no question that, if this result followed, Great Britain would be on the high road to a General Tariff. Iron and steel enter into so many other manufactures that they could not be protected without a demand arising from all these other industries for similar treatment. The Free-trade and Protection issue is therefore bound to play a considerable part in any election in which this basic industry is in the field demanding a 33 per cent. tariff, and the free-traders are actively at work combating the proposal. Conservatives appear to be convinced that if they can only keep food taxation out of it, they stand to gain by a direct appeal on behalf of industries which are temporarily in a state of depression, especially in those localities where these industries are carried on. But in this country, as elsewhere, the idea of a tariff from which agriculture is excluded brings the farmers into the field in angry opposition, and the National Farmers' Union is loudly demanding that either "safeguarding" shall be dropped or agriculture brought in. It is doubtful whether British farmers will go to the length of voting against the Conservative party, but their agitation and the necessity of meeting it by assurances that, if they will only be patient, their turn will come, plays into the hands of free-traders and keeps the public warned that, if it concedes a tariff on

manufactured goods, it will almost certainly be driven to concede food taxes.

All these complications have to be considered, but the main appeal of the Government will almost certainly be to "keep out the Socialist," and Mr. Winston Churchill, who is their most gifted electioneerer is already at work painting highly coloured pictures of the peril to property and other cherished institutions which would follow from Labour's coming to power. Undoubtedly the Labour record, up at least to the end of the year 1926, gives him good material to work upon, for the failure of the responsible Labour leaders to control the extremists of their party in the coal strike and the General Strike is not easily forgotten. But in the subsequent years the right wing of the party under Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's leadership has had some success in asserting its authority over the left, and the cue of the party at this moment is to represent itself as a sober and moderate alternative Government, which, in spite of its theoretical programme, will do nothing violent and disturbing in the time immediately ahead of us. In this way it hopes to attract a large number of Liberal voters who desire to get the Government out without letting Socialism in.

But the difficulty of the Labour party is that the street corner appeal to the poor man on which it relies for the chief part of its support is still to a large extent an arraignment of the whole existing order on the lines of Marxian Socialism, and that its own official programme contains projects for the penal taxation of wealth and the nationalization of great industries which could not be carried out without seriously disturbing that order. Undoubtedly in its ranks are men like Mr. Snowden who are as much impressed with the necessity of going slowly and observing the canons of sound finance as any Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer of recent times, but side by side with him, and sitting in the same Cabinet, if

there were a Labour Cabinet, would be men who are determined that the party shall live up to its Socialist creed. The experience of the nine months in which Labour was in power in 1924 was that it was gravely embarrassed between these two forces. On the one hand was a Labour executive claiming to control the Cabinet and forcing it to the left, on the other were Ministers in their various departments struggling with the administrative difficulties of propositions which looked so simple to their followers. This led to a paralysis which, since the Government was without an independent majority in that Parliament, was rapidly fatal, but no one can say how such a struggle would work out if Labour found itself in power with an independent majority.

The chances of its securing such a majority are generally thought to be remote, though naturally for electioneering purposes the Labour leaders profess to think it probable. The by-elections suggest that it will gain considerably in that part of the country in which trade is depressed and unemployment is rife, but that in the rural districts and the more prosperous industrial areas its strength will be little, if at all, increased. In a large part of the country "Labour" relies on its name to cause voters of the working class who are not socialists or even strong politicians to rally to it in loyalty to their class, and the anti-trade union legislation of the present Government has enabled its leaders to make a strong appeal on that ground. Men who considered the Liberal legislation of 1906 to be the sheet anchor of their independent status as workmen may consider it their duty to register a protest against the repeal of this legislation by voting Labour at the next election at all events. This seems to me a point in favour of the Labour party which is somewhat underestimated by its opponents. Organized Labour has seldom been challenged in recent years without proving its power to retaliate, and deep offence undoubtedly was given by this legislation to large

numbers of workmen who on other subjects hold quite moderate opinions. But on the whole the nearest forecast that can be made is that if Labour should win a clear majority, it would be by the accession of the new voters who have not hitherto been tested. To this extent the young women of the country hold its fate in their hands. Hence the "drives" and "rallies" that are being undertaken by all parties to win their support.

There remains to be considered the Liberal party. That party has sadly fallen from its high estate, and in view of its present strength in Parliament it needs a mental effort to remember that it won three successive elections before the war and governed without a break for the nine momentous years from 1906 to 1915. Its plight is due both to the general eclipse of Liberalism which accompanied and has followed the war in Europe and to the special circumstances in which it found itself in the last years of the war and the first years of the peace. For while the Labour party quitted the Coalition at a moment convenient to itself, and the Tory party broke loose from it as soon as it judged its usefulness to be exhausted, the Liberal party failed to extricate itself till too late, and came out of the Coalition period so damaged and divided as to be unable to recover its position as the leading Progressive party. The little group of Asquithian Liberals which stayed outside the Coalition made gallant effort to restore an independent Liberal party in the 1918 Parliament, but having an undivided force of much greater strength, Labour was able in these years to establish itself as the regular Opposition—a position from which Liberals have since been unable to dislodge it.

To this must be added sundry personal difficulties. First of all Mr. Lloyd George has qualities and defects which make him an uneasy bed-fellow for men of staid disposition; and his claim to control the fund which remained in his hands when the Coalition broke up, instead of placing it at the disposal

of the party organization, has led to a controversy which has with difficulty been patched up. Though he is not the titular leader of the Liberal party—but only the leader of the party in the House of Commons—the death of Lord Oxford has virtually given him that position, and he will figure at the coming election as its principal spokesman. Whether this will be good or bad for the fortunes of the party is a much debated question. He is still unrivalled in his appeal to the populace, but it is not so long since he seemed to be the supreme opportunist statesman, and it is still a favourite occupation of journalists to speculate whether he will go to the right or go to the left—join up with Conservatives or join up with Labour—if he has to give a casting vote. His break away from Lord Oxford at the time of the General Strike led to a schism among the leaders which is still far from healed; and certain of these leaders, especially Lord Grey, Sir Donald Maclean, and Mr. Runciman differ from him so obviously in disposition and public character that the public can hardly imagine them working together in the same Government.

In ordinary circumstances these would be serious handicaps, but they may easily prove less important than they seem in the circumstances of the next election. The Liberal party will, like the other two, make a bold bid for power at the coming election, and with 500 candidates in the field, it will be in a position to do so. But as things are, the elector is not likely to trouble himself much about the personal or internal difficulties of the Liberal party in the remote event, as he will probably think it, of its return to power. He will be content to ask whether a good public purpose will be served by the presence of an effective Liberal party in Parliament, and it is of course the cue of the other parties to say that no such purpose can be served. Mr. Churchill goes to the length of charging Liberals with what he calls “mad-doggism” which seems to mean spoiling the straight fight in which he sees

himself playing the part of St. George against the Bolshevik dragon; and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is convinced, or says he is, that Liberalism is an obsolete fifth wheel to the coach.

Between the two the Liberal voter finds himself the subject of unceasing appeals and objurgations. His party may be dead or obsolete but he was never an object of greater interest and attention than at this moment. Convinced Liberals have of course no difficulty in defining their position. To prevent Mr. Churchill from setting the lists for a conflict with the extremest sort of socialists or communists is precisely what they want to do, and they would think it their duty, if they could do nothing else, to resist to the utmost the brigading of the electors with the propertied and unpropertied, which would be a dangerous possibility if there were no Liberal party. But Liberals believe also that they represent, as no other party does, the great body of opinion, probably still a great majority, which wants neither Socialism nor Protection, and that by standing to their own allegiance they still have the power to save the country from both these things. To vote with a Socialist party because they dislike Toryism, or with a Protectionist party because they fear Labour, seems to them irrational; and if the other parties complain that they are tripped up by the presence of a third party, the Liberal replies that they have only themselves to thank, since both have steadily refused to reform the electoral system in such a way as to give all three parties a fair chance of returning members in proportion to their voting strength.

But no party consists wholly of convinced adherents, and it remains a question whether the five millions or so of the electorate which in a straight fight would undoubtedly vote for a Liberal as against a Conservative party will do so, or how many of them will do so, in the confused circumstances of the coming election. The other parties rely on the cry that a vote for a Liberal is a vote wasted to scatter and divide the Liberal

rank and file. At the last election the Liberal party ran so few candidates that it exposed itself to the taunt that if it returned the largest number that it could possibly expect to return, it would still be short of the number requisite to form a Government; but with the 500 candidates it is putting into the field at the next election it will be making the same bid for power as the other parties, and its opponents will not be able to say that it is on its own showing a doomed minority. But the upper and the nether millstones which in times of excitement operate against third parties might still grind the Liberal party very small, if on the one side there were any widespread panic about the results of putting Labour into power, or on the other any passionate resentment at some action of the Government. The effect of the "Red Letter" at the last election warns us of the possible results of these eleventh hour emotions, and they inevitably work to the prejudice of any party which, like the Liberal party at the present moment, presents itself as a mediator between extreme factions.

Writing three months in advance of the election, I can do little more than enumerate the factors which may help the Canadian reader to understand it when it comes. I have seen more than a dozen general elections in my life-time, and all have more or less conformed to the forecasts of expert political meteorologists, but the advent of the new voters and the presence of three candidates in nearly all the constituencies—these two things in combination—deprive prophecy of any rational basis and import an element of gambling which may well baffle the most confident of prophets. I can only record as a fact that, at the moment of writing, the Conservative party still expects to get back to power with a small but sufficient majority, that Labour expects largely, and the Liberal party somewhat to increase its strength. But all these anticipations may easily be made to look foolish by unexpected currents

of opinion or even a slight shifting of the delicate balance on which victory or defeat depends in many constituencies.

There being thus much of admitted uncertainty, the question is naturally being asked what will happen if neither of the parties returns in sufficient strength to enable it to form a Government without the support of one of the others. That question is being put specially to the Liberal party, but there is really no reason why it should not be put equally to the other parties, for the answer, whatever it is, depends as much upon them as upon the Liberal party. Speculation on this subject is natural and inevitable, but the leaders of parties will be acting according to tradition and common sense if they refuse to commit themselves in advance as to what they will or will not do in a situation which cannot be foretold. The maxim that the King's Government must be carried on is still in the last resort binding on responsible British politicians, and for any of them to say hastily that they will not make the compromises or adjustments which may be necessary for that supreme purpose would be worse than folly. Our politics may look confused but we have in all parties serious-minded and responsible men who know what the wise and orderly government of Great Britain means to the British Empire and the world, and I see no reason to doubt that they will have sufficient capacity between them to make the country secure against any serious damage or discredit, whatever may be the result of the election.

But undoubtedly in our internal politics the old landmarks are changing and all the parties are in a state of unrest. The Conservative party contains a number of active young men who, except possibly on free trade, hold views which twenty years ago would have been called Liberal; the Labour party shades imperceptibly from a Liberal or Radical right-wing to a socialist or communist left-wing; the Liberal party has a social programme which differs little, if at all, from that of

the Labour right-wing. The sharp class divisions and the infusion of German and Russian socialism which came in after the war, have for a time thrown the Liberal and Radical parties into confusion, but whatever the result of one election may be, this in time will straighten itself out, and we shall almost certainly have once more a Liberal and Progressive party facing a Conservative party. The period of transition and regrouping is of course perplexing and anxious, and some of our politicians may have to learn from experience what things will work and what not. But we may, I think, be confident that the good humour and practicality which have carried the British people through so many difficulties will not desert them, and that they will in the end show the way to a wise solution of a great many of the political and economic problems that are now troubling the world.

WILL NEWFOUNDLAND JOIN CANADA?

BY HON. SIR P. T. McGRATH, K.B.

President of the Legislative Council of Newfoundland

USUALLY when I meet a Canadian in his own country, and am introduced as a man from Newfoundland, he asks, either, "When are you going to come in with us?" or, "Why don't you come in with us?" It is to answer these questions that I write this article.

Newfoundland has an area of about 42,000 square miles—rather more than that of the three Maritime Provinces—and a population of about 250,000 or about one-fourth of that of those Provinces. But a different significance will attach to the latter fact, when I state that while they have increased only 14 per cent. in forty years, we have in the same period increased 50 per cent. The people of Newfoundland are entirely of British stock, of English, Irish and Scotch ancestry; there is no aboriginal population, the last of the Beothics having been wiped out over a hundred years ago. Our population to-day is 99 per cent. native born. This fact makes me doubly proud to call myself a Newfoundlander. Our fathers and grandfathers came originally from the British Isles; but there has been practically no immigration for forty or fifty years, with the result that virtually all of the Terranovans of to-day saw the light in their Island home.

Our population should be much larger, but the repressive policy pursued towards the Colony in bygone days at the instance of the West-of-England merchant adventurers who controlled the fisheries and wished to retain this control undisputed, prevented the country from being settled. Laws were specially framed to forbid settlement and in at least one

instance a Star Chamber ukase was issued directing the deportation of the whole of those living in the country in defiance of previous regulations, while, even at a later period, after this monstrous policy had been abandoned, the Island was ruled by fishing admirals created by a rough and ready method. The captain of the first fishing schooner entering a harbour was Admiral for the season; the second was Vice-Admiral; and the third was Rear-Admiral. It requires little effort to imagine the kind of justice they administered. It was hardly more than a century ago that the holding of land was permitted to our people and less than that since the first road was built. Representative Government, granted to Nova Scotia in 1758, was denied to Newfoundland until seventy-five years later, and it was not until 1855 that we secured Responsible Government, with full control of our own affairs such as the Dominion of Canada enjoys to-day.

Newfoundland was invited to participate in the negotiations which brought about the Confederation of the British North American colonies in 1867. Our Government sent two delegates to Quebec, Frederick Carter and Ambrose Shea—subsequently knighted—and there was a ditty composed on their going, which ran:

“Remember the day
When Carter and Shea
Crossed over the ‘say’,
To barter away
The rights of Terra Nova.”

At a general election in Newfoundland held in the fall of 1869 the party in favor of Confederation was obliterated. It may be of interest to set out the arguments used by their opponents. There were predictions that the people of Newfoundland would see their children used as gun-wads for Canadian cannon (that was shortly after the Fenian invasion of Canada); that “their bones would bleach on the desert sands of Canada”; that there would be taxes on everything,

even on the panes of glass in the windows; and, in a country where coal was not mined and wood the sole fuel supply, they were told that no man would be allowed to cut wood, with the result that many people went out, fearing this dreadful thing would befall them, and cut enough wood to last for years, and men dressed in soldiers' coats were sent about to represent Canadian press gangs. This form of political warfare is still in vogue, not alone with us, but also in Canada, for I was interested to note that in recent contests, the French-Canadian women were urged not to let their sons join the proposed navy to be slaughtered in foreign wars.

In a country settled largely by people of Irish extraction the sentimental had a large appeal, especially in the form of so-called poetry such as this:

"You brave Newfoundlanders who plow the salt sea,
With hearts like the eagles, so bold and so free,
The time is at hand when you have it to say
If Con-federa-tion shall carry the day.

Will you abandon the right that your forefathers won,
Or let it descend from the father to son?
For a few thousand dollars of Canadian gold,
Will you let it be said that your birthright was sold?"

CHORUS

Three cheers for our own loved Isle Newfoundland,
No stranger shall hold an inch of her strand—
Her face turns to Britain, her back to the Gulf;
Come near at your peril, you Canadian wolf."

After the election was over and it was seen that the "Antis" had been successful, the fishermen and mechanics of St. John's, a stronghold of that party, put together a large coffin labelled "Confederation", which was placed on a vehicle draped in black, and this was drawn by scores of willing hands through the town, headed by a band, playing the Dead March, and escorted by an immense crowd, to the head of the harbour, where a grave was dug below high-water mark and the coffin solemnly interred therein, while a local versifier of the period

known as "Power (pronounced "pore") the Poet" delivered its funeral oration in these words:

"And now Confederation a shameful death has died,
And buried up at River Head beneath the flowing tide,
And may it never rise again to bother us, I pray,
'Hurrah Me Boys', for liberty, the Antis gained the day."

After the defeat of Confederation, the cause languished till 1887, when Sir Charles Tupper, on his way to England from Halifax via St. John's, informally opened negotiations with the Newfoundland government led by Sir Robert Thorburn. Its decision to send delegates to Ottawa provoked such popular hostility that the delegates, who were actually on the way, were recalled from Halifax and negotiations were abandoned.

The question was opened again in 1895, following the disastrous bank failures which came in the wake of the fire that devastated St. John's in 1892. The Whiteway Government was then in power and the delegates (Premier Whiteway being too ill to go) were the late Sir Robert Bond, afterwards premier; Sir Edward Morris, later premier (and now living in London as Lord Morris), Sir William Horwood, now Chief Justice, and Executive Councillor Emerson, later senior assistant Judge of the Supreme Court and now deceased. The Canadian conferees were the late Sir Mackenzie Bowell, then Premier of Canada, Hon. George Foster, then Minister of Finance, the late Sir Adolphe Caron, then Postmaster-General, and the late Hon. John Haggart, then Minister of Railways. After protracted negotiations they were unable to reach an agreement. The Canadian delegates were unwilling to advance the further sum of \$54,000 a year to Newfoundland which our delegates considered indispensable to maintain our local administration and the proposals were abandoned. Had the amount been granted Newfoundland would have been likely a Province of the Dominion to-day and, judging by her

subsequent prosperity, not the least prosperous of the territories that constitute the great Dominion.

Those who have not studied the subject fully—and it has of course not been much in the public mind since—have been disposed to criticize the Canadian delegates severely for their failure to give this additional sum. It should be remembered, however, that \$54,000 a year looked to Canada in those days much larger than it does now; that the Canadian delegates feared that if they gave Newfoundland this additional amount, they would have demands for increased subsidies from all the other Canadian Provinces; that there was some concern as to Quebec's attitude towards the inclusion of another English-speaking Province; that there had been no opportunity to elicit the sentiment of Canada as a whole towards Newfoundland or the readiness of the Canadian people to give exceptional terms to our country and, finally, that the Bowell Government was confronted with a general election and was naturally unwilling to assume the risks which an administration fresh from the country or in its vigorous maturity might have been willing to accept. It was only after these negotiations had failed and after a virtually unanimous chorus of protests from the newspapers of every shade of politics, public men and civic organizations that the Canadian Government seemed to realize that a mistake had been made. But it was too late then; their action could not be undone, and if Canada feels that she has cause to regret the opportunity, there is no regret on Newfoundland's part as she has progressed at least as rapidly as she could have done had she united with Canada at that time. Since then Confederation has not been an issue either in Canada or in Newfoundland, although it has figured prominently in every election in the island.

When proposals for Confederation were made in 1867, there was little in its favour except what was embodied in the

phrase "Union is strength." The idea of federating the North American Colonies was new; the project was simply an experiment and no man could tell how it would succeed. Alluring prospects were presented—that railways would be built; that taxation would be reduced, and that such a stimulus in trade and otherwise would be imparted as we would not get in any other way—but it was argued that we should wait and see how the scheme worked out among the mainland colonies before we ventured in, and that, as we had but one industry, fishing, we had virtually nothing in common with our neighbours and would derive little advantage from combining with them. Influenced by this reasoning and by the party cries already described, we rejected it with such positiveness that since then it has never been officially submitted to our electorate. I propose to indicate why union is not thought advisable at the present time. Before doing so it may be wise to summarize the arguments which are presented in favour of Confederation.

The claim is made that it will round off the Dominion, that Canada is incomplete without Newfoundland and that, especially in these days when the federal principle is predominant, as has been shown by the Australian and South African Federations, it is an anomaly for Newfoundland to be outside. To this there is of course the retort that we are in precisely the same position with respect to Canada that New Zealand is to Australia.

The importance of Newfoundland as the sentinel of the St. Lawrence is urged as a reason for federation. It would be possible for an enemy holding St. John's to bottle up Canada's eastern water-borne commerce. Access to the Gulf is obtained either by Belle Isle Strait on the north of Newfoundland or Cabot Strait on the south, and commerce destroyers would devastate these waters if Newfoundland were in hostile hands. The Island is of value, likewise, for naval purposes.

Whether Canada has a navy of her own or maintains a flotilla as part of the Imperial Navy, if the ships are to be manned from this side of the water Canada will be obliged, in my judgment, to get much of her material from us, because the Canadians in the Maritime Provinces, just as the Americans in the "Down East" States, are abandoning the fisheries as being too dangerous and unremunerative. The Gloucester fleet, the backbone of the Massachusetts fisheries, obtains its crew largely from Newfoundland; the fleet from Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, which operates on the Grand Banks each year, is not increasing because of the difficulty of persuading Nova Scotians to remain in the business. Hence, if Canada is to obtain blue-jackets for warships, they must be drawn largely from Newfoundland. When the Canadian cruiser *Niobe* was unable to obtain a complement from Canadian sources during the Great War, the Admiralty was obliged to arrange to complete her force by transferring to her a large number of Newfoundland naval reservists. For several years before the war a Naval Reserve force, five hundred strong, was maintained in Newfoundland by the Admiralty as a branch of the British naval organization. Newfoundland contributed \$15,000 a year to its maintenance but the British authorities controlled it absolutely. After the war began the force was increased and 2,200 men were enlisted during the period of hostilities. Abundance of the same material still exists here and ensures a substantial supply for any future contingencies.

Canada might desire Newfoundland because of its political importance. We have a population of 250,000 English-speaking people in a Province that would have at least ten members at Ottawa who could be relied upon at all times to protect British ideals against possible invasion by foreign races in the West. Canadian public men of both parties would do well to recognize the fact that if Confederation should become a live issue in the future it will be considered

by us only if we are guaranteed an irreducible minimum in our representation at Ottawa. It may be ten or it may be twelve members, but we would not put ourselves in the position of the Maritime Provinces, who are seeing their representation whittled away after each census.

A further reason for Union may be found in the commercial value of Newfoundland, in that it would afford Canada a market for several millions of dollars' worth of products annually. At present, of twenty-five million dollars' worth of imports, we buy from Canada about twelve million dollars' worth, and from the United States about eight million dollars' worth, taking about four and a half million dollars' worth from the Mother Country and the remainder from the rest of the world. Under Confederation a great deal of the commodities now obtained from the United States would be procured from Canada. To Canadian manufacturers, millers and business men this would appeal strongly.

The reasons for Newfoundland's not desiring Confederation are many and varied. In 1867 we were promised a railway like the Intercolonial. We have, however, constructed our own railway, now extending about 900 miles, and providing as large a railway mileage per head as Canada had until recently. We have a 25,000-ton steamer plying across Cabot Strait alternate nights, giving us tri-weekly connection with the Intercolonial Railway and the outside world. This steamer has accommodation for 150 first class and 200 second class passengers; it makes 16 knots and is superior to any vessel plying in Canada east of Montreal. Ten or twelve other coastwise and in-bay steamers, equally good, serve our seaboard, connecting with the railway at convenient points and completing a transportation system that touches virtually every settlement in the country. We have, in addition, a steamer plying fortnightly to Labrador in the summer months when some 10,000 of our fisherfolk are there engaged in their

industry. We have financed the railway and provided subsidies for these steamers as our circumstances have permitted and when it has suited ourselves, whereas, had we entered Confederation in 1867 on a promise of railways, we might have had to wait long for them. British Columbia, though promised a railway as a condition of entry, had virtually to revolt some years later to secure it and Lord Dufferin crossed "the sea of mountains" as a pacificator; and again, though Prince Edward Island was promised better winter communication, she is only now, after nearly sixty years, seeing this promise implemented.

Another inducement held out to us at that time was that under Confederation we would have a free breakfast table. We have been able to provide that also for ourselves. We have wiped out the taxation on many necessities of life; the working class are practically tax free so far as these are concerned. To secure a revenue we levy duties on our imports, and the balance of the taxation is borne by the classes best able to carry the burden. The Customs Revenue obtained from import duties provides for all the public services of every character whatever, even the upkeep of the roads and the maintenance of schools. Every form of public service maintained in Canada, either under the Dominion, Provincial, County, or municipal governments, is provided for the people of Newfoundland from the general revenue, and the Newfoundlander knows nothing of direct taxation such as is imposed on the people of Canada by the various Provinces. The Newfoundlander, in addition, gets all the land he wants for nothing. Our country has an interior practically unsettled. The people live almost altogether around the seaboard; fishing is their first occupation, but there is scarcely a man now who does not raise his own vegetables and garden stuff and provender for his horse, cow, sheep and pigs. With an abundant supply of fish in the waters beside his door; with the opportunity of raising his own garden produce and of stocking his

larder with caribou, rabbits and game birds, unrestricted in his access to the forest to cut wood for fuel, for house building and for boat building, the Newfoundlander feels himself as well off as the farmer, the miner, or the working man anywhere in Canada.

In our trade we are practically self-contained. Conditions such as disturb the world outside affect us but slightly. We are not worried over tight money, the collapse of real estate booms or over-speculation. The noise of financial panics finds no echo in our Island. We have but one tariff applying to the outside world; we sell in the highest and buy in the cheapest market. We can purchase flour in St. John's, for instance, cheaper than it can be got at Halifax, for Canadian and American millers compete for our trade, whereas in Canada the import duty on American wheat and flour enables the Canadian trader to raise the price substantially above what we pay. What is true of flour is true of many other commodities as well. For these reasons, then, it is not surprising that Newfoundland has kept pace in population until the past decade. In the previous ten years Canada's net gain in population was about $10\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., while Newfoundland's was nearly ten per cent., and this, moreover, though we had no immigration whatever, whereas you had a substantial immigration, though less than you had during the past decade. This inrush from Europe and from the United States to your Northwest upset the balance but, by comparison with Ontario and the Maritime Provinces, we are holding our own in point of numbers. Because of this record and because of our enjoying a prosperity so long continued, so widespread and with such prospects of permanence, we find it difficult to see where any advantage could accrue from Union.

Each element in our community, moreover, sees in Confederation a menace to its individual betterment. Thus Confederation is opposed by our merchants and general dealers

because they believe that it would involve the establishment by large Canadian concerns of branch houses in St. John's and the other towns and would drive them out of business. It is also opposed by our manufacturers (for we have manufactories, producing many articles of common use amongst us, such as cordage, tobacco, biscuits, boots and shoes, etc.), and the owners of these factories claim that the larger Canadian concerns of the same class would flood our market with surplus products and would not only destroy the capital invested in the local concerns but would leave the operative forces without employment. It is estimated that \$75,000 per week is paid by the factory owners for labour in our country, exclusive of such enterprises as the iron mines and the pulp and paper mills. Our farmers, in turn, contend that their industry would be destroyed if the produce of the Maritime Provinces and Central Canada were to obtain free entry into our Island. At present, we help to stimulate a farming industry by a protective duty, which, of course, would be removed under Confederation.

It is to the fishermen, however, that the proposal for Confederation seems most objectionable. They claim that the administration of our fisheries would be transferred from the Government at St. John's to that at Ottawa because under the British North America Act the sea-fisheries are subject to federal control. They contend that there would then be no guarantee that the future of this industry might not be jeopardized by an Ottawa administration which might use it to secure the advantage of the rest of Canada to the detriment of Newfoundland in some trade compact with the United States. They feel, moreover, that they would not have as sympathetic and responsive administration of the fishery laws through the agency of a bureau at Ottawa as they would have with control located in St. John's and that regulations inimical to their interests might be framed and enforced. They argue also that every man in Canada engaged in sea fishing has to

take out a license and pay a fee, which in the case of large cod traps, the most costly and modern method of fishing, amounts to \$50 or \$75 a year. In Newfoundland we have no licenses or fees; regulations are made for virtually every locality in response to the wishes of the people therein.

It is suggested that under Confederation the Dominion would provide us with better coast facilities, lighthouses, fish hatcheries, and other such aids. We tried fish hatching ourselves some years ago and abandoned it as worthless; we are making as generous provision for coast aids as our finances will allow, and perhaps as generous as we would get under Confederation. As Canada is at present maintaining a number of important lighthouses on our seaboard, not for our advantage but for the benefit of her own shipping that uses the St. Lawrence route, we would gain very little in this way. In addition to the merchant, the manufacturer, the farmer and the fisherman, the economists among us oppose Confederation because it would mean that in addition to the one Government, with one set of politicians such as we now maintain, we would find it necessary to support a second system under Confederation.

Every element, therefore, opposes Confederation because of particular and general interests, and the consensus of opinion among all classes is that Canada has nothing of value to offer us. Our total trade in 1927 was \$56,000,000. Of this \$26,000,000 consisted of imports and \$30,000,000 of exports, leaving a balance of trade in our favour of \$4,000,000. The estimated value of our fisheries for 1928 was 15½ million dollars. The products of our paper industry were valued at \$14,000,000. The output from our hematite iron and lead-zinc mines are estimated at 3½ million dollars. Under Confederation none of these would bring us larger returns than they do now. Nor would Confederation benefit our agriculture or other local industries. The only substantial argument in

favour of Union would be that the articles we now import from Canada would be admitted duty free. It is optional with us at any time we may choose to bring this about by removing the duties from Canadian products, but this would involve a loss of revenue now or under Confederation which would have to be met by direct taxation to satisfy the needs of a provincial administration. Direct taxation would be extremely unpopular in our country, and the fear of it forms one of the strongest arguments against Confederation.

Our public debt may be set down as \$80,000,000, including the municipal debt of St. John's. For 250,000 people this is nearly \$400 per head but there are no other obligations of any kind, unlike in Canada where everybody has to meet his share of federal, provincial and municipal taxation. From the *Financial Post* survey for 1927 (page 166) I extract figures which show, roughly, that the public debt of the Dominion in October, 1926, was \$2,513,000,000 and that of the provinces \$706,000,000, a total of \$3,200,000,000. If we estimate Canada's population to be 10,000,000, this represents a burden of \$320 per head in addition to the county, city and other debts which have to be borne in Canada but which I have no means of estimating. It is safe to say that the burden of taxation is greater in Canada than in Newfoundland.

In recent years the general discontent in the Maritime Provinces, which resulted in the appointment of the Duncan Commission, has intensified the feeling amongst Newfoundlanders against the idea of Confederation. The fact that the Dominion felt obliged to create such a Commission and to provide measures of relief for the grievances of these Provinces forms the strongest argument in Newfoundland to-day against any union with Canada.

In my opinion, if Confederation should be brought about in the future, it must be through the influence of one of two circumstances. Either a complete transformation of condi-

tions in the eastern part of British America (which we cannot see in prospect at present) might induce Newfoundland for financial or other reasons to come in, or the menace of foreign domination might force her to seek protection through union. But at the present time our country is too prosperous, our people are too contented, the outlook is too promising, for us to consider any proposal for union on the part of the Dominion, even if the Dominion were disposed to make one.

THE LABRADOR BOUNDARY CASE

BY WILLIAM SMITH

THE point at issue in this notable case may be stated very shortly. The Labrador Peninsula has four outlooks: on the Atlantic, on the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, on Hudson Bay and on Hudson Straits. The sides of the Peninsula from which the rivers run down to the St. Lawrence and to Hudson Bay and Straits do not concern us. Our interest is confined to the side down which flow the waters that find their outlet in the Atlantic.

This was the area in dispute. Canada claimed the whole of this area, excepting a strip along the sea shore, which she contended should not exceed a mile in width. Newfoundland claimed the whole area. Both sides rested their cases on one or two documents issued in 1763. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was asked by both Canada and Newfoundland to declare the true meaning of these documents.

The crucial importance of these documents will be understood from a brief review of the laws passed respecting Labrador after the cession of the territory to Great Britain by the Treaty of Paris of February 10, 1763. On April 25, 1763, a commission was passed under the Great Seal appointing Thomas Graves to be Governor over the Island of Newfoundland, and all the Coasts of Labrador from the entrance of Hudson Straits to the River St. John's, which empties into the St. Lawrence nearly opposite the west end of the Island of Anticosti, including that Island and also the Magdalen Islands.

On October 7, 1763, a Royal Proclamation issued making disposition of all the territories acquired by the Treaty of Paris. As regards Labrador, it declared: "To the end that

the open and free fishery of our subjects may be extended to and carried on upon the coast of Labrador, and the adjacent islands, we have thought fit, with the advice of our said Privy Council, to put all that coast, from the River St. John's to the Hudson's Streights . . . under the care and inspection of our Governor of Newfoundland." The Quebec Act of 1774, in greatly extending the limits of the province of Quebec, transferred the whole of the Labrador territory to that province. The Imperial Act of 1809 restored to Newfoundland all the territory that had been annexed to it by the Proclamation of October 7, 1763. Finally, the Imperial Parliament by an act of 1825 for the extinction of Feudal and Seigniorial Tenures, withdrew from Newfoundland that part of the coast lying between River St. John's and Blanc Sablon (on the Straits of Belle Isle) and re-annexed it to Lower Canada. The title of Newfoundland to any part of Labrador therefore rested upon the act of 1809, which restored to it the portion defined in the Proclamation of October 7, 1763, of which it had been deprived by the Quebec Act of 1774. The question to be decided, then, was the extent of the grant made by the Proclamation of October 7, 1763.

For more than a century after this Proclamation had been published, no person raised the question as to what it imported. Neither Canada nor Newfoundland appeared to give a thought to possessory rights in the territory which stretched back from a strip on the shore up to the heights from which the rivers took their rise. But in 1888 something happened. An Esquimaux charged with the murder of his wife in the Labrador territory was brought for trial before Judge Pinsent in St. John's. Objection was made by the prisoner's counsel that the place where the murder was alleged to have occurred was outside the jurisdiction of the Newfoundland courts. As it happened that the place of the murder was quite near the shore, the objection was overruled. But the

incident gave the judge matter for thought. Supposing the murder to have taken place ten or twenty miles from the shore, what would he have done? He laid his perplexities before the Governor, submitting at the same time a map prepared by the Canadian Department of Interior in 1878, on which the lines indicating the eastern boundary of Canada excluded a large portion of the Peninsula of Labrador. The papers were referred to the Colonial Secretary, who turned them over to the Canadian Government. The discussion was inconclusive, the only fact of importance which emerged being that the Canadian geographer had little notion of the merits of the case as they were being presented to the Judicial Committee by the counsel for Canada. In 1892 the question was placed on the agenda for consideration at a conference in Halifax between representatives of the two governments, but it received merely perfunctory attention.

The state of speculative inaction into which the question had been allowed to lapse came to an end in 1902. In that year the Canadian Government learned with concern that the Newfoundland Government had made an extensive grant of timber lands on the Hamilton River to a Nova Scotia mill owner. They at once made a protest in which they were energetically supported by the Quebec Government, which claimed all the territory that lies south of the Hamilton river. The Colonial Secretary, to whom the correspondence between the two governments was referred, proposed that the dispute should be submitted for decision to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It was not until three years and a half later, in October, 1907, that an agreement to accept the proposal was settled, but rather more than thirteen years again elapsed before the terms of the question to be submitted to the Judicial Committee were agreed upon by the two governments.

The question to which the Judicial Committee was asked to give an answer was:—

"What is the location and definition of the boundary as between Canada and Newfoundland in the Labrador Peninsula under the Statutes, Orders-in-Council, and Proclamations?"

Thereafter ensued a period of activity. Experts were engaged by both sides to seek out material which would support their respective claims. The work was done exhaustively. Searches were conducted abroad in the great public institutions on both sides of the Atlantic—Harvard University, the Carter Brown Library, the New York Public Library, and the Congressional Library, on this side, and the Public Record Office, the British Museum and the Royal Geographical Society in London. The Hudson's Bay Company threw open their records, which began in 1671, and the Archbishop's Palace in Quebec, making a unique exception, gave free access to its papers, which run in a continuous line from 1647. The Newfoundland Government permitted the Canadian representative to examine all their early records, and a similar courtesy was extended to the representative of Newfoundland as regards the Canadian records. The result was the assemblage of an immense volume of papers over which the members of the Judicial Committee were invited to pore. There were 4,217 pages of evidence laid before the Committee when the case opened, and many more papers were introduced during the progress of the hearings.

The principal Canadian counsel were the Right Honourable H. P. MacMillan, K.C., who had been Attorney-General in the Ramsay MacDonald Government, and Mr. Aimé Geoffrion, K.C., of the Montreal bar. The Newfoundland case was presented by Sir John Simon and Mr. F. F. Barrington Ward of the English bar.

Sir John Simon opened for Newfoundland on October 21, 1926, and he and his colleague continued until the afternoon of October 28. The points Sir John strove to establish were, first, that the coast assigned to Newfoundland by the Pro-

clamation of October 7, 1763, was not a mere strip, but a territory having a substantial depth, and, secondly, that that territory extended upward to the height of land.

He accepted the contention which Canada had built up so elaborately that the purpose of the grant was to extend to the Labrador coast the sort of government which had been exercised for many years in Newfoundland. To the people of the British Isles, Newfoundland was no more than a convenience for the fisher-folk who came yearly from the west of England ports, and who were required by the Statute of 1699 to return home at the end of the season. The Governor, who was also Commander of the fleet in those waters, came and departed with the fishermen, and his principal duty was to compel the observance of the several provisions of this act which had to do exclusively with the seasonal fishing. When it became necessary to provide for control over the coast of Labrador, what more natural than to extend the Governor's jurisdiction to this additional stretch of coast?

Sir John admitted that "the purpose to be served at the time when the grant was made was a purpose which was primarily, you may say if you like, was practically exclusively a purpose closely associated with the sailor of the sea." But, he insisted, that was not the whole point. The immediate purpose of a grant and the extent of territory involved are not the same thing. Light on the question of extent might be obtained from an inspection of the commission and instructions issued to the first Governor, whose appointment antedated the Proclamation by several months. The commission, in empowering the Governor to appoint judges and other judicial officers for the keeping of the peace on Labrador as well as on Newfoundland, and to administer the oaths of allegiance to residents, seemed to contemplate an extent of territory at least sufficient to furnish dwelling space. The instructions gave a similar indication. The Governor was directed to

furnish charts of the harbours and bays. This would require the Governor's vessels to work far in behind the line proposed by Canada as the boundary. Canada's claim was that this line a mile from high water mark should cross the mouths of all harbours and bays. In the case of Hamilton Inlet or Lake Melville, the distance behind this line is not less than 180 miles. The Governor was also enjoined to take measures for carrying on a commerce with the Indians. Unless there was a population of Indians squatting on the selvedge a mile in width, argued Sir John, there must have been a substantial depth of territory implied in this instruction. Canada, it should be noted, had shown that Indians never frequented the shore on account of the hostility of the Esquimaux.

The terms of the Quebec Act of 1774 in transferring from Newfoundland to Quebec all "such territories, islands and countries which have, since the 10th of February, 1763, been made part of the Government of Newfoundland" have a strong implication of the same sort. But the Act of 1825, in curtailing the territory restored to Newfoundland in 1809, contained the words which were held by Sir John to prove conclusively that the British Government considered they were dealing with a tract having considerable depth, and not a mere strip of coast line. The words of the Statute are: "Be it therefore enacted that so much of the said coast as lies to the westward of a line to be drawn due north and south from the bay or harbour of Ance Sablon, inclusive, as far as the 52° of north latitude . . . shall be, and the same are hereby re-annexed to and made part of the said province of Lower Canada."

Now, the line drawn due north and south between Anse Sablon and the 52° of north latitude is 40 miles in length, and if, as Canada contended, it was only designed to mark a point on the shore, it would be, Sir John remarked, like taking a pair of shears 40 miles long to make a tiny snip in a piece of cloth.

Only a few of the many pieces culled by Sir John from

the mass of evidence presented to the Court have been noted here, but, in passing from this branch of his argument, he left a strong impression that the territory granted to Newfoundland in 1763 was much more than a mere strip of sea shore. He then proceeded to demonstrate his second point.

The Canadian case presented a strong array of facts designed to show that the theory that the inland boundary of a grant of unoccupied territory on a sea shore, not otherwise defined, was the height of land, had never been submitted to a court until the beginning of the nineteenth century; that so far as it was recognized at all, the theory belonged to international law; and that it had been definitely rejected as a doctrine of law by the Judicial Committee in the Ontario-Manitoba boundary case which was decided in 1884.

Sir John ignored the statement altogether. He laid before the Court a series of maps every one of which showed the geographers' idea that the height of land was the most natural boundary in the world. The old maps of North America showed that under the British Crown in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries this principle was constantly applied. Virginia and Carolina and indeed all the colonies fronting on the Atlantic were shown as running back to the heights from which the rivers emptying into the sea took their rise. The geographers may through ignorance have misplaced their mountains, but they had no doubt that the mountains were the boundaries, and that, insisted Sir John, was the common view among ordinary, intelligent people.

Having thus endeavoured to impress upon the Committee that the height of land as a natural boundary was a familiar idea to the British Government in 1763, Sir John turned to his particular problem. His first object was to show that, on the Labrador Peninsula, the boundary of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories was the height of land. He produced the map presented to the Parliamentary Committee by the

Hudson's Bay Company in 1857, when the affairs of the Company were under enquiry. On this map, the height of land was clearly indicated as the boundary. He then set out to prove that this was the accepted boundary in 1763. His construction of the history from the granting of the Company's charter in 1670 to the year of the Treaty of Paris would by no means have passed scholars without challenge, but it was carried through with great adroitness to the end he had in sight. There is scarcely anything more certain than that the Hudson's Bay Company never gave a thought in early days to the height of land as a boundary on the Labrador Peninsula. They were convinced that their charter gave them a title to the whole Peninsula with the Atlantic ocean as the eastern boundary, subject only to the proven rights of the French, who were the only other Christian people having a claim upon any part of it.

Whether this assertion of claim by the Hudson's Bay Company if supported would have helped the Canadian case may be doubted. It would have given rise to difficulties. It would have compelled Canada to reconcile the fact with the terms of the Proclamation of 1763, which gave the Governor of Newfoundland jurisdiction from the entrance of Hudson Strait downward. This line ran for a degree and a half along what, in that view, was the Company's territory, and the Company's undoubted acquiescence in this encroachment would not be easy to explain. Mr. Geoffrion did, indeed, attempt an explanation, suggesting that the encroachment was so insignificant as to arouse no opposition on the part of the Company. But his suggestion found no favour with the Committee.

But even if a satisfactory explanation were forthcoming, it is a question how far Canada's case would have been forwarded if her counsel had succeeded in destroying Sir John's proposition. The issue between the Dominion and the colony

must be decided on a principle. Was the grant limited by its admitted purpose of subserving a fishery interest, or was it of the same generous character as had been observed in the case of the older American colonies? If the Committee came to the conclusion that the principle for which Canada contended was the true principle, they would have had a tremendous difficulty in giving it practical application, and Canada's counsel could afford them no assistance. In the prepared case, Canada insisted that a mile of coast strip would answer every fishing purpose, but, under the stress of argument, Mr. MacMillan gave up this narrow margin and suggested a five mile strip, the depth of strip which Newfoundland reserves in making grants adjacent to the sea shore. But he left the matter with the Committee, offering to accept a twenty mile strip, though he hoped the Committee would not be so generous to Newfoundland.

If, on the other hand, the Committee were of opinion that Newfoundland had made out its case, and that the Statutes, Orders-in-Council and Proclamations disclosed an intention on the part of the British Government to place under the control of the Governor of Newfoundland a territory which would have included, with the coast proper, an extensive hinterland, of what avail would it have been to disprove the contention that the height of land was the boundary in the rear? It would simply have compelled the Committee to do what they would have had to do, in case Canada had won on the principle. They would be obliged to grope for a boundary somewhere near the height of land, as, in the case of Canada's victory, they must seek for it near the sea shore.

Mr. MacMillan opened the Canadian case on October 28, and the speeches of the two counsel continued until November 8. The first question discussed was the meaning of the term "coast" as used in the Proclamation, in putting the Coast of Labrador under the care and inspection of the Governor of

Newfoundland. The word itself, it was admitted, was of ambiguous import. It was frequently used in the Bible to indicate territory of considerable depth, and the terms "Gold Coast", "Coast of Malabar" prove that it is still used in the same sense. In each case, the definition of the word was to be sought from the sense in which it was used. The Proclamation and the documents leading up to it were carefully analysed to show that, in this case, the term meant no more than the narrowest strip of sea shore that was required for the operations of the deep sea fishermen, who came out from England each season. Support for the argument was sought from the history of Newfoundland which up to that time and for long afterwards was no more than a *pied-à-terre* for the seasonal fishermen. The purpose of the Proclamation was simply and solely to extend to the shores of Labrador the same sort of protection for the deep sea fishing interests as the Governor gave to the fishermen off the shores of Newfoundland. That the Governor could not have been intended to have any sort of jurisdiction over the Indians in the interior of Labrador was evident from a clause in his commission directing him to extend toleration to all religions except the Roman Catholic. As the Indians on the Labrador were largely Roman Catholic, through the ministrations of missionaries of Quebec, whose labours among these people had been carried on for more than a century before 1763, the exception of them from the general toleration would have been a violation of the terms of the Capitulation, by which Canada was surrendered by the French to the English in 1760.

The Canadian counsel then attacked Newfoundland's key positions. Newfoundland's case hinged, in Mr. MacMillan's words, "upon two points: first, that the Hudson's Bay country was the height of land; secondly, that there was no Indian territory reserved to His Majesty in the area he (Sir John) claims." For reasons already intimated, the second point was

much more important than the first. If the counsel for Canada could have established that the hinterland of Labrador was occupied by a large body of Indians, who had been under the care and protection of sovereigns of France or England from before the middle of the seventeenth century down to the present day, they would have gone far towards breaking down the Newfoundland case.

The clauses in the Proclamation relating to the Indians, around which argument centred, are as follows:

“And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to our interest, and the security of our Colonies, that the several nations or tribes of Indians with whom We are connected, and who live under our Protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts of our dominions and territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are reserved to them, or any of them, as their hunting grounds, We do therefore, with the advice of our Privy Council, declare it to be our Royal Will and Pleasure, that no Governor nor Commander-in-Chief in any of our Colonies of Quebec, East Florida or West Florida, do presume, upon any pretence whatever, to grant Warrants of Survey, or pass any patents for lands beyond the bounds of their respective Governments. . . .

“And, We do further declare it to be our Royal Will and Pleasure, for the present as aforesaid, to reserve under our sovereignty, protection and dominions, for the use of the said Indians, all the lands and territories not included within the limits of our said three new Governments or within the limits of the territory granted to the Hudson’s Bay Company. . . .”

Did these clauses relate to the Indians on the Labrador Peninsula, as well as to the Indians on the western plains, or did they refer to the latter only? Sir John Simon argued strongly that they had to do with the Western Indians and with them only. News of the Pontiac outbreak

with peril to the older colonies had just reached England, and he maintained that it was with a view to pacifying these Indians that the Proclamation was issued. This view received a measure of support from the omission of any direct mention of the Labrador Indians in the list of North American Indians which accompanied a plan drawn up in 1764 for regulating relations with the Indians. Sir John asked whether it was likely that the Government while anxiously engaged in devising means for restoring tranquillity and removing a serious menace from the older colonies, would have a thought at the time for a few Esquimaux hundreds of miles away, and who were threatening nobody.

The counsel for Canada argued strongly that the description of the Indians referred to in the Proclamation—"with whom We are connected and who live under Our protection"—could not but cover the Indians of the Labrador. The nomadic habits of these Indians were dwelt on, their visits to the King's Posts and other posts on the St. Lawrence, and their numbers (taken from the Newfoundland case), and the fact that in 1760 their chiefs with their missionary pleaded with Governor Murray that they might be received as wards of the British Crown.

But, somehow, counsel failed to excite the interest of the Committee. The mind of the Committee was probably accurately expressed by Lord Sumner in his remark, "I quite see your picture of a *very limited number** of hunting Indians trapping and hunting over a vast area in an unknown interior and *trickling down** for the purpose of barter and consideration to coast places which were naturally those where there were established trading posts."

Mr. MacMillan acquiesced in this rather unexciting portrayal. The writer cannot help wondering whether the Canadian counsel made the best use of the material at their

*The italics are the writer's.

hands. Evidence was before them in plenty to show that for nearly three centuries the Labrador Indians had been connected with the Sovereigns, French and English, and had in a peculiar sense "lived under their protection." One of the standing injunctions to the French Governors from the earliest times was to look specially to the welfare of all the Indians. When the first missionaries came to Quebec, one of the things they recognized was the essential difference between the Indians on the St. Lawrence and in the Labrador Peninsula, and those in the West, and they adopted their methods to the differences. The Indians in the West were settled in villages and the missionaries visited and dwelt in those villages. The Indians to the east of Quebec were nomadic. They had no villages in which they settled. It would be no use to attempt to dwell among them. The missionaries adopted the only means possible in dealing with people who were constantly on the move. The Indians were sure to come to the trading posts in the early summer with the products of their winter's industry, and remain there until the autumn. The missionaries set up their churches near the posts and attracted the Indians to attend their services. The church at Tadoussac is the most notable instance of the missionary policy. Many visits were paid to the Indians in the interior, but the object was to create interest and induce an increasing number of Indians to visit the churches.

The Governors pursued precisely the same policy in regard to trade with the Eastern Indians. They had two purposes in view. The Indians required a market for their furs, places where they could obtain supplies to enable them to carry on their hunting, get credits where they had not the furs to trade, and where they and their families could have the services of a physician when they were sick. Above all, there had to be places provided where the Indians could be brought into contact with Europeans without their being contaminated

by the contact. It is the universal experience that where Indians deal with white men, who are competing with one another, intoxicating liquors are brought into play, and the result is disastrous to the Indians.

It was to provide places where the Indians might have all the advantages with none of the disadvantages of contact with whites that the King's Posts were established in 1653. The posts were managed sometimes by the King's officers, sometimes by lessees who obtained their leases by public auction. But whether managed by agents of the King or by lessees, the business was carried on under Royal regulations that secured for the Indians markets, credits and medical care, and immunity from the Indian's curse. Here were Royal care and protection at their best, extended to and enjoyed by the Indians from all parts of the Labrador Peninsula.

At the Conquest, the King of England took over from the King of France the obligations involved in the maintenance of the King's Posts, and he and his successors saw to it that the obligations were faithfully discharged by the several lessees until 1860, when the changes which were gradually taking place in the economic conditions of that part of the province rendered the retention of the posts no longer expedient.

But the Indians were not allowed to suffer by the discontinuance of the posts. The care and protection bestowed through deputies was taken over by the Government and exercised with even more anxiety. Annual grants for the relief of indigent and distressed Indians were begun before the dissolution of the King's Posts; and these were extended year by year until now they include, in addition to relief to the indigent, medical care, encouragement to agriculture, dwellings for Indian widows, and credits which place the Indians in a position of independence towards traders.

If the Committee had been made to understand, since

connection with the Sovereign and the enjoyment of his protection were the tests by which the Indians were brought within the scope of the Proclamation, that the Labrador Indians were most conspicuously those who best met those tests, one wonders whether they would have been as ready to believe that the comparative smallness of the number of the Labrador Indians (for it was only comparative) caused them to be disregarded when the King was extending special favours to the Indians as a whole.

The Judicial Committee, in their judgment, accepted the positions for which the Newfoundland counsel contended, almost in their entirety. They were convinced that the purpose for which the original grant was made was not the only factor determining the extent of the grant; that the terms of the Proclamation of 1763 did not apply to the Labrador Indians; and that the height of land was the logical boundary of the grant in the interior. They were strengthened in their conclusions by a consideration of the awkwardness of the situation that would be created if Canada's contentions were accepted. A line drawn along the Atlantic shore, whether a mile or 5 miles or 20 miles from highwater mark would intercept the access of the Canadian Labrador to the sea. They did not believe that the Lords of Trade in preparing the Proclamation contemplated anything of the sort. But it might have been effectively pointed out that the Indians in the Labrador interior at the time the Proclamation was issued neither used or desired to use the ways that led to the Atlantic. The hostility of the Esquimaux who dwelt on the sea shore would have prevented their approaching the shore, and, for a century, the only relations they had with the outside world were with people—governmental, ecclesiastical and trading—who conducted their affairs on the shores of the St. Lawrence.

These criticisms aside, the writer believes that the Judicial Committee rendered a judgment in accordance with the facts as they were presented to them by the opposing counsel.

THE TENANT OF TIME

BY GEORGE HERBERT CLARKE

Ages departed
A great House was started
By that Unknown Builder
Whose methods bewilder
Less cunning contrivers.
He fashioned him divers
Galleries, towers;
Avenues, bowers;
Cool greening glades;
Courts, colonnades;
Spires, summits exalted
O'er chapels rock-vaulted;
Clear waters falling;
Birds cooing or calling;
Calm rivers creeping
Through lazy vales sleeping. . .

(Ages hence 'twill be vapour
Again, for the Shaper.)

Room, river and glade
This Fashioner made
For our habitation,
Fixed the lease's duration
At years not a hundred
(Often I've wondered
Whether extensible
To tenants more sensible);
The rental exacted
Is slowly subtracted—

Mortality styled—
From each creature and child;
Nor is it a pittance
We pay for the quittance
That Death has in waiting,
Though we know not the dating.

I prize the proud spaciousness,
Grandeur and graciousness;
The rooms without number
For labour or slumber;
Bazaar-babels chartered
That things may be bartered;
High choirs with crypts under
For worship and wonder;
Yet, in all my sojourning,
My bosom keeps burning
With ache to remember,
To revive the lost ember,
Unriddle my mystery,
My prehuman history—
That earlier dwelling
Past knowing or telling
Where I dreamed not of earthen
Blessing or burthen,
But, on the day fated,
Forsook all, migrated.

Now, 'mid new firmaments,
I feel my impermanence;
Live sadly or merrily,
This House is not verily
Mine, but a testing-house,
Traveller's resting-house;

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

All life that is in it
 But guests for Life's minute;
 Here they've halted, departed
 On their journeys uncharted
 In processional endless;
 Each, fearful and friendless,
 Futurity facing—
 Aye tracing, retracing
 New orbits and newer. . .

O forlorn pursuer,
 Eternally nearing
 The peace disappearing,
 The secret solution
 Of the long Evolution;—
 O prober and porer,
 Still baffled explorer,
 Ponder the Prophet-Word
 Brahma and Hakeem heard;
 The Law Moses gave to men
 (One Law in thunderous Ten);
 The Flow Heraclitus felt;
 The Star where the shepherds knelt;
 The Poetry Plato made;
 Prayers Zarathustra prayed
 To Fire and its fervent feuds;
 Mild Christ's Beatitudes;—
 Heed not mere scroll and stone,
 Know what may not be known,
 Heed but the Undertone
 Sounding through all great souls unto thine own:

Aeon on aeon climb

The vastnesses of Space! . . .

Thou shalt find the placeless Place,

The timeless Time.

TELEVISION

BY J. A. GRAY

IN Grimm's tale, "The Four Skilful Brothers," four brothers go out into the world to learn a craft. One meets a man who asks him what he wishes most to learn in the world. "I do not yet know," he replied. "Come along with me and be a star gazer and you will have everything revealed to you, there is nothing better." The boy consents and becomes so clever at his work that, at the end of his apprenticeship, his master presents him with a telescope, saying, "This will enable you to see all that occurs on the earth and in the heavens; nothing will remain concealed from you." He meets his three brothers, each of whom has also acquired an extraordinary art. It is not long before there is an opportunity for them to put their knowledge to the test. The king, whose daughter has been kidnapped by a dragon, announces that he will give the hand of the princess to him who will bring her back. The brothers decide to search for her. "I shall soon know where she is," said the star-gazer. He looks through his telescope and says: "I behold her, she is seated far away on a rock in the sea, beside the dragon who guards her." He goes to the king and asks for a ship for his brothers and himself. His request is granted and they cross the sea to the rock, where they rescue the Princess. This tale is one of many in which a desired result is obtained by a magic mirror or telescope which permits its owner to observe any scene, however distant.

Turning to the literature of the present day, we find Mr. Bernard Shaw depicting the following scene in his drama, "Back to Methusaleh," written in 1921. The President of the British Islands in the year 2170 A.D. desires to talk with

a cabinet minister who is at his home many miles away. In the President's office there is a table with a number of chairs and beside each chair is a switchboard with a dial. At the end of the room is a silvery screen. The President sits down, puts a peg in his switchboard, turns the pointer on the dial, puts another peg in and presses a button. Immediately the silvery screen vanishes and in its place is seen, in reverse from right to left, another office similarly furnished, with the cabinet minister seated at his table. The President calls him by name and they transact their business.

At first sight it would appear that the minister must submit to this whether he likes it or not, but this is not the case, as he can prevent it all by removing a peg from his switchboard. The references to switchboards indicate that the image is to be transmitted by electrical methods and in actual practice images are and must be transmitted in this way. The first essential is the generation of electrical currents by the light reflected from the objects to be televised; we must have a transmitter. These currents must then be conveyed by wire or by wireless to a receiver, where in some way they must cause the formation of the desired image.

It is in this sense that the history of television may be said to date from the discovery of the light-sensitive properties of selenium. This metal has a very high electrical resistance, a property which led to its use in the Atlantic Cable receiving station at Valentia, Ireland. Fifty-six years ago the operator, Mr. May, noticed that his instruments were behaving in a queer manner. The day was one of brilliant sunshine and whenever the sun's rays shone on the selenium resistance he observed that the needle of his instrument moved. This discovery created widespread interest in the scientific world and on further investigation it was found that light falling on selenium lowered its resistance. This led to the prediction that selenium would give people an electrical eye to supplement

the electrical ear provided by the recently invented telephone. It was years, however, before any real progress was made.

When an object is seen an image of it is formed on the retina which is composed of an enormous number of cells. Each cell is connected to the brain by a number of nerve filaments and along these travel impulses whose intensity depends on the intensity of the light striking the cell. These impulses are due to the presence in the cell of a light-sensitive substance called visual purple. The early experimenters tried to make artificial eyes by substituting selenium for visual purple and by constructing an artificial retina out of a mosaic of selenium cells. Each cell was joined by wires and a battery to a mechanism which could open a shutter in front of a receiving screen. If the intensity of the light falling on a cell was great enough, a current was generated in the system, of sufficient strength to cause the opening of the corresponding shutter. Light from a lamp passed through this opening and produced a spot of light on the receiving screen. The mosaic formed by these spots gave the required image. Many people built apparatus of this kind and shadows of objects or shadeographs were obtained. What we desire, however, is an image which will show the shading and detail in the object and not merely a shadow. The system described did not produce this result and, moreover, it was found impracticable on account of the thousands of cells, wires and shutters required. An entirely different method of solving the problem was then adopted which ultimately achieved success.

Suppose an image of an object is formed and subdivided in such a way that light from a very small area only is allowed to fall on the light-sensitive cell at any one instant. These areas must be taken in regular and quick succession from all parts of the image. This method of subdivision is called scanning. As the light from any part of the image falls on the cell a current is generated which must be conveyed to the

receiver to cause there the formation of a spot of light. To each part of the image formed at the transmitter there will be a corresponding spot of light at the receiver. The combination of these spots will give rise to the desired image if the scanning is carried out quickly enough.

Images can be formed in this way because of the phenomenon known as persistence of vision. In the cinema, for example, what is seen is not a continuous picture but sixteen separate pictures every second, the effect of a single picture lasting for that period of time. The scanning at the transmitter should therefore take place in about one-sixteenth of a second; the image at the receiver is formed in the same time.

If we expect to see detail at the receiver it is essential that the light-sensitive cell should react instantly to light and cease functioning as soon as the light disappears. This is not true of selenium but is true of what are called photo-electric cells. The mode of action of these cells was discovered by Hallwachs in 1888. In present day practice such a cell consists of a highly evacuated glass bulb or tube the inner surface of which is partly coated with an alkaline metal or its hydride. The bulb is sometimes filled with a rare gas at low pressure. The positive terminal of the battery is connected to a plate or wire in the centre of the cell, the negative terminal to the coating. When light falls on the cell negatively charged particles called electrons are emitted from the coating and collected by the plate so that a current is generated in the circuit. A serious drawback to the use of such a cell is the small current obtainable and it was not until the development of the vacuum tube amplifier that there could be any hope for success.

Lack of space prevents one giving an account of the many attempts that have been made to solve the problem in this way. The first to achieve any degree of success was Mr. J. L. Baird, a Scottish engineer. In his original apparatus, which is now in the National Science Museum at South

Kensington, the object or person whom it was desired to televise was placed at one side of a rapidly revolving disk in which were fixed two sets of lenses at different distances from the centre of rotation. Behind this disk were two others also kept revolving; one had a series of radial slots cut in it and the other a spiral slot. Each lens formed a partial image of the object in the form of a vertical strip which was subdivided by the radial slots. Before reaching the cell, the light had to pass through the spiral slot which on the whole moved in a horizontal direction across the cell. The effect of these slots was to complete the required scanning in such a way that at any one instant light from a small portion only of the image produced by a single lens could fall on the cell. The electrical impulse generated by this light was amplified and sent out to the receiver, where it was reamplified and caused a neon lamp to glow. At the receiver were two revolving disks, the first with a pencil slot and the second with a number of lenses. These two disks were exactly similar to two of those at the transmitter. It was their function to select at any one instant the light from a small portion of the glowing lamp and focus it on a screen in the correct relative position. To do this it was necessary to run corresponding disks in step and at the same rate of speed, or to run them in synchronism. We may understand what is meant by this by thinking of two distant clocks which give the same time and run at the same rate. Synchronism was brought about by sending out from the transmitter a special current of the proper frequency. At the receiver this current was used to regulate a synchronous motor which controlled the speed of the rotating disks. While the disks rotate, a mechanism at the receiver is used to put them in step with the disks at the transmitter.

In his first experiments, Mr. Baird used a doll as a dummy. One day in October, 1925, he had the satisfaction of seeing an image of the doll's face on his receiving screen, not

merely as an outline, but as a real image with detail. Full of enthusiasm and excitement Mr. Baird rushed out of the laboratory in search of a human subject to take the place of the doll. The first person he happened to meet was William Taynton, who at that time was office boy in the office below. After some difficulty, Mr. Baird persuaded him to come up to the laboratory and take his place before the televisor. After seating him in the correct position, Mr. Baird dashed through the laboratory to look at the receiving screen. To his great disappointment there was nothing to be seen. After trying various adjustments in vain, he went back to the transmitter to find that the failure was due to the fact that his human subject, afraid of the terrific glare of the lamps used to illuminate his face, had moved back out of focus. "In the excitement of the moment," to quote Mr. Baird, he was given a half-crown to take up his position and maintain it. This time an image of the boy's face came through clearly on the screen. The first human being to be televised had to be bribed to accept the distinction.

Various improvements have been made from time to time in this apparatus and recognizable images have been sent across the Atlantic and to the R.M.S. *Berengaria* in mid-ocean. Scenes such as actors giving a play, men boxing and a man riding a bicycle have been fairly successfully televised. The greatest advance of all, however, has been the achievement on a limited scale of daylight television in which diffuse daylight affords the illumination required.

In his early experiments, Mr. Baird found it difficult to reduce the intensity of the light to a considerable degree. This led to experiments with ultra-violet light but these were abandoned as people find the rays objectionable and lenses absorb them strongly. He then turned to the rays at the other end of the spectrum beyond the red, the infra-red rays which are emitted by luminous bodies in relatively great intensity

and have great penetrating power. On the other hand, they have a small photo-electric effect. By increasing the efficiency of his system and the sensitivity of the photo-electric cell, he was able to obtain an image on the receiving screen even though the sitter was in total darkness; the visible rays from the lamps were absorbed in suitable screens. This development is called noctovision. Infra-red rays possess the power of penetrating fogs and are invisible, so that, in time, there will be many practical applications of television.

Another development is called by Mr. Baird phonovision. We have seen that light falling on every object in front of the transmitter causes the generation of currents in the photo-electric cell. If these currents pass through a headphone, it is possible to distinguish the sounds corresponding to different people's faces and different scenes. Gramophone records can be made from those sounds; the markings on the record can then be turned back into electric currents which may be sent into a television receiver and produce on the screen an image of the original scene. On the same record there can be put a second series of markings corresponding to the voices of the people taking part in the scene. It is this combination of gramophone and television which is called phonovision. It offers a means of recording scenes permanently so that they may be reproduced at a later date.

Another type of transmitter has been used by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company to demonstrate television both by wires and wireless. The light from a powerful arc lamp is placed behind a rapidly revolving disk in which a series of holes are arranged in the form of a spiral. The light from the lamp is condensed by a lens to illuminate a limited area on the disk. At any one time a narrow and intense beam of light passes through one of the holes and is brought to a focus on the face of the person sitting in front of the disk. A spot of light passes in a horizontal direction

over the face of the sitter, until another hole comes into the path of the light and the operation is repeated. In this way the face is covered or scanned by an intense spot of light once for every revolution of the disk. This takes place so quickly that the sitter is not inconvenienced. Light is diffusely reflected at any one time from a small area on the sitter's face and part of it falls on three large photo-electric cells joined in parallel and generates electrical currents in them. These currents are amplified, sent out by wire or wireless to the receiver where they are reamplified sufficiently to cause a glow in the neon lamp. There is a disk at the receiver exactly similar to that at the transmitter and rotating in synchronism with it. The observer looks at the tube through the holes in the disk; a frame is arranged so that he can look through only one hole at a time. At any one instant the hole is seen as a bright point. Owing to persistence of vision these bright points form the desired image.

To show an image to a large audience, a long neon tube is bent backwards and forwards into the form of a grid, covering about a square metre in area. To this tube are connected some 2500 wires, each to a small square of tin-foil cemented to the outside of the tube. A wire common to all circuits is attached to an electrode which in the form of a spiral runs the whole length of the tube. As the current from the transmitter reaches the receiver, a circuit is completed through the common wire and one of the others, so that after amplification the neon tube glows in the neighbourhood of a piece of tin-foil. A special commutator is used for synchronism. The mosaic formed by the apparently glowing pieces of tin-foil gives rise to the desired image.

A successful demonstration was given with this apparatus in April, 1927, between Washington and New York by wire and between Whiffany and New York by wireless. The large grid enabled a group of visitors to see an image of the

person at the transmitter while, at the same time, a loud-speaker enabled them to hear what he was saying. The speaker at Washington was Mr. Hoover, then Secretary of Commerce. In February, 1928, both the transmitter and receiver were placed in the Bell Telephone Auditorium and with the large grid television was demonstrated before an audience of several thousand people. Last year the Company, or more properly speaking the Bell Telephone laboratories, also carried out daylight television tests such as a golfer in action twenty feet from the transmitter. The method used was presumably similar to the first of these described.

The art of television is in its infancy, but the progress made during the last few years has been so rapid that it may not be long before it is possible to sit at home and see such scenes as the opening of Parliament or the performance of an opera, and the phonovisor, if we so desire, may be used in place of a gramophone. Whether the mechanical methods of scanning described above will always be used, remains to be seen. Doubtless in time the neon lamp will be replaced by something else, as the light from it can scarcely be said to be ideal. It is idle to try to forecast the future; that may be left to experts, but one can say with certainty that television will exert a tremendous influence on the habits and customs of people all over the world.

CIVIL AVIATION IN CANADA

BY J. A. WILSON

"Of all inventions, the alphabet and printing press alone excepted, those inventions which have abridged distance have done most for the civilization of our species."—MACAULAY.

WHETHER one agrees with Lord Macaulay's dictum or not, there can be little quarrel in Canada with that other saying, "the history of civilization is the history of transportation." Before the advent of the railway, settlement and civilization in the Dominion were confined to the sea coasts and to the banks of our great river systems. Intercourse with the interior was hazardous and uncertain; the fur trade flourished but commerce in the modern sense was unknown.

The building of our railways paved the way for Confederation, opened the prairie provinces to settlement, increased the area of accessible forest, made possible the development of our northern mining districts and stimulated industry and commerce in every direction. The products of our farms, forests, fisheries and mines now move freely to the world's markets over our railway and shipping systems. The automobile and the good road have modified our social habits, but already the influence of the newest form of transport is observed. During the next generation no material factor will modify our civilization more effectively.

Civil aviation in Canada dates from the end of the Great War. It is fitting at the close of the first decade, which also marks the end of the pioneer stage, to review the progress already made. In a field such as Canada presents for flying, pioneering will never cease and experimental work on many different lines must continue. The past ten years, however, have proved beyond question that flying can be used to

advantage in many and varied ways in the Dominion. Concentration on military flying during the war prevented all development on the civil side. At the time of the Armistice most of our people had never seen an aeroplane, much less flown in one, and the older generation at least looked on aircraft simply as novel instruments of destruction, of no value in the everyday life of the peaceful citizen. The greatest achievement of the past ten years has been the change in the public attitude towards aviation. It is only within the past two years that any appreciable number of our people have realized its possibilities.

To create a market for flying was the task of the pioneers. The variety and scale of our present operations proves not only that their salesmanship was good, but that they had a sound product of practical use to offer. To-day it may be claimed with confidence that nowhere else in the world are aircraft used more extensively or for more varied useful purposes. Canadian development has proceeded on sane lines of immediate benefit to the state. There has been no endeavour to discount the future by entering any field prematurely. This is the secret of its success and explains why in Canada "civil aviation flies by itself," to use Mr. Winston Churchill's aphorism. The indifference of the man in the street and the heady optimism of the air enthusiast have cancelled each other, with the result that progress, though slow and steady, has been real and there have been few set-backs.

Another wholesome influence has been the strict limitation of expenditures during the early period. Few profitable or necessary operations have been refused because of the lack of funds, yet the need for economy has prevented progress in advance of public opinion and beyond the operating experience and equipment available.

Conditions in Canada have been favourable for an economic development of aviation on a moderate scale. The vastness

of our north country has been an obstacle to its rapid progress. Until the advent of the aeroplane, the old, historic means of travel—the canoe in summer and the dog team in winter—were the sole means of communication in two-thirds of the area of the Dominion. Our early development has been distinctive; its operations have served the forester, surveyor, geologist and engineer rather than the tourist, business man, banker or post office as in other countries. Progress has been due to the recognition of the value of flying in the development and conservation of our natural resources and to the concentration of effort in that field while public opinion in regard to air travel and transport was ripening.

Criticisms have been made that airways serving our cities have been too long neglected and that Canada has lagged behind other countries in this phase of aviation. While this may be true, it should be borne in mind that no other country has so vast a field for immediate activity as lies in our north country where the greatest need was for better means of communication and observation. Nowhere else in the world have government services made such a general use of aviation as in Canada. When the public want air mail, passenger, and express services and is prepared to pay for them, they will be supplied by private effort. Ten, and even three, years ago this would not have been possible. To-day it is, and measures are being taken by the government to assist in the organization of airways between our principal cities,

In 1915 the federal Department of Mines made enquiries regarding the possibilities of using flying boats to increase the mobility of its scientific staff engaged in exploration. War conditions prevented action being taken at that time. Foresters, geologists and surveyors had watched with growing interest the increase in capacity and reliability of aircraft during the war, and when the Armistice released pilots and

aircraft, there was a widespread effort to use them for civil work, for transport and for observation in those areas of economic importance still unserved by our road and railway systems.

Early in the summer of 1919, trials of aircraft in forestry were organized at Grand'Mere, Quebec. It is significant that these first flights were made possible through co-operation between the Dominion Government, the forest service of the Province of Quebec and the Laurentide Company. The Department of the Naval Service lent two H.S.2.L. flying boats and the province made a grant towards the expense of the operation, which was organized under the direction of the chief forester of the Laurentide Company. The trials showed clearly the possibilities of the use of flying boats in the north country for fire protection, for the preparation of forest inventories and for transportation. In June, 1919, the Air Board Act was passed and the first board formed. Before the close of the year, a staff was appointed, regulations were prepared for the conduct of civil flying, and by the beginning of 1920 the stage was set for the beginning of civil aviation on an organized basis.

One of the first acts of the Air Board was to make a survey of the Dominion, to determine "what public services could be more efficiently and, in the broader sense, more economically performed by air than by existing methods." As a result of this survey and of discussion with the government services concerned, air stations were established in 1920, at Jericho Beach, Vancouver, with the co-operation of the Provincial Government of British Columbia and the Dominion Forest Service; at Morley, and later at High River, with the co-operation of the Dominion Forest Service, and at Roberval, with the co-operation of the Forest Service of the Province of Quebec. The main operations were, in all three cases, for forest fire protection. From these bases, with the help of

interested officers in other services, experimental work was undertaken in other fields with a view to extending the scope and increasing the usefulness of the Air Service. Trials were made of fishery patrols, aerial photography, forest type sketching from the air, payment of Indian treaty money and much other work.

Such success attended the first year's work that in 1921 further units of the Dominion civil air service were established at Victoria Beach, Man., in conjunction with the Dominion Forest Service, for the patrol of the forest areas lying east and north of Lake Winnipeg; at Sioux Lookout, in conjunction with the Forest Service of the Province of Ontario, for fire patrol and forest inventory work in Northern Ontario; at Dartmouth, N.S., and at Ottawa. In 1922 the work was continued and greatly extended.

One of the results of the preliminary survey made in 1919 and of subsequent examination of the problem with the postal authorities was the decision to leave for the future the establishment of air mails. The Air Board reported that

"The difficulty of operating such services is very great in a country where large centres of population are few, and, in many instances, separated by wide tracts of unsettled territory. Development along these lines can best be undertaken in Europe and the United States where traffic is heavier, the demand for express services greater and the communities better able to bear the cost. When air mail, express and passenger services are successful in countries where the climate and natural conditions present no difficulty, they will follow naturally in Canada."

In addition to actual flying, progress was made in the establishment of a technical service for the development of aircraft built specially to meet Canadian conditions. An Associate Research Committee was formed under the chair-

manship of Professor Eve of McGill, and researches were undertaken, particularly with respect to the problem of winter flying. An Inter-departmental Committee on Air Operations was formed to advise the departments concerned on the extension of flying in their operations.

The possibilities of air surveys on a large scale were also discussed. The late Surveyor-General, Dr. E. Deville, who in his youth had been responsible for the development of photo-topography, lent his assistance in the solution of the problem. Before his death, a simple method of plotting oblique pictures had been developed which has meant much to Canada. It made possible the rapid production of accurate maps, complete in all detail, of many thousands of square miles in Northern Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Ontario. Aerial survey by oblique photography, though limited in its application to districts where changes in elevation are relatively small, provides an effective, sufficiently accurate solution of the problem of mapping the vast hinterlands in these provinces. The survey of such areas on the ground was, at best, a slow process. The field parties travelled of necessity along the waterways by canoe, making traverses of the lakes and rivers. Their range of vision was limited by the shores; there were no hills from which to obtain views of the interior; their maps, though accurate in regard to the main waterways, left huge areas beyond their shores absolutely blank. The surveyors were always between the devil of not getting enough detail and the deep sea of not covering enough country in a season. In many areas travel was impossible over the muskegs and swamps in summer and much of this work had to be done in winter with greater difficulty and hardship.

The advent of the seaplane entirely changed this condition. Flying at 5,000 feet, the whole country was spread out like a map before the observer, and the camera reproduced

faithfully all the natural features. From the pictures could be plotted, not only the myriad lakes and rivers which cover Northern Canada, but the extent and nature of the forest cover, the rock outcrops and the nature of the soil. Water power sites stand out boldly, and the pictures are a permanent record, much more complete and reliable than the field notes of the most conscientious surveyor.

The return of pilots from overseas and the sale of surplus war aircraft led to the establishment all over the country of small commercial operating units. The majority of these were doomed to failure. Their only service was to give short pleasure flights and exhibitions of flying. When the first curiosity was satisfied, public interest declined and many of these firms were forced to discontinue operations. Their organizers had failed to realize that though there had been an immense development of flying during the war, there had been no similar development of the peace-time organization required to maintain civil aviation. The public was still apathetic and ignorant of its possibilities. The war aircraft, too, were unsuitable for such operations.

The pioneers in commercial flying had a hard struggle. In 1922 the number of civil aircraft registered and pilots licensed showed a considerable decrease over 1920 and 1921, occasioned by the failure of many small enterprises which served no really useful purpose. But those who concentrated on transportation in the north, forest sketching, photography, and other similar work were gradually finding a market. Winter flying was commencing. Flights had been made in winter to Moose Factory from Cochrane and still farther afield as far north as Fort Norman in the Mackenzie Basin. Commercial aircraft had penetrated into Northern British Columbia, Ontario, and far down the Gulf of St. Lawrence in Quebec. The trials of forest sketching from Sioux Lookout had showed the possibilities of this class of work for exploring

the remoter forest areas and the demand for further work of this nature was increasing.

In 1922 a particularly fine piece of work of this nature was done in Northern Ontario, in the triangle north of the Transcontinental Railway from the Missanabi River east as far as the Quebec boundary. This was completely covered and the foresters were able to estimate approximately the quantity of merchantable timber in the area. The flying was done by contract and the sketching by officers of the Ontario Forest Service. Aerial photography provided another useful and profitable outlet for commercial work. The success of these pioneer operations pointed the way for the profitable use of commercial aircraft.

The year 1923 saw great changes in the organization of flying services. The Air Board became part of the newly formed Department of National Defence. The civil operations branch was merged with the Royal Canadian Air Force and continued as part of that branch until July, 1927, when it was again separated from the distinctively military work. The forest patrols, carried out in conjunction with the forest service of Ontario and Quebec, were discontinued as they had passed the experimental stage and the provinces have since then arranged for their own flying.

In Ontario, after a year's trial, the Provincial Air Service was formed as a branch of the Department of Lands and Forests. This fine organization has increased its activities year by year and has played a great part in forest conservation in northern and western Ontario. Owing to the great growth of prospecting in recent years, the fire hazard has materially increased; without air patrols there is no doubt that the fire losses would have been much higher.

Experience has pointed the way to improved organization and new types of aircraft, more suitable than the war types, have been introduced. One of the finest seaplane bases

on the continent has been built at Sault Ste. Marie and operating bases at the three district headquarters, Sioux Lookout, Sudbury and on Lake Nipigon, have been constructed. Gas caches and subsidiary bases are maintained at many points by the Provincial Air Service and travel by air throughout the length and breadth of the province by seaplane is fully organized.

Forces can thus be concentrated in any one district to meet a sudden emergency. Inspection work, exploration, preparation of timber inventories so that limits may be leased with full knowledge of their contents, water power investigation, plans for storage dams and much other work of the greatest importance in the development of the north has been undertaken since the inception of this service.

In Quebec, all flying has been done by contract. The use of the air as a means of transport in the remoter parts of the province, both by the provincial and commercial interests, has steadily increased. Much transportation work has been done under difficult conditions by Canadian Airways Limited. Aerial photography, the preparation of inventories over large areas, transportation for survey parties, and mining development have been undertaken by the Fairchild Aviation Limited in many parts of the province both in summer and in winter. The whole of Gaspé peninsula has been photographed from the air by the Compagnie Aérienne Franco-Canadienne under contract with the provincial government.

In 1927 the provincial government of British Columbia let contracts for forest fire detection patrols in the Kootenay region to Dominion Airways Limited. In previous years they had been dependent on the Dominion forces stationed at Jericho Beach for assistance in forest fire fighting in time of emergency, but no regular system had been maintained throughout the year. They also contracted for some aerial photography and have on many occasions used air transporta-

tion to outlying districts. In 1926 the fishery protection service organized a system of patrols for the prevention of illegal fishing in conjunction with the Royal Canadian Air Force and have since contracted for similar work with Pacific Airways Limited.

In the Dominion service, the areas under forest patrol in Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan were increased. Wireless services, operated by the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals, were installed at the principal bases. Modern aircraft replaced the obsolete types. Detection patrols are now carried out by light aircraft carrying wireless and during the season of fire hazard the areas under patrol are completely covered twice daily. In fine weather the range of vision is from thirty to fifty miles, depending on the altitude, and any fires detected can be immediately reported by wireless to the main base, where a large suppression machine, carrying fire pumps, hose and fire fighting crew is held constantly ready and can be despatched in a few minutes to the scene of the outbreak. Only those who have flown over these areas realize their vast solitudes and the difficulty of fighting fires in such remote areas.

In addition to the fire protection work, inventories have been prepared of the forest reserves, partly by sketching and partly by photography, both combined with ground cruises. The saving of time and effort in making forest inventories under the conditions existing in Manitoba and Saskatchewan is of great significance. Complete information regarding any particular area can be obtained at any time within a few weeks.

The air survey work of the Dominion Government was centralized in the Topographical Survey. Each year saw an increase in the territory covered by photography and a wider application of its usefulness. From an area of a few score square miles in 1923, this programme has grown to more than

60,000 square miles per annum. It now covers every province in the Dominion and has the active co-operation of the Dominion and Provincial Survey Services, as well as of commercial interests. The importance of good maps to the prospector, the mining and timber interests, the railways and for hydro-electric development can hardly be over-estimated.

Experimental work to widen the field and usefulness of aircraft was continued unremittingly and as the success of air operations became better known many applications for assistance in different forms of work were received. Perhaps the most important experiments were those begun in 1925 at the request of the Department of Agriculture whose botanists were working on the problem of the wheat rust disease in the prairie provinces. During the critical months, July and August, all forest patrol and photographic aircraft were equipped with specially prepared slides which were exposed in the upper atmosphere to determine the extent to which the spores were wind-borne. In 1927 this was extended to practical measures to counteract the wheat rust disease by the spraying of certain experimental plots with sulphur dust from the air, just as the cotton fields are now sprayed in the southern United States to combat the ravages of the boll weevil. Similar work had been carried out with the Entomological Branch in the investigation on the Pacific Coast of the white pine blister rust. In Cape Breton, forest dusting from the air to counteract the destruction caused by the spruce bud worm has been tried. Both wheat dusting and forest dusting from the air are being continued with promising results.

The practical value of aerial photography and the great range of vision from aircraft have been recognized by the Departments of Railways and Canals and of Marine and Fisheries, who asked for the aid of the Air Service to investigate the ice conditions in Hudson Strait in 1927. An expedition was organized; and three bases were established on

the southern shores of the strait. The formation and movement of ice were kept under observation from all three points.

Commercial flying in Canada reached its ebb in 1923 and 1924. Funds for new ventures were difficult to obtain; the post-war enthusiasm for flying had vanished; the number of firms operating aircraft dropped from 30 in 1920 to 8 in 1924, and the number of registered commercial aircraft fell from 111 to 32. No subsidies or other assistance had been granted by the Government and only those forms of flying which were self-sustaining and served a useful purpose survived. Practically all the small organizations, whose sole source of revenue was joy-riding, pleasure and exhibition flying, disappeared. The few remaining firms who had concentrated on remote transportation, forest sketching and photography found a small but steady market, which enabled them to maintain their organization and purchase new types of aircraft, more efficient and more suitable for the work in hand.

From 1924 onwards there was a steady growth in the flying time and number of aircraft employed in all classes of commercial work. The boom in prospecting and mining in the north proved to be the salvation of commercial flying. In 1924 the Laurentide Air Service established the first regular air mail, passenger and express service from Haileybury to the newly discovered Rouyn gold fields and during that year carried over 1,000 passengers, 78,000 lbs. of freight and over 15,000 letters and telegrams. This service was continued in 1925 but with the construction of railways to Rouyn it disappeared. Much flying is still carried out, however, all through the Rouyn district, also to Chibougamou and other mining fields now being opened. In the winter of 1925-26 the Red Lake mining field was discovered and provided another good outlet for commercial flying. Hudson and Sioux Lookout are busy air centres from which many planes operate from the railway into the interior.

During 1927 commercial aviation expanded rapidly. Well-equipped, efficient aircraft were purchased to meet the demand for quick transportation to and from the mining fields and flying became the recognized method of travel. Freight and express matter carried by air was measured by tonnage instead of poundage. Many camps were established and maintained by air transport. Western Canada Airways were particularly active and some records of splendid work both in summer and winter were made. Winter flying now presented no terrors and cross country flights over remote and desolate areas became ordinary occurrences. The Pas became a great centre for flying and the building of the Hudson Bay railway and harbour at Churchill and mining developments at Flin Flon and elsewhere in the north provided further fields for flying. The engineers in charge of such work found aircraft invaluable, pending the construction of roads and railways.

Such work could be done only with efficient equipment. This was now being supplied. All purpose aircraft for use as sea, land or ski planes, such as the Fairchild, developed largely from Canadian experience; the Fokker and other similar types became standard. Canadian Vickers had developed the "Vedette", "Varuna", and "Vista" flying boats. Engines such as the Siddeley "Lynx", Wright "Whirlwind", Bristol "Jupiter" and Pratt & Whitney "Wasp," all efficient and reliable, had been produced and arrangements were being made for their assembly in Canadian factories. Light planes, such as the De Havilland "Moth" and the "Avro Avian" were available for training work and private flying. Their low capital and operating cost and remarkable flying qualities found them a ready market all over the country for forest fire detection, training, private flying and as auxiliaries to larger transportation operations.

Public interest in aviation as a practical method of travel and transport was fast awakening. By the end of 1927 those

who had persisted amidst the discouragements and difficulties of the pioneering phase could at last see success beginning to dawn on their efforts.

The past year has been one of phenomenal progress in aviation and nowhere has this been more evident than in Canada. It is not confined to any particular phase of flying but is a general forward movement, based on well informed public opinion. Increased appropriations were granted by Parliament both for civil government operations and for civil aviation. Civil government air operations were continued on the same lines but on a larger scale. The growth of these services may be seen in the increase in the flying time from 1,423 hours in 1923 to 8,143 hours in 1928. The Air Service of the Department of National Defence now use 67 aircraft of all types for civil operations

The photographic programme, carried out by eight self-contained detachments of two aircraft each, covered no less than 65,200 square miles last year, of which 31,400 were vertical and 33,800 oblique. The actual forest area under fire patrol is now 61,012,911 acres in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. The area covered by patrols is, however, much greater as the reserves include many lakes and rivers and much land and muskeg.

The Post Office Department, watching with growing interest the success of air mails in the United States and elsewhere, in the fall of 1927 decided that the time was ripe to encourage similar services in Canada. In conjunction with the Department of National Defence an active programme of airway development has been carried out. Air mails are of two classes—those in remote and inaccessible districts now served with difficulty and at considerable cost, and those linking our chief centres by fast air mail service.

In the former field, operating companies had been allowed for years to charge a fee for carrying letters to some of the

mining camps. Special air mail stamps were now issued and contracts let for official air mail routes to Red Lake, Central Manitoba district, the mining fields around Lake Kississing in Northern Manitoba, and the Yukon. Remote districts, such as the Magdalen Islands, which for five months of the year received no mails, now receive a weekly mail. The settlements on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, including the Island of Anticosti, are given similar service, and this winter a weekly service is being operated down the Mackenzie valley from the end of steel at Fort McMurray as far as Fort Simpson. The saving of time in such services is counted by days and often weeks.

In the other class, to give any benefit the mails must run on schedule in all weathers. The operation, therefore, presents greater difficulty and calls for a more complete organization. As a first step, the Post Office Department arranged for a bi-weekly service during the summer season of navigation to hasten the carriage of trans-Atlantic mails to and from Rimouski, on the lower St. Lawrence, to Montreal. The saving of time is great and the benefits of the service are fully appreciated by the business communities served. At the end of October, 1928, the writer made a test of the service by posting two letters on board ship about ten minutes before noon. The mail tender left the ship at noon at Rimouski. The letters were delivered at 6.00 o'clock the same evening in Ottawa and at 7.00 in Toronto. The ship did not dock at Quebec till 10.30 p.m.

Daily air mails now connect Montreal with New York and Montreal with Toronto. The former gives through connections with the American mail service at New York. A letter carrying a five cent Canadian Air Mail stamp now travels by air all through the United States and can be delivered within two days in San Francisco or even Mexico City. A trial service across the prairie from Winnipeg to Regina and

thence to Calgary and to Edmonton via Saskatoon was made with good success during December, 1928. The weight of mails carried by air during the first year's operations was approximately 300,000 lbs. If the appropriations necessary for such services receive support in Parliament they will be greatly extended in 1929.

To provide the maximum of benefit these air systems must operate at night. This means considerable expense in lighting the airways. Good communications to report the passage of planes and a good meteorological service are essentials. The development of such services requires time and money, and experience only can show the way to perfect organization. The Departments of National Defence and Marine are co-operating in their organization of the weather service. Radio services for communications between the planes and the bases will be necessary before regular passenger traffic can be organized on any considerable scale. When the public really begin to travel by air in large numbers, much larger multi-engined aircraft will be necessary. For the present, when only occasional passengers are carried and the traffic is confined largely to mail and express matter, the types of single-engined planes now used are reliable and give good service.

The Postmaster General has stated that it is his ambition to see the trans-continental route completed. A seaplane service can now be operated with fair efficiency from Montreal to Winnipeg from the middle of May till the middle of October, and the same route could be flown from December 15th until the end of March on skis. The freezing and thawing periods involve interruption if water surfaces are used as aerodromes. An all year service requires aerodromes at regular intervals along the route. Through much of Northern Ontario ready-made fields cannot be found and their preparation may mean considerable expense. Surveys are already in progress to determine the approximate cost of such works.

In the mountain section, the preparation of aerodromes will also mean considerable expense and, in any case, high performance aircraft with great reserve engine power must be used to overcome the high altitudes and ensure safe and reliable operating conditions over difficult country. The transcontinental route will be completed within a comparatively few years provided that the services receive support from the business communities in the districts affected. Any aim short of a complete trans-Canada service is unthinkable when there is in the United States a coast to coast schedule of 30 hours.

Development must be co-operative. The Dominion Government has shown its readiness to organize the route, where public support justifies it; the Post Office ensures the service by letting contracts to responsible operators on equitable and even generous terms. Arrangements are being completed with the Meteorological Office for the necessary weather reports and forecasts. The responsibility for the night lighting of any sections of the route which call for flying in the hours of darkness is under consideration by the Department of National Defence. The communities on the airways must do their part by organizing adequate aerodromes. The growing interest of municipalities in all provinces shows that there need be no doubt regarding their co-operation.

The Prime Minister pledged the support of Canada at the Imperial Conference of 1926 for the development of a system of Empire communication by air. This pledge has been implemented substantially by the construction of an airship base within seven miles of Montreal, where a mooring tower equipped with the most efficient machinery in the world has been erected. This base includes an excellent aerodrome and it is intended to create there a national air terminal similar to the great European aerodromes at Croydon, Le Bourget and Tempelhof.

Another new development of 1928 was the institution of flying clubs. Sixteen completed their organization and qualified for the substantial support given by the Department of National Defence. The membership of the clubs is now 2,400; the total flying time to the end of the year was 8,124 hours; 111 private pilots' and 28 commercial pilots' certificates had been issued to members at the end of the year. Apart from the actual flying training, these clubs have been of great assistance in educational work. Interest in flying has been stimulated and good aerodromes have been constructed and are maintained in many centres.

Commercial flying companies have done some very remarkable work. A succession of flights have been made that for resolution, initiative and operating efficiency under difficult conditions, compare with any in the history of flying. When considered from a utilitarian point of view, they far surpass the record flights about which so much has been written. A few years ago we would have scoffed at the idea of making a trip, via Norway House, Fort Churchill, Chesterfield Inlet, Baker Lake, Aberdeen Lake, across the Barren lands, down the Mackenzie to Lake Athabaska, eastward by the Black River to Wolloston Lake, thence down Reindeer Lake and Reindeer River to the Churchill and on to The Pas in 12 days, with 37 hours actual flying time. This was not a special demonstration but a tour of inspection of prospecting parties working in the areas mentioned and a general geological reconnaissance. No effort was made to break records and stops were made at various points to observe conditions. The pilot was accompanied by a mechanic and a geologist. The expedition was self-sustained, carried its own canoe, camp outfit and food. Scores of other flights were made which a few years ago would have been deemed incredible. Through the patient effort, energy and initiative of the pioneers, the aeroplane has come to be an essential in modern travel through-

out Northern Canada. It is hastening the development of many districts by at least a generation.

The pioneer period of ten years in aviation has witnessed the organization of northern Canada for air transport in such a way as to bring its remotest parts within a day or two of civilization; it has achieved co-operation between various services, federal, provincial and private, in the administration and protection of a vast range of our remoter forests, in the survey of a quarter of a million miles, in the preparation of forest inventories by air sketching, in the protection of the fisheries, in transportation to inaccessible districts, in investigation of ice conditions in Hudson Bay and in many other operations. The initial steps have been taken for the organization of air transport routes between the principal cities of the Dominion, with connections to the United States, to the end that mails, express matter and, eventually, passengers may be transported by air as freely as now by road, railway or steamship.

THE CHAIN STORE

BY BERTRAM T. HUSTON

RETAILING is essentially a progressive business. It is a human instinct to desire to expand. Canadian merchants have been possessed of this trait just as have those in other countries. So we find that for many years in Canada retailers have been expanding their business, occasionally by the establishment of branch stores in other centres, but more frequently by reaching out for more trade in the home town and surrounding district. This required larger premises, greater capital and a bigger sales staff. With the coming of more rapid transportation, the automobile, and the development of mass production, merchants realized that to expand in a large way the multiple store was necessary. Since manufacturers had reached the age of more rapid and larger production, mass distribution could only follow by the adoption of chain store principles. This article is confined to a consideration of the development of the chain grocery systems in Canada, the reasons for their expansion and the influences on other distributors, in the belief that the reader will secure a more definite idea of the great evolution or revolution in business that has been going on within recent years.

The development of the grocery chain in this country began in 1910 when Theodore P. Loblaw of Toronto decided that he could not make much headway or attain an important place as a distributor unless he could increase his buying power. He was then operating one store, but in that year he began to branch out. At that time chain stores were by no means a new development on this continent or in the Old Country. The Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Stores were

established in 1858 in the United States and chains in England had been in existence for a great many years. Although the multiple store idea had operated for a long time in the United States--and since 1910 in Canada--no great developments were made until after the year 1920. Since then the idea has spread across the country like a prairie fire and to-day every large city in Canada, as well as a great many towns, has either headquarters of a chain company with many units or has one or more units of an established chain with headquarters elsewhere.

The question how the chain store secured a foothold in this country has often been asked and many answers have been given. It is perfectly safe to say, however, that the progress made by some of the grocery chains in Canada since 1920 has been much beyond the wildest dreams of the pioneers in this form of distribution. On the other hand, chain stores have failed—not in the grocery trade alone—indicating that an idea to be productive of positive results must be applied properly to the buying habits of the public and to existing conditions in general. In giving the reasons for the origin of the first grocery chain in Canada one can do no better than quote the originator himself—Mr. Loblaw. He has frequently stated to the writer that his reason for branching out in 1910 was that he could not make money with one store because of the competition of the large department stores and because of the attitude of the wholesaler. Whether his reasoning is sound or not is a matter of opinion. At that time and for many years before, some of the big stores and department stores with grocery sections became relatively such extensive buyers for both local and mail order business that they were placed on the preferred list by a number of manufacturers. These manufacturers argued that to retain the goodwill and trade of such buyers and to make it unnecessary for them to manufacture similar products themselves, some preference had to

be given. They were, therefore, placed on the "jobber's list" and thus were in a position to purchase in quantities at much the same prices as the wholesale grocer. This naturally resulted in frequent shading of prices on the part of these large stores as one of their methods of advertising. The individual merchant could not buy one case or five cases from the jobber and compete successfully in price. In those days a few retailers here and there frequently combined to purchase co-operatively in larger quantities to secure a greater discount. Mr. Loblaw himself endeavoured to organize a number of retailers into a retailer-wholesaler company with their own warehouse as one method of meeting this new competition. But the groups of retailers did not hold together and the proposed retailer-wholesaler company did not materialize with the result that keen competition from the preferred buyers continued.

At that time, too, price maintenance was an important factor in distribution and the jobbers were well organized. Manufacturers issued list prices showing quotations to the retail trade and many of them insisted on all jobbers, under threat of cutting them off their lists, getting a certain definite discount from those lists. The jobbers' expenses of operation fifteen and twenty years ago were considerably greater than to-day because of the long credits, of the purchase of many goods months in advance of the consumption season, and of the cost of sending salesmen great distances from headquarters. Many retailers felt that they were paying too high prices for the food products they purchased. There was thus a fairly insistent demand for better prices in order to compete with the preferred buyers. Whether or not these were the real causes of the start of the chains in Canada, they express the views of men like Mr. Loblaw who at that time decided to change the course of their business ship.

At first most of the larger manufacturers objected to

selling chain stores direct. Goods had to be bought through the jobbers. Thus progress of the early chain was slow. As they grew and their business became more attractive, some jobbers were willing to offer concessions on unprotected goods to get their business, although there were lines on which no reductions could be given in view of the policies of the manufacturers. Substantial discounts were allowed on others and these reduced the cost. Men known as "desk jobbers" appeared and were prepared to do business with the bigger buyers almost on a brokerage basis. They did not operate warehouses; goods were usually delivered in carload quantities from the manufacturer to the large distributor without being warehoused.

The first chain of Loblaw stores was operated on the cash and carry principle. Service was given by managers and clerks behind the counters but all goods were paid for and were carried home by the purchaser. The chain was purchased by a new company which in 1920 sold the nineteen stores comprising the organization to the present owners of the Dominion Stores Limited. The purchasers had been connected with The Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company in the United States and it became their policy to set up in Canada similar stores, with red fronts, operated on the cash and carry basis. This chain has grown from nineteen in 1920 to almost 550 to-day, embracing stores not only in Ontario but throughout the Province of Quebec. It is the largest chain of retail grocery stores in Canada. In 1927 its business exceeded \$19,000,000 and in 1928 it amounted to more than \$23,250,000. The cash and carry principle involved less service to the consumer and therefore permitted a reduction in prices. Those consumers who were prepared to give up the services of credit and delivery were allowed compensation in lower prices.

In 1920 Mr. Loblaw, who had made a study of various methods of merchandising in the United States, opened the

first store in a new chain by adopting the groceteria or self-serve system. The plan of asking buyers to do their own shopping as well as pay cash and carry home the goods was somewhat drastic for Canada. It meant the elimination of delivery service as well as credit and of serving customers at the counter. Logically it should have resulted in further reductions in prices. Whether there have been corresponding reductions in the cash and carry and in the self-serve stores, must be decided by the consuming public. The self-serve chain of Loblaw Groceterias Company, beginning with one in 1920, has now 80 stores in Ontario alone with a business of \$13,975,000 during their fiscal year ending May 31, 1927, and an estimated volume in their fiscal year ending in May next of more than \$18,000,000.

The rapid growth of the larger chains carried with it a corresponding increase in buying power. Manufacturers who at first declined to consider selling direct have since gradually changed their policies. In some cases the chain organization purchases several times the quantity bought by a single wholesale distributor and is now the preferred buyer, securing concessions of various kinds for advertising and display.

Still a third type of grocery chain has developed to a considerable extent—full service and limited service as the customer desires. These stores realize that there are those who sometimes are prepared to do their own shopping, pay cash and carry home their own goods, whereas at other times they want at least delivery. The dual type store enables them to shop both ways. Even some of the cash and carry chains offer a delivery service when the order amounts to more than a certain value—\$2 or \$3. If delivery is made of goods of smaller value there is a separate charge for the service. In some instances policy regarding delivery is left to the discretion of the local manager. He is set a certain quota of business and if in his judgment delivery is necessary to secure the

required volume and net profit he will undertake to have deliveries made to a limited extent. Some chains have telephones for the convenience of customers but the units of others are connected by telephone only with headquarters. They insist on the customer shopping in person.

It is only natural that the growth of chain stores has resulted in a general revolution in the merchandising methods of the independent merchant, the jobber, and the manufacturer. The individual retailer, forced by what he considers to be self-preservation, has united with his fellow-merchants into Buying Groups or Buying Rings. As the name indicates, these are mainly for the purpose of buying together in larger quantities to secure greater discounts. These Buying Groups operate in three different ways. There is one type that unites to purchase as many goods direct from manufacturers as possible at the best prices obtainable. They buy in the open market from many sources. Throughout Ontario there is usually a Buying Ring of this type in all the larger centres. The members meet weekly when buyers present their prices and terms. A single order is given to the representative of each manufacturer who secures the business, the goods to be charged to one individual and to be sent to him for local distribution. Unlike the other two types these groups do not usually advertise co-operatively. They exist for buying purposes only.

The second group is an organization of individuals who send their sponsors to see a number of jobbers and to make the best arrangements possible with one of them. In return for special consideration as regards discounts, they agree to purchase by telephone or mail practically all their dry grocery requirements from the one jobber and to pay for the goods in a short time after receipt. Groups of this nature secure prices as low as five per cent., six per cent. or seven per cent. above jobber's actual cost and pay for the goods not later than seven

days after the first of the month or on receipt of invoice. The jobber can afford to sell at a lower price because he has little or no expense for salesmen; he has a lower expense in collecting accounts and there is greater concentration in the purchase of certain definite brands of goods. He can frequently purchase in larger quantities knowing that he has a definite outlet among a definite number of stores. Merchants of this type usually operate under a trade name such as "Adanac", "Service", "Thrift". They control the name so that if at any time they should not like their jobber or his policies for any reason, they can change to some other jobber and retain their trade name.

Included in the same type is the group that is organized by the jobber himself under the jobber's own name. In such cases the jobber goes to the retailers, presents his proposition and agrees to give the members of the group consideration in the matter of discounts in return for the bulk of the business and the prompt payment of accounts. The only difference from the group type above referred to is that the jobber controls the trade design and if one or more members decide to withdraw, the name such as "Maple Leaf", "Leader", "Supreme" or "Red and White", must be forfeited.

The third type of Buying Group is one that organizes to form its own wholesale company. Each member contributes to the organization by purchasing one or two shares of stock on which at the end of the year he secures a dividend—if one is earned. The retailers select their own manager who may or may not have stock in the company. Goods are invoiced to the various retailers on a cost-plus basis, the excess to take care of the manager's salary and other operating expenses.

The association of the members with one another in all these different groups has contributed to a broadening of viewpoint, to the adoption of more aggressive measures, to the operation of brighter and cleaner stores and generally to an

improvement of the merchants' standing as retailers in the community. In fact, the advantage of buying well is of little value unless each individual in the group adopts modern methods in both interior management and in selling. While the chain organizations are good buyers, they attempt to provide such management as will reduce overhead to a minimum, and effective salesmanship either by display, newspaper advertising or personal conversation with the buying public. The chief difficulty with the Buying Group is in controlling the members and persuading them to operate with clean stores, attractive displays, and in a more progressive manner. The lack of modern methods on the part of one member of a group tends to discredit all.

Another result following the establishment of chain stores has been a large reduction in the number of jobbers operating in the grocery field and in many cases a reduction in the number of retailers in certain centres. With two chain companies selling goods worth \$42,000,000 in Ontario and Quebec in 1928, and buying practically everything direct, it is logical to assume that most of this trade in addition to a great deal of other chain business has been lost to the jobbers. Within the last five or six years a large number have disappeared. More than two years ago twenty-five jobbing houses in Ontario amalgamated into one company with a view to reducing expenses and meeting present conditions. This firm has closed up several of the former units, reduced the number of salesmen, greatly decreased office staffs, and in other ways has endeavoured to lower overhead. All the jobbers remaining in the field are much keener business men than they were ten years ago, constantly studying changing conditions and making a strong bid for the business of the outlying and local individual retailer which must necessarily go through the channel of the jobber.

The main business sections of the larger centres have also

seen reductions in the number of retailers. There is one grocery chain that averages more than \$200,000 volume per store per year. In some instances the volume runs as high as \$300,000. Taking into consideration the average figure alone it will be seen that five retailers each averaging \$40,000 per year can be displaced wherever such a store operates. Other chains doing huge business in the aggregate average only \$40,000 per store per annum which would mean the displacing of only one retailer. The latter type however may have two, three or more stores in the one town taking the place of as many former individual merchants. Thus in a centre of say ten to fifteen thousand there are seven to ten fewer merchants operating in the main business sections than there were prior to the appearance of chains. This does not always mean a similar reduction in the number of retailers. On the outskirts will be found a large number of small merchants doing business in several lines including groceries, cigars, cigarettes and tobacco, beverages and even such common household lines as needles, thread, yarn. Automobile service stations are branching out with a side-line of food-stuffs. Thus while the number of merchants in the grocery field is declining in one section, in other districts there is an increase in the number of general food stores but with less volume of business.

One result of the expansion of the chain store is a greater tendency towards mergers among manufacturers. This is the age of big business and large units. Manufacturers are coming together and we are yet only in the initial stages of this development. Mergers are designed to eliminate wasteful practices which grow up among competitors and to reduce overhead costs further. If these things can be accomplished the merger company places itself in a position to meet competition better and to reduce prices, thereby increasing consumption and the volume of business of the products manufactured.

In addition, the manufacturer feels he must be in a strong position to deal with strong distributors. Although in Canada chain grocery companies are not doing perhaps more than ten per cent. of the grocery business, they are doing close to twenty-five per cent. in Ontario, and in a centre like Toronto forty-five per cent. In the United States it is estimated by competent investigators that chains control from twenty-five to thirty per cent. of the total business. There are 900 systems there with 60,000 stores. In Canada we have not yet more than 25 or 30 different companies or individually owned chains but we have a great many more Buying Groups, large and small, each of which is a factor to a greater or less extent in distribution. Manufacturers therefore believe they must be sufficiently strong to resist any policies a chain store might adopt or a concession that might be demanded tending to unprofitable business.

In the early stages of development of chain stores individual retailers became resentful of what they considered encroachment on their domains. Some were inclined to refuse to handle certain manufacturers' products because chains were alleged to be selling them at cut prices. But that feeling has almost entirely disappeared. Many of these independent retailers have themselves made a much closer study of retail distribution and are to-day better merchandisers and in a better position to compete with the new order of things. We find throughout the country individual merchants meeting the new competition successfully. These men have studied chain store methods and have adapted those that will suit their own business and their own territories. We now have stronger and more efficient independents than ever before. Chain stores have their supervisors who travel about from store to store and check up on store appearance, stock control, efficiency of the management, and in other matters. Independents are watching stock control and the general appearance of their

stores more carefully. They are buying in smaller quantities, operating on a smaller investment and increasing their stock turns on the various products handled. They are taking greater care in the employment of sales people and in their education. Since a part of the general public will always require and demand the type of service rendered by these merchants, the more aggressive of them will always exist. In contrast, the inefficient retailer who continues to do business as his grandfather conducted it, is gradually passing out, since he has no place in the present economic order of things.

It must not be considered that the methods of the chain as to-day in vogue will continue indefinitely. Looking back over the past eight or ten years we see a distinct evolution. At first the chain existed entirely on advantages of price. The stores of many of them were not constructed to attract the discriminating buyer. That has changed and now we see these organizations "trading up" by featuring displays of art, cleanliness and quality and by newspaper advertising designed to secure the attention of the wealthier classes. Price with them is still an important consideration but there are others. "Price-cutting" is a term that is much abused. If one merchant sees another offer an article below his own price, to him that is "price-cutting". There is one type of chain operating on an overhead expense between 10 and 11 per cent. We have independent retailers doing business on 13 to 14 per cent.; other chains and other retailers 17 and 18 per cent. and still others over 20 per cent. It can readily be seen that what is considered a cut price to the latter would mean a substantial net profit to the first two or three types. Many charges of price-cutting have thus been made which are entirely unfounded because of this variation in overhead expense. But when a merchant, no matter what his overhead may be, offers and sells an article for less than invoice cost plus his cost of distribution of that article, he is indulging in a malicious type

of price-cutting. The only justification for selling below *total cost* is found in a decision to discontinue business or to get rid of a brand entirely because the quality has depreciated or for any other reason. In discussing the subject of price-cutting among stores it should also be understood that what is recognized as a fair gross margin of profit on one line may be too great or too small on another. The percentage depends on the rapidity with which each turns over. Thus a definite quantity of a particular product that turns fifteen times a year requires a lower margin of gross profit than one that turns only six or seven times a year. Merchants, both chain and independent, are realizing this more to-day than ever before and are fashioning their prices more scientifically because of this realization.

The effect of the spread of the chain idea on the local community has been widely discussed. Does the removal of the individual merchant and the substitution of the chain unit tend to destroy interest in local happenings and developments? What about the maintenance of schools, churches, charitable institutions, if the merchants should all disappear? Evidence shows that chain organizations through their unit stores in such communities are taking a greater interest in things than they did some years ago. Through their managers some of them encourage participation in Chamber of Commerce work and in contributions to certain funds collected by local organizations of one kind and another.

It is considered by many that a branch store in a small town takes in all the money it possibly can, sends it to head office in a distant city and that the local centre secures no benefit. This is not always just to the chains. Local help is employed; taxes, light and heat are paid for locally; local newspaper space and local printing is bought; in many instances products of local factories are sold; local cartage is used and many supplies are purchased locally. Net profits

made by the chain stores vary from two to over five per cent.; in other words only two to five cents on each dollar of sales is distributed among investors in chain stores stock. There is also a realization of the fact that certain types of chain stores tend to enliven the street or centre where they locate. Individual merchants in other lines are keen to have their places of business as close to them as possible. A live chain-store town or a town with a large progressive department store is one that attracts people from the outlying districts and one that helps to keep trade at home.

It may be argued that chains tend to retard community life in that the profits of the units are not spent at home and since managers are not men with full authority to do as they please in the matter of supporting local institutions and local developments. They are not usually men who can participate in the town's municipal administration or public enterprises so that they do not to that extent contribute to the general welfare of the community. Whether this situation can be offset by the drawing power of the efficiently conducted chain to get more people into the town who will spend more money in it remains a problem for more minute consideration.

CANADIAN TRAFFIC THROUGH THE PANAMA

BY W. SANFORD EVANS

OF all the developments in Canadian traffic and trade that have followed upon the opening of the Panama Canal, that which has attracted most attention has been the shipments of grain to Europe from British Columbia ports. This is, however, only one of many results; the direct influence of the new route has by no means been confined to the West Coast of Canada but has been felt also on the East Coast, while the secondary influences have extended throughout the whole of Canada. It is possible to trace many of these effects and in some cases to measure them, but it is too soon to determine definitely which are likely to be constant or permanent. The reconstruction period in world trade has not yet overtaken the vessel capacity; hence the test of highly competitive conditions on rates has not yet been experienced. Only a preliminary survey of this interesting problem in the light of the more readily available statistics can be attempted in this article.

What the Panama Canal has done for Canada has been to shorten the water route between Vancouver and Europe by 5,600 miles, between Montreal and Yokohama by 3,000 miles, and between Montreal and Sydney, Australia, by 3,500 miles, while it has created a water route of 7,260 miles between Vancouver and Montreal and thus has set up, in respect to some classes of goods, an effective competitor to the 2,905 mile rail route between these points.

The Panama Canal was opened to commercial traffic on August 15, 1914, but was subject to some interruptions from slides in subsequent years and it was not until July 12, 1920, that the Canal was formally declared completed and was offi-

cially opened. Only a moderate development of traffic occurred prior to the year 1922, but large increases have since taken place. It was not until the year 1921 that the quantity of Canadian traffic moving through the Canal assumed any real importance. In the year ended June 30, 1921, the cargo tons in both directions, and to and from the both coasts of Canada, totalled 308,171 tons. This total has grown to 3,677,095 tons in 1927-28.

As reported by the Governor of the Panama Canal to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and published in the Canada Year Book, the development of Canadian traffic through the Canal has been as follows:

	East Coast		West Coast	
	To	From	To	From
	Long Tons		Long Tons	
1921	16,558	39,561	126,414	125,638
1922	6,521	25,174	148,305	180,981
1923	125,283	92,939	101,588	604,546
1924	197,204	110,677	141,086	1,223,102
1925	379,284	121,803	158,709	1,082,282
1926	614,580	160,196	168,295	1,650,855
1927	803,418	207,003	248,009	1,548,783
1928	394,173	168,287	268,960	2,845,675

The figures in the above table which will first attract the eye are the shipments through the Canal from the West Coast of Canada. The relatively large figures in this column are due chiefly to grain shipments to Europe, but there has also been an expansion in the trade in British Columbia lumber and other products both with the East Coast of North America and with Europe. Shipments to the West Coast, at least two-thirds of which are from Europe, have increased steadily since 1923, but the totals are not large as compared with shipments from that coast.

Distinct interest attaches to the movement to and from the East Coast. The rates of increase in both phases of this movement up to 1927 are higher than in the case of the West Coast. From insignificant quantities before 1923, the receipts of Eastern Canada by way of the Canal had grown in 1927

to the very substantial volume of 803,418 tons, and from being much smaller than receipts by the West Coast to being more than three times as great. The decline in 1928 was due chiefly to much smaller imports of mineral oils. Shipments from the East Coast also steadily increased up to 1927, but as they include little bulk freight, such as grain and lumber, the totals are not large as compared with the West Coast. In 1928 there were smaller shipments from the East Coast to Australia, which mainly accounted for the decline in that year. If grain tonnage be excluded, then, since 1922, the aggregate tonnage in and out of the East Coast has exceeded that of the West Coast.

What part of the growing traffic in both directions is new traffic, created by the facilities and rates of the Canal route, and what part is a diversion from old routes, cannot be determined, but it is practically certain that each coast has lost to the other certain imports, as well as exports, which formerly entered or cleared through its ports. The East Coast, for example, has lost to the West Coast a good part of the latter's imports from Europe and the West Coast has lost to the East Coast some of Canada's imports from Pacific countries.

Comparing on the basis of Customs returns of values the imports through all British Columbia ports during the three years ended March 31, 1912, 1913, and 1914, before the Canal was opened, with those of the three fiscal years 1926, 1927 and 1928, it is seen that the percentage relation to the total imports of Canada was 8.95 per cent. in the former period as against 8.08 per cent. in the latter, a fractional decline. On the same basis there is shown a fractional increase in the percentage of imports through the ports of the East Coast provinces, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Quebec. These figures cannot be more than suggestive, but taken in connection with the tonnage figures above, they do raise a question whether the Canal has not, even making allowance for new traffic, diverted from British Columbia ports a little larger proportion of Canada's

growing tariff with Pacific countries than it has added in the way of direct imports from Europe.

The case is different with exports. In the three pre-Canal years British Columbia ports were clearing about 7 per cent. of Canada's exports, whereas the last three years they have been clearing about 14 per cent. Exports of grain to Europe and to the Orient have been the main factor in the change. If there had been no Canal, the grain shipped to Europe by the West Coast would have taken eastbound routes from the Atlantic ports of the United States. The East Coast has therefore lost something to the West Coast in exports and the West Coast has lost to the East Coast a portion of Canada's exports to Australia and the Orient.

Shipments through the Canal from one Canadian coast to the other are included in the totals in the tables. The exchange is not very unequal in tonnage but differs considerably in value. The Harbor Commission's returns for the port of Vancouver, which does the bulk of the business of British Columbia, show shipments to the East Coast of Canada in the calendar years 1925, 1926 and 1927 of an average of 39,809 tons per year and receipts from the East Coast averaging 41,534 tons per year. The value given to the shipments to the East Coast, however, was an average of only \$2,618,751, while the receipts had an average yearly value of \$7,920,447. This exchange would appear, therefore, to be somewhat in favour of the East Coast.

In so far as there have been diversions of imports and exports from one coast to the other, there has been an effect on the transcontinental transportation systems, and this must be true also with respect to much of the traffic exchanged between the coasts. Some changes in trading relations, affecting cities and individual business houses must have accompanied these diversions, but special enquiries would be necessary to determine their extent and importance. Theoretically there

should be compensations, and indeed net benefit, arising from the presumably greater profitableness of the business diverted and from the new business made possible by the Canal route, but the incidence of benefit and that of loss would not coincide.

The most important development for the West Coast has been the opening of a shorter water route to Europe. There was some direct water traffic between British Columbia and Europe prior to 1914, but the passage via the Straits of Magellan occupied so much time and rates were relatively so high that no considerable expansion could take place. The direct water route from Europe is the competitor of the route across the Atlantic and thence by rail to the Prairie Provinces and British Columbia. The ability of a long ocean route to compete with a shorter ocean route plus a rail route, varies with the general competitive level of ocean rates, which is always changing, and with the character and proportions of the loads, in and out, obtainable by the vessels on each route. Rail rates, at least under the system of regulation by commissions, tend to remain stable for considerable periods and it is therefore the fluctuating conditions in ocean traffic and rates that are the chief factors affecting the competition.

As all the seas are open highways, a vessel owner will desire to place his vessel in those trades in which he can realize the largest net earnings year by year. He need not leave a vessel in one trade if he finds he can make more by transferring it to another. A vessel must both go and come, and its earnings both outbound and inbound must be considered together. What may be termed the load factor, that is, the ratio of loads out to loads in, considered in relation to the proportion of cargo space filled, must be taken into account. Granted equivalent load factors, then the time occupied in one round voyage as compared with another becomes a determining consideration in the making of competitive rates. The time occupied will bear some direct relationship to mileage, but will

be affected by delays in port and in passing through restricted channels, and a vessel in a short-voyage trade will have more of these delays in a year than one in a long-voyage trade. Incidental items such as port charges, canal dues, facilities for bunkering and costs of coal, must also, of course, enter into the reckoning.

A rise in the general competitive level of ocean rates works to the relative disadvantage of a long-voyage trade, while a decline works to its advantage. Assuming that the effective relationship of two trades is such that rates on one must be three times those on the other to produce equal net earnings for vessel owners, and that current rates in the short trade are 10 cents per hundred pounds and 30 cents per hundred in the other, the spread being 20 cents per hundred, then if the condition of supply and demand should enable a vessel in the short trade to command 15 cents per hundred, an increase of 5 cents, a vessel in the long trade, to make equivalent earnings, must demand 45 cents, an increase of 15 cents, making the spread between the rates 30 cents. By a similar calculation, it is clear that if the rate level declines the drop in the long trade will be three times as many cents as in the short trade.

The cargo tons shipped from British Columbia to Europe are many times the tons brought back, and, measured by the cargo space of the vessels in the trade, even the exports to Europe represent only partial average loads. From the reports of the Vancouver Harbour Commission it can be calculated that in the calendar year 1925 there was exported from that port to Europe 6.9 tons for each ton imported from Europe. In 1926 the ratio was 7.5 to 1 and in 1927 it was 8.1 to 1. The figures for 1928, when available, will undoubtedly show a still greater discrepancy because of the increase in grain shipments in that year. The load factor presented by Vancouver-Europe traffic is very unfavourable, the return traffic, on the average, being insufficient for ballast. Never-

theless, Vancouver enjoys an excellent service with Europe which has been steadily improving during the past few years. In 1928 no less than 18 liner companies operated vessels in that trade, and the total sailings numbered 294. This is in addition to tramp vessels.

The explanation of this seeming anomaly is found in the fact that the service with Europe is in reality a service between Europe and the whole west coast of North America because cargo is both unloaded and taken on at ports in the United States and Central America as well as British Columbia. From the returns of the Panama Canal Commission, compiled for years ending June 30, it is seen that the ratios for the traffic as a whole were 3.2 to 1 in 1925, 4.7 to 1 in 1926 and 5.2 to 1 in 1927. These ratios are much less unfavourable. Vancouver has the advantage of operating on the load factor of the west coast of North America as a whole. A somewhat similar condition exists on the Atlantic coast, where Canada has the benefit of the average load factor, but in the east the surplus cargo goes to the vessel, wherever it may turn around, whereas in the west the vessel seeks the cargo. Canadian freight for Europe in the Atlantic trade undoubtedly has some advantage in the average load factor over freight from British Columbia ports, but, taking eastern Canadian ports by themselves, the load factor may not have differed much in the last three years from that of the West Coast as a whole. If wide differences should appear the competitive basis would be altered.

Only a few of the liners between Vancouver and Europe complete three full trips in twelve months. Faster time would be made if service were direct between a single port at each end. In the Atlantic trade the regular schedules of freight liners call for a round trip every four to six weeks. There are something more than three trips on the Atlantic to one on the

Panama route, but as vessels from Vancouver have demanded during the past four years on the average only approximately three times North Atlantic freight rates on grain, it would seem that on a balance of all factors the effective ratio between the two trades has been about three to one. How rates from Europe on the various classes of goods have compared and what part these have played in establishing the ratio, would necessitate a special enquiry. Where return freights are light, there is apt to be keen competition and some exceptionally low charges on shipments to Vancouver have been reported at times, but a Conference has been formed by the Pacific lines within the last three years, corresponding to the Atlantic Conference, for the purpose of regularizing freights from Europe.

More particular reference may be made to the grain shipments from British Columbia ports to Europe. A regular trade in grain between United States Pacific ports and Europe existed before the opening of the Panama Canal, but conditions in Canada favoured the eastward movement of the Canadian exportable surplus under the relative rate structures existing at that time. Little Canadian wheat moved to British Columbia points except for milling; a demand for Canadian wheat had not been developed in China and Japan. It was not until about the year 1919 that the experiment was tried of shipping a few parcels of wheat to Europe and the first experimental cargo was shipped in 1921. Up to that date the level of ocean rates had not receded sufficiently from the very high points reached during the war to make shipments practicable. On the principle referred to in a previous part of this article, the spread between Atlantic and Pacific rates to Europe at that high level was too wide. Since that time shipments of grain from Vancouver to Europe have been as follows, by crop years ending August 31 in 1922 and 1923, and July 31 in subsequent years:

Year	Bushels
1921-22	4,552,158
1922-23	14,948,769
1923-24	38,780,082
1924-25	21,454,438
1925-26	31,641,282
1926-27	23,603,746
1927-28	67,704,855

A relatively insignificant amount of rye, oats and barley is included in these totals; practically the whole movement, therefore, is of wheat. Wheat was also shipped to Europe from Prince Rupert to the extent of 4,664,757 bushels in 1927-28.

It will be noted that the quantities have varied from year to year and have not shown a steady progressive increase corresponding to the increase in port facilities and in regular steamship services. The variation shows some relationship to the differences in the total wheat crops of the Prairie Provinces in these years, and the relationship is more direct to the totals of these crops than to the crops of the Province of Alberta, from which almost all the shipments are drawn. An examination of monthly returns reveals that in each year the shipments have had a seasonal character, the curve beginning to rise in October, reaching a peak in December or January, the subsequent decline becoming sharper after March or April and reaching the low point in August or September. This curve does not conform with the curve of the total ocean shipments of Canadian wheat to Europe during the year, which tend to be much more uniform. In the last two crop years more Canadian wheat has been shipped between February and July than in the first six months of these crop years. Vancouver has been shipping over 50 per cent. of its total in the four months, November-February. A relationship to the period of closed navigation on the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence is therefore suggested.

The conditions under which grain moves through Vancouver and Prince Rupert to Europe can be briefly summar-

ized. The rail rate structure in the Prairie Provinces is such that the dividing line between rates to Vancouver and rates to Fort William-Port Arthur falls in an irregular zone astride the eastern boundary of Alberta. Nearly all points in that Province have a lower rate to Vancouver than to Fort William-Port Arthur, and this is true also of a number of points in the western strip of Saskatchewan. To move wheat from Fort William-Port Arthur elevators and place it "free on board," say at New York, costs, on the present scale of charges of all kinds, about 15 cents per bushel. Whenever, therefore, the ocean rate from Vancouver does not exceed the New York rate by more than 15 cents per bushel, then so far as the one factor of rates is concerned, the Vancouver-Europe route offers an alternative to the eastbound rail and ocean route for all wheat that can reach Vancouver as cheaply as Fort William.

Other factors the shipper must take into consideration arise out of the conditions under which sales are made. There is a wider range of markets open to wheat moving eastward, for the mills of eastern Canada and of the United States grinding in bond are purchasers along that route and from the North Atlantic coast more liners sail to more countries and ports than from the Pacific coast. Then the time element enters in a very important way into the problem of sales. At Fort William-Port Arthur wheat is much closer in time to Europe than at Vancouver. Moreover, on the eastbound route wheat can be moved a stage farther, namely to the eastern lake ports, without materially limiting its range of markets. Dealers aim to keep working stocks in eastern lake port positions and to have in store in those positions at the close of lake navigation sufficient supplies to serve their trade during the winter months. Now, Europe does not care to buy wheat far in advance of the time it is required for use. It may "hedge" its requirements in the futures markets many months

ahead, but it prefers to take "cash" wheat in nearby positions. The consequence is that a large proportion of the wheat shipped from Vancouver must be shipped unsold and therefore at some risk to the shipper, whereas from the North Atlantic ports most of the wheat is sold before shipment. There is a regular market in wheat "on passage" in the long-voyage trades, but until a sale is actually effected the risk remains and it increases as every hour's sailing brings the vessel nearer to Europe. Further, most European importers desire to secure wheat in smaller lots than full cargoes. As there is not the volume of other classes of freight from the Pacific for mixed loading, a much larger proportion of the wheat moves in full, or almost full, cargoes than is the case on the Atlantic, which is another element in the shipper's risk. Against this risk shippers must protect themselves by a margin in costs, and therefore the Vancouver route becomes attractive only when the ocean rate falls below the strict parity with the east-bound rate.

It has been pointed out that dealers aim to place across the lakes before navigation closes wheat enough to serve their trade until navigation reopens, and, further, that the overseas world tends to draw upon Canadian supplies fairly regularly throughout the year. A circumstance that may have some bearing upon the problem is that storage capacity at the eastern lake ports, Canadian and American, has not kept pace with the increase in the Western Canadian crop. It is not possible to store in those positions the proportion of a big crop that should go into use between December and May. In addition to elevator stocks, there was at the close of navigation last December some 40,000,000 bushels of wheat lying in lake vessels tied up to eastern docks, and even then supplies east of the lakes were considerably below the theoretical quota. The fact that the Vancouver route has handled much more in the years of big crops and that the curve of its shipments rises so

sharply in the winter months has some relationship to this condition.

With respect to grain traffic, as well as all other phases of the movement through the Panama Canal, it is obvious that longer observation and more complete study than has yet been given to the subject are necessary before definite conclusions can safely be drawn.

THE NEWSPRINT DEBACLE

BY T. KELLY DICKINSON

IN any discussion of the Canadian newsprint situation one must admit that the rather half-hearted and not wholly convincing compromise between operators and publishers is at best merely a respite from the hectic uncertainties and consequent fears of a free-for-all price war, fears which since last autumn have kept the industry in a constant state of unrest. Governmental interference which really amounted to intimidation is essentially unorthodox and it is doubtful if such a patchwork arrangement, despite probable immediate benefits, will not further aggravate conditions within the industry and ultimately bring about a real crisis which conceivably may have serious national consequences. It is far from our mind to be unduly pessimistic in respect to the more remote future of the industry; one must realize, however, that we cannot check the forceful movement of the economic law of supply and demand, unless, perhaps, the supply be concentrated in the hands of one organization. Even in that happy circumstance the question of demand only too frequently disturbs the calculations of the monopolists. We have the case of the asbestos industry as an immediate and horrible example, where approximately 80% of the world's supply is distributed by an organized selling pool. To have allowed the industry to find its own level at this generally prosperous era would have been a more courageous plan and certainly a more direct road to stabilization. But needs must stand aside when Legislatures are stampeded.

It is proposed to review the recent history of the newsprint industry and to indicate its relationship to national finance. From its very inception and up to the year 1912 the industry in this country was in precarious condition. The

corporations engaged in the industry merely existed despite the comparatively low cost of operations. Publishers were able to purchase their newsprint requirement as low as \$36.00 per ton; in fact, the writer contracted in 1911 for a light grade of newsprint at 1½ cents per pound. These lower quotations obtained for a full decade until the war gave an abnormal stimulus to the circulation of newspapers the world over.

Shortly after the outbreak of war the consumption of newsprint was such as to absorb every ton produced with the result that the market price of the commodity increased rapidly. During the war scores of millions were added to the numbers reading the daily news and, likewise, to the prospective customers of the goods advertised in the newspapers. Soon after the armistice the price reached the record figure of \$140.00 per ton.

The inevitable reaction from this high level created the first real crisis the industry had faced, as high-priced inventories were simply slaughtered by low-priced markets for the finished article. By the time the fog of misadventure had lifted the newsprint companies, practically without exception, were compelled to reduce the valuation of their forest properties by an amount averaging nearly \$500,000 per operating corporate unit.

An examination of that debacle and of the present difficulties suggests that the personnel of the industry has much to learn of elementary economics. It would seem that the industry on more than one occasion has rushed blindly into an orgy of over-production without considering or making proper safeguards for the future and that its leadership has been inadequate to meet the demands of price upheavals and consumptive turmoil.

The real momentum of abnormal productive increases was not attained until 1922, when prices appeared to be

stabilized after the first upward rush and adjustment downward. From about 1913 to 1921 the increase of new output was less than 400,000 tons in the aggregate, whereas in the following six years, to 1928, the aggregate increase was 1,200,000 tons, or a gain of nearly 1,800,000 tons per annum since 1913. In recent years the productive capacity of newsprint plants increased at a very much greater rate than did consumption; in one year alone, 1927, the new production amounted to 1,600 tons per day, or approximately half a million tons per annum. The rate of increase in 1928 was not so great as in 1927, but by this time every ounce of new output aggravated a condition of serious over-production.

Another indication of the spirit which animated newsprint production in the past few years may be seen in the relative aggregate capitalization of \$500,000,000 and \$800,000,000 in the years 1926 and 1928 respectively. Practically \$300,000,000 added to the nominal capitalization of one industry within a period of two short years! And even that unprecedented application of new money did not act as a deterrent to the investment bankers who were looking for a few hundred millions more for the development of still further virgin areas when the crash came in the autumn of 1928.

The phenomenal prosperity of the United States since 1918 was, of course, the basic factor governing the demand for white paper. The highly speculative era of the past ten years had the effect of increasing materially the buying power and the consumption of the whole continent. One need not stress the fact of the wild orgy of extravagance as billions of dollars of speculative paper profits were available to enhance this huge purchasing power. The immediate result of this was a plethora of advertising such as the newspapers on the continent never before even dreamed of. Those terrible Sunday editions with nightmare comics and alleged magazine sections of a bulk and volume which almost taxed one's physical powers in trans-

porting two separate issues to one's home provided a new and exclusive market for newsprint.

This war and post-war demand for newspapers and for advertising space naturally directed the attention of American and Canadian as well as British capital to the undeveloped wealth of the Canadian forests and vast new areas were brought into production, coincident, curiously, with the beginning of a rapid decline in the American demand. The cost of producing newsprint in the United States, furthermore, was from \$5 to \$10 per ton higher than the average Canadian cost.

During the past ten years there has been an ample supply of capital to meet the requirements of new enterprises and extensions to existing plants. This condition undoubtedly contributed likewise to the present troubles in the industry. Productive capacity was increased at an altogether irrational rate during the past two or three years while consumption showed only normal gains. These, then, may be taken to represent the basic factors governing the industry before, during, and after the war, which brought this splendid industry to its present high level of productive efficiency.

The flooding of the industry with new capital and the consequent unhealthy increase in output was the result in large measure of an apparent but unreal difference between cost and selling prices. The new capital was virtually seduced by calculations of profit based on alleged selling quotations for newsprint which had little or no regard for fundamental facts. Secret price concessions, rebates and commissions, now frankly and publicly admitted, maintained for the industry an appearance of healthy vigour which deceived even the most astute financial observers, and on the strength of these quotations, wrongful though official, scores of millions of dollars were obtained for new enterprises. New tonnage calculated, for example, at a selling price of \$65 per ton, would fail to realize

the 'estimated profits' of the prospects if that price had to be reduced from \$5 to \$8 per ton. Even at the smaller figure a mill of 250 tons capacity would fall short of expected profits to the extent of approximately \$375,000 per annum, which represents interest at 5% on a capitalization of \$7,000,000. The moral and the economic aspect of such a vicious set of circumstances are self-evident and require no amplification of characterization here.

Another phase of what we might call 'book-keeping', namely, the amortization of raw materials, has had its influence in gilding the ginger-bread of supposedly huge profits. This includes the large initial expenditure and the subsequent continuous provision necessary to place the forests in a state suitable for proper scientific operation and to maintain them in that condition. The companies, without exception, have been increasing their timber areas by purchase but have been using for that purpose funds set aside for depletion; they have increased their output proportionately and have retained the same relative position with respect to the item of timber reserves on their books. Had the reserves set aside for depletion been made ample for the proper scientific operations of the forests there could not have been the enormous profits which attracted the additional capital and abnormal production.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of scientific operation. It seems difficult to evade the conclusion that the companies have lamentably failed not only in respect of cash reserves but in the actual use of forest resources where it has been the custom, notwithstanding the talk of reforestation, to conduct operations practically as one would in a stone quarry. We must face the realities of this situation and should not blink the fact that reforestation, as professed in Canada, is merely a song without tone or tune, if we omit the resounding echoes of the devastating axe.

The maintenance of adequate depletion reserves and the application of the moneys necessary to provide for proper conservation would have kept the productive machinery more closely in step with the consumption of newsprint. Such a course would have been comparatively easy had a larger proportion of the great book-keeping profits been applied in that direction instead of being removed for the purchase of new limits or otherwise absorbed by the process of capitalization of undivided profits through the issuing as bonuses of several new shares for each old share of capital stock. As a result of this policy of successive capital exploitation the industry has reverted to the condition which obtained prior to the war where production is once more greater than consumption and the margin or profit per share of capital is just as small as if not smaller than it was in the early days of comparative penury.

What is the remedy? How may this great natural resource be conserved along with the capital invested in it, now amounting to three quarters of a billion dollars? There is prospective business sufficient to warrant operations approximating 75% of actual rated capacity, and that is the scale of operations to-day. With the projected new tonnage coming in, we must expect that the natural increase of consumption will be absorbed by the new production now projected and that this will retard operations beyond the 75% of capacity for probably a year at least. At present, however, the probable increase in the consumption of newsprint cannot be estimated; it will depend upon the continued prosperity of the United States and Canada and also upon the extent of the production of American mills. This movement of decline in our neighbour's mills would co-operate (and an organization could be set up for the purpose) in the purchase of all wood cut on freehold land by our farmers. This would result in the double advantage of reducing the export supply to foreign competitive

mills to the extent of one million cords per annum and would conserve a corresponding amount of standing timber owned by the several companies. This million cords of wood exported represents nearly one-half the present newsprint production in the Province of Quebec.

Many have advocated an embargo on this form of export, but the alternative policy here suggested would be preferable in that it is a normal business transaction rather than a political gesture. This measure undoubtedly would reduce American production of newsprint and thereby increase the operations of Canadian mills to rated capacity. The operating costs of the Canadian mills would be necessarily raised slightly but the increased output would more than compensate for this increase.

The newsprint industry has great possibilities. The elimination of secret rebates and the inauguration of scientific forest policy should permit the earning of profits ample to meet capital requirements for all time, but it is to be hoped that upon complete rehabilitation of finances and the restoration of stable working conditions there will be an end to the costly share-splitting and other forms of stock market exploitation. The industry is facing adverse conditions such as all other industries must, from time to time, encounter, but if public respect is to be maintained, good British traditions of business morality and scientific methods of conservation must be adopted by operator and publisher alike.

THE PROBLEM OF CANADIAN FUEL INDEPENDENCE

BY FRANK G. NEATE

A GLANCE at the coal map of the North American continent will indicate to the most casual observer that under existing conditions of trade and transportation Canada's coal requirements cannot be entirely met from her own resources and that the attainment of complete fuel independence might be considered to be beyond the reach of sound economics. On the other hand, it is a well-founded belief that Canadians could use a greater quantity of their own coal than is now being used.

A comprehensive study of the coal situation during the past few years has clarified our views to such an extent that we can now claim to have a far clearer conception of the lengths to which we can go in improving that situation. The question has been much more complex than would appear on a first glance. In some respects our troubles have been similar to those prevailing in other countries, but we have lacked the means to remedy them by the methods employed in those countries. In other respects our problems appear to have no parallel. This has necessitated a thorough study of fuel economics within the widest possible range.

Certain fundamental factors lie at the root of our fuel problem. Some of these factors are constant and must so remain; others are inconstant and are likely to change with the shifting of population and industrial activity. The two desiderata to be borne in mind are, first, the importance of having sufficient supplies for our own requirements; second, the avoidance of excessive costs to consumers. The trans-

portation problem affects the fuel situation, while a fourth point not always recognized is that our coals are not all alike either in quality or suitability for particular purposes.

This last factor is clearly indicated in the movement of Alberta coal to Ontario and coals from the Maritime Provinces to the St. Lawrence markets. Admitting that our own Canadian coals can compete on an equal basis in certain localities, the price paid is generally based upon the value of the coal for a certain definite purpose. For instance, if a foreign coal is particularly suitable for coke and gas making and it can be mined and shipped to one of these localities as cheaply as ordinary run of mine steam coal from our own mines, the higher grade coal is bought on a quality basis. This situation is prevailing at the present time both in the Eastern and Western parts of Canada.

The occasional shortages of coal supplies and the increased cost of fuel, particularly for domestic heating, have been responsible for arousing a greater interest in Canada in the fuel question. Although it might be said that present prices are justified by the high cost of production and distribution, these prices seem out of proportion to the costs of other raw materials and if substitutes for anthracite had not come generally into use there is no doubt that considerably higher prices for that particular fuel would probably be prevailing to-day.

The tendency of the consuming public with respect to the purchase of fuels is being directed along two lines. Those who do not need to count the cost are adopting a practice involving the installation of heating equipment with thermostatic control and, where possible, ashless fuels. The average householder, on the other hand, has sought, and not in vain, for fuels equal to anthracite, but less costly. The demand for such fuels has resulted in a keen competitive market for no less than a dozen different products, and, at the same time, these substitutes have convinced us that we need not on any

future occasion be inconvenienced by strikes in fields upon whose output we, in Ontario and Quebec, were once practically dependent.

We cannot fail to appreciate the progress that has been made during the past few years in supplanting foreign coal by our own fuels, or by other substitute fuels, and to-day we need not be ashamed of the sound foundation upon which our fuel policy has been based. Much remains to be done, however, though it is interesting to know that in five years, due to educational propaganda, our importations of United States anthracite have been reduced by 30%, and that substitutes, for which no new heating equipment was necessary, have saved at least \$20,000,000 to the consuming public.

There has been a steady growth in the importation of British coal into Canada since 1922 when conditions created by the strike in the United States anthracite fields gave an opportunity to British coal exporters to establish a market in the eastern part of what is known as our "Acute Fuel Area". Shipments are recorded from both South Wales and Scotland, the shipping point of Wales generally being Swansea and for Scotland, Glasgow or Grangemouth. Imports into Canada of both anthracite and bituminous coal from Great Britain for the past seven years are as follows:—

	Anthracite Net Tons	Bituminous Net Tons
1922.....	178,482	639,422
1923.....	261,659	268,810
1924.....	275,277	41,896
1925.....	549,247	36,822
1926.....	272,170	3,904
1927.....	788,235	140,309
1928 (incomplete)	490,846	141,651

Although the anthracite coal from Wales is not so hard as the average American anthracite the heating quality is

considerably higher; in fact, it has been stated on many occasions that Welsh anthracite is more economical to burn at a price 15% higher than the American product. American importers of this fuel at Montreal have installed sizing and screening equipment in order to place this coal on the market suitably sized for the Canadian trade.

The fuel problem in Canada, on account of these changes, is gradually becoming more akin to the problems which have confronted other nations, and is steadily being removed from the shoulders of the individual consumer to those of the producer. To-day we have facilities for producing nearly double the amount of coal that we now mine. Over-production and lack of markets are by no means evils peculiar to the Canadian coal industry. Many countries have been forced to meet situations considerably more difficult of solution than our own and are meeting them with success. The application of schemes such as *rationalization* in Germany, *mechanization* in United States, and *amalgamation* in Great Britain are expected, at least, to stabilize mining conditions.

In Canada we have not yet applied any of these methods, and it is extremely doubtful if any of them can be applied except by the industry itself. One thing seems obvious, namely, that existing facilities for production must be curtailed and care exercised in the opening of new areas until such time as our present markets are extended sufficiently to take care of our available capacity for production.

By adopting the principle of subsidies, imports of coal may be restricted to some extent, and the competitive markets within certain radii made available to our coals, but, admitting that certain advantages would accrue were such a principle to be put into effect, the benefits would be offset in a measure by the development of artificial conditions. Fuel independence or anything approaching that condition is almost entirely a matter of transportation.

Because it is a low grade, bulky commodity, coal cannot stand the high transportation charges that other, high priced materials bear. This is a good reason for the restriction of the use of our own coal on a commercial scale to a limited radius. The policy of encouraging the expansion of the markets for our own coals is to be commended, but it should be fully recognized that the existing railway rate structure was not designed for such a purpose. If our own coals are to play an important part in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, the present rate structure is not sufficiently elastic to meet these requirements and a revision downwards of existing all-rail rates will be necessary. An analysis of the various differentials in rate structure reveals the difficulties of this complex transportation problem, the details of which, insofar as coal is concerned, are now being reviewed by the Board of Railway Commissioners at the request of the Government.

The question whether the existing freight rates are too high is a matter for the consideration of that Board. During the next two years pertinent facts relating to rail transportation from the coal producing fields of Canada to consuming centres in Ontario and Quebec, will be submitted for the impartial scrutiny of this agency. It is generally conceded that freight rates in Canada are on the whole lower than in any country in the world except, perhaps, in India, but, when comparisons are being made, we Canadians generally look to the south of the International Boundary where parallels prevail that make it difficult to dissociate our own problems from those of our neighbours. Unfortunately, we have the disadvantage of more difficult conditions to contend with in the operation of our railways, and especially in the transportation of coal, and we can only fully overcome these conditions and meet our trade requirements by taxing either the carriers or the consumers.

The traffic tonnage of Canada is much less in volume

and fuel for railway use is more expensive in Canada than in the United States. There is the added cost of winter haulage which is known to be high but varies with the severity of the climate. The United States railways haul about 1,000,000 cars per week; we average about 60,000. Our railway mileage is a little over 40,000 for a population of about 10,000,000, while in the United States the railway mileage is 235,000 for 120,000,000 people or about 19,500 for 10,000,000. We have to operate an equivalent railway mileage at more than a 2 to 1 handicap as compared with the United States.

In discussing the question of transportation, the layman generally assumes that the Board of Railway Commissioners can, if they so desire, initiate rates in accordance with the popular demand or for patriotic purposes. This is not the case; it is well to bear in mind, likewise, that there are many restrictions included in the terms of reference under which the Board of Railway Commissioners acts. For instance, it is well recognized by rate economists that the Board cannot initiate rates; that is a prerogative entirely in the hands of the railways. It is not the function of the Board to become an arbiter concerning the commercial or industrial policy of the country. It cannot compel railways to put into effect rates which will favour a certain commodity. It cannot insist that the railways shall make rates to enable producers, located in less advantageous districts or whose cost of production is high, to compete with those who are more favourably situated. Neither can the Board make rates specifically to encourage the development of domestic enterprises.

We can, therefore, readily see that when criticism is levelled at Governmental bodies for failing to put into force unprofitable freight rates on coal, this criticism is made in ignorance of the facts. Even if the coal resources of Canada are so distributed as to leave the central provinces, Ontario

and Quebec, practically dependent upon a foreign source of supply, that disadvantage cannot be advanced as an argument for further handicapping the carriers who are already operating under most difficult conditions. It is easy to imagine the danger of tinkering with a situation already extremely delicate.

It is a little over five years since the Dominion Fuel Board began as a body authorized by Order-in-Council to study the fuel situation. During that time a variety of subjects have been discussed by the Board. Reports published and recommendations submitted for Government action illustrate the viewpoint from which this all-important question has been approached. Much spade work has been necessary since these studies were begun but the value of the information made available has been recognized. So far, it is true, the situation is not sufficiently clear to warrant a forecast that much greater quantities of Canadian coal will be used in the near future because so much depends upon whether or not the consumer is willing to give our own coals a fair trial. Ingrained habits are difficult to eradicate and there is no doubt that, having been accustomed to burning certain grades of coal, our people do not look upon substitutes for that particular fuel with much favour. It is reasonable, however, to assume that native coals, used successfully in the eastern and western provinces to heat homes during the rigid winter months, can be burned with equal success in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, provided, of course, that their laid-down-cost does not exceed that of other available imported fuels.

There are critics who claim that the industry should stand on its own feet and that no guiding hand is necessary. There are others who, instead of offering constructive criticism, give that which is both destructive and depressing with the idea of forcing the adoption of unsound measures which would tend

to retard rather than stimulate ultimate progress. In solving this question there are no well defined criteria that can be employed to decide once and for all what may or may not be applied to the different phases of the situation. How far we can go to strengthen the competitive power of our own coals is a question of prime importance. We know that anthracite importations from the United States have decreased. But how much farther can our own coals be expected to replace this fuel? Coke and low volatile coals are the fuels now replacing American anthracite and if our own coals are to capture the markets of Central Canada, they must compete on a price basis with these fuels and not with anthracite.

An intelligent appreciation of this fact will provide a truer conception of what is possible and what is impossible. When we consider the cost of producing coal in the coal fields of Pennsylvania and Virginia, we realize why it is that our neighbours can pay higher wages to the miners and still under-bid our coals in certain markets of Ontario and Quebec. To meet this competition would not tend to bolster up an industry already depressed; the first need, therefore, is to forget these markets that are not economically possible under any consideration.

The insistence of some of the miners in our own industry on receiving higher wages under present conditions is suicidal and if this attitude is maintained it can bring about only one result, namely, the closing of mines that are now operating on a very slight margin of profit. Higher wages can come only when some continuity of operation is assured the coal owners.

The need for greater co-operation between the fuel producers and fuel consumers is as urgent as is the necessity of pursuing further the studies that have now been undertaken.

The willingness to think in terms of national rather than of local interest is imperative; otherwise our fuel situation will remain a problem incapable of solution. Up to the present, these studies have included both the technical and economic aspects of the fuel situation, and the opinion prevails that by continuing them the ultimate good of the coal mining industry will be promoted.

CURRENT EVENTS

THE FEDERAL POLITICAL SITUATION.

A survey of the general situation in the field of Federal politics offers no overt evidence of any material alteration since the present year of grace began, but among intelligent observers there is a perception of undercurrents and a foreboding of impending developments which may trouble the now peaceful political waters and work a change in the fortunes of parties. Meanwhile, however, the King Government is perfectly secure from even the apprehension of defeat in Parliament since, although its simonpure supporters number rather less than a moiety of the House of Commons, it can rely upon the almost touching fidelity of the Liberal Progressive group to provide it on all occasions with a comfortable majority. Moreover, the operations of mortality, which have been very severe upon Conservative Senators in the past year, have also brought the Liberals within sight of securing a majority in the Upper Chamber and of possessing thereby a clear path for governmental legislation. The Conservative party is doing its best to fill the role of an aggressive opposition but Mr. Bennett has not yet managed to weld it into an effective fighting force; it possesses no rich reserves of debating power and it is singularly lacking in the sort of lively spirits who can make a Ministry's life miserable by intermittent guerilla warfare. Its fundamental weakness is that it is still unable to offer any alluring alternative to a Government which is held in leash from radical courses by the innate conservatism of its French-Canadian supporters and yet has so far contrived to be sufficiently progressive not to forfeit the allegiance of its liberal supporters. The real trouble with the Conservative party is that its eastern potentates fight shy of the radical

programme which might captivate the West and without the West there are not enough Conservatives in Canada to make a majority party as long as Quebec remains immune to Conservative blandishments. It is beginning to see a ray of hope, however, that the new Congress of the United States may furnish it with a first rate issue upon which it can base a successful challenge to the Liberal party. The Independent Progressive group with which the Labourites now constantly co-operate pursues a path of detached and critical independence and at intervals gives the Conservatives useful assistance in their forays against the Government. It has, however, its own fish to fry and has no inclination to abet the arrival of a high protectionist Ministry in office. But it offers evidence of the possession of a higher average of debating power and economic knowledge than does either of the old parties and its survival as an effective force in the parliamentary arena is greatly to be desired.

The salient characteristic of the present session has been its unrelieved dullness and for this the singular paucity of energetic political combatants and original characters is largely responsible. The present House of Commons contains no master of the biting phrase like Mr. Meighen, no erudite orator like the late Dr. Michael Clark, and no able and persistent foe of bad economics and administrative crimes like Mr. Andrew Macmaster, and for humour it has to rely upon the unconscious practitioners of the art like Mr. T. L. Church and Mr. W. K. Baldwin. Possibly the most useful private member in the House is Mr. J. S. Woodsworth who combines a first-rate parliamentary style with a real knowledge of social problems and a commendable interest in imperial and international affairs. The existing Commons may be a cross-section of our citizenship and therefore a truly representative body, but a goodly proportion of members who are not run-of-the-mill types is a condition precedent to an interesting Parliament.

The Government has been following *quieta non movere* tactics. It has kept its programme of legislation within modest dimensions; it has produced a presentable Budget and it has sedulously avoided any issues which might threaten party solidarity. The tactics employed for the handling of the Beauharnois Company's application were exceedingly shrewd and the device of a conference with the provinces has provided another excuse for postponing the formulation of any definite policy about the St. Lawrence Waterway. The issue of the Seven Sisters' lease was also skilfully surmounted and the efforts of the Conservatives to provoke some declaration of faith about tariff relations with the United States have so far been successfully resisted. On the balance, therefore, the tactical honours of the session rest with the Government and all the omens indicate that the session will come to an early termination and leave the prestige of the Ministry unimpaired.

But the existence of certain clouds upon the horizon is not denied. Throughout the prairie provinces there has been visible for the past year a rising tide of anti-Catholic sentiment which might or might not be calmed by a satisfactory settlement of the problem of the transfer of the natural resources. At any rate the Gardiner Government in Saskatchewan is by all accounts approaching a difficult ordeal when it seeks a renewal of its mandate from the electorate and for the first time since Saskatchewan became a province the supremacy of the Liberal party within its bounds is seriously threatened. It may survive its present peril but admittedly the religious issue has already caused a serious erosion of Liberal strength in its chief western fortress. There is also trouble afoot in Manitoba where the Bracken Ministry seems to be stricken by mortal wounds. There are, however, optimistic souls who believe that out of evil may come great good and that the outcome will be a fusion of the Liberal and Progressive parties in Manitoba which will furnish complete insurance against

any Conservative triumph in that provincial field. But the greatest source of danger for the Liberal party in the West lies in the acute and widespread discontent of the farmers with the present grain marketing system and particularly with its grain grading regulations. The western farmer is willing to accept the vicissitudes decreed by nature with stoical fortitude but what he will not tolerate is their aggravation by human agencies and at present the King Government has to meet the forthright charge that its Board of Grain Commissioners has during the past grain season acted as the subservient tool of the grain trade in manipulating its administrative machinery in such a way that, while the farmers have rarely had a less profitable crop, the private grain interests have reaped the richest harvest in their history. The Conservative and Progressive parties clearly intend to exploit this grievance to the limit and there are indications that, unless the charge now being made is successfully refuted, the Liberal party will have to mourn at the next Federal election a mighty lost legion of former supporters. Only in Quebec can the political fortunes of Liberalism in the country be described as resting upon a solid foundation and the very solidarity of this buttress is something of a liability in the other provinces.

It is, however, becoming daily more clear that the future course of Canadian politics will depend in no small degree upon developments at Washington. President Hoover and the Republican party are definitely committed to an upward revision of the tariff and are pledged with particular explicitness to mitigate the competition of Canadian farm products for the American farmer. The Ways and Means Committee of the last House of Representatives held before its extinction on March 4th a series of hearings upon the tariff and found itself inundated with applications for higher duties from every variety of agricultural and industrial interest. The Farm Bureau Federation submitted an elaborate schedule for farm

products which, if given legislative effect, would act as a virtual embargo upon many lines of Canadian produce and the manufacturing elements, who are intelligibly anxious to commit the American agriculturists to the protective principle, not only offered no resistance to these proposals but came forward with a variegated list of demands for higher industrial duties. Indeed the proceedings before this committee degenerated into an unseemly scramble and Mr. Frank R. Kent of the *Baltimore Sun*, one of the ablest political writers in the United States, was constrained to declare that the scene resembled nothing so much as a "hogtrough."

President Hoover could not easily go back upon his pledge to call a special session of Congress but he has obviously taken fright at the shameless abandon of the protectionist drive and his message summoning the new Congress for April 15th contained a blunt intimation that the tariff revision to be undertaken would not be general but would be confined to limited list of schedules. But it remains to be seen how far he will be able to exercise a restraining hand upon protectionist excesses in a Congress which will be peculiarly susceptible to logrolling manœuvres and, as the result of the Democratic capitulation on the tariff during the last campaign contains only a meagre body of sincere opponents of high protectionism. The solid body of Republican representatives from the Middle-western states will insist that political ruin will stare them in the face unless duties on farm produce which will effectually eliminate Canadian competition are enacted and Mr. Hoover can scarcely afford to become involved early in his presidential career in a quarrel with this powerful element of his supporters.

Our own Conservative party is therefore counting confidently upon a new American tariff which will penalize the Canadian farmers and arouse among them deep resentment against the United States and they believe with some justification that such developments will generate here an atmosphere

highly favourable to the propagation of the policy of higher protectionism which they have been persistently advocating. Certainly, if the American tariff is substantially increased, it will depress the prices of farm produce throughout Canada and dispose our farmers to take a more sympathetic view of Conservative policies than they have done in recent years. A higher American tariff would undoubtedly face the Liberals with a difficult defensive battle at the next election but their hopes that influential voices in the financial and industrial world of the United States would make themselves heard at Washington to prevent protectionist excesses are to a certain measure being realized. At least a number of influential papers, including the *Wall Street Journal* and others which supported President Hoover have been issuing solemn warnings that a rash upward tariff revision will be fraught with disastrous consequences both for American trade and for the Republican party. The Hoover administration is probably thoroughly alive to the full implications of the situation and it is just possible that it may try an interesting line of tactics.

Mr. Hoover might allow the tariff revision measure to proceed towards the verge of consummation and then confront Mr. King with the suggestion that, if he will agree to an immediate bargain about the St. Lawrence Waterway, the threatened rigours of the American tariff will be greatly modified. Mr. King would have little alternative but to accept such a proposal. The St. Lawrence waterway as a campaign issue might present some difficulties and place in peril some seats in Montreal but it would be a positive programme attractive to a large number of constituencies lying along the waterway and it would offer much better hopes of salvation for his Ministry than a fight against an aggressive Conservative campaign for higher tariffs. Of course there is the other alternative that, if the American tariff is increased, the Liberal party would boldly embark upon a policy of retaliation. But

such a course presents obvious difficulties. An upward tariff under Liberal auspices would constitute a dangerous breach with the traditional low tariff ideals of the party and destroy an important point of differentiation from the Conservatives. If, on the other hand, it contented itself with a sharp increase in the British preferential rates in order to direct to British manufacturers business now enjoyed by their American competitors, it would encounter the objection of a strong group of French-Canadian Liberal protectionists who have little liking for the British preference, because the manufacturers of Quebec lying near the Atlantic seaboard feel British competition more keenly than their brethren in Ontario.

But the Conservative party when it comes to frame its policy to meet the situation which developments at Washington are likely to create, will be confronted with a parallel dilemma. Mr. Bennett is a convinced Imperialist who believes that recent manifestations of the nationalist spirit contain the seeds of dissolution for the fabric of the British Commonwealth and he is undoubtedly prepared to go a long distance in schemes of Imperial co-operation in the economic and other spheres. But it is doubtful what proportion of his party he can carry with him. Many of them are stalwart henchmen of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and speeches such as were delivered on March 15th in the Budget debate by Mr. Edwards of North Waterloo indicate that the British preference does not find favour in some Conservative bosoms. Mr. Hugh Guthrie, likewise, in his speech on March 8th evinced no disposition to see British manufacturers securing a share of such trade as the higher duties which he advocated might divert from the United States to other sources of supply. Accordingly the sub-amendment moved by Mr. Spencer, an Alberta Progressive, which calls for an enlargement of the British preference will cause embarrassment in more than one quarter of the House of Commons.

It will probably be voted down by a huge majority but the issue raised by it may have to be faced resolutely at a later date. The cold truth is that a certain bewildering incoherence persists in the ideals and policies of both our historic parties. The Liberals favour a robust political nationalism and profess a disposition to reject the economic nationalism embodied in the protectionist creed. The Conservatives on their part pour scorn upon political nationalism but are zealous devotees of the economic brand of nationalism. Now political nationalism and economic nationalism, if not full sisters are, certainly, cousins in close degree because the genuine nationalist must desire his country to attain that economic self-sufficiency which only a high tariff can ensure and, conversely, the full-blooded protectionist must view all Imperial entanglements as an obstacle to his aspirations. Hence it follows that the only politicians at Ottawa who follow a consistent creed are such French-Canadian Liberals as believe in both nationalism and high protectionism and such Progressives as advocate a policy of Imperial co-operation with free trade between the British countries as one of its bases. Between these two extremes lies a strange welter of muddled political thinking, commingled with not a little hypocrisy, and there will always be a certain unreality in our politics until we have one party committed to a full-blown protectionist nationalism and a rival battling for a policy of Imperial co-operation which predicates at least a very low standard of protectionism.

J. A. S.

COALITION IN MANITOBA.

The political movement in Manitoba for a coalition between the Bracken government and the Liberals, which has now reached the stage where the question is a matter for consideration between committees representing both parties, has arisen because there has been a forced recognition of the fact that no matter how many groups there may be in the

Legislature, there are only two parties, under the British system, when a motion of want of confidence is before the House. The members are then either ministerialist or in opposition without qualification; and if the ministerial supporters are in a minority the situation has to be righted by one of two specified alternatives: a new government which commands a majority, or an appeal to the electors. The appearance of groups in our Legislature has been of value in affording more accurate representation of currents of opinion among the electorate; but it brings into operation an entirely new parliamentary technique which the groups are slow to recognize and loath to learn. Plainly the system will not work unless the groups can bring themselves to the point of realizing that the simple tactics of the two-party system are obsolete. Under that system a party was either in office or it was not. If it was not, it kept on fighting until the Government was beaten, when it succeeded to the honours and the spoils. The new system, under which a party which thinks it is in opposition may destroy a Government without inheriting the offices itself, is wholly destructive to the traditional technique of party warfare. The facts suggest that it is often in the interest of such a group not to destroy the Government, which would only bring trouble on itself, but to co-operate with it, if there are no vital differences of policy, by a sharing of responsibility and power. There is, in fact, no alternative to this except an appeal, or a series of appeals, to the people until some group with a majority emerges.

The division between the Manitoba Progressives and the Liberals has always had the appearance of a family quarrel. The Progressive movement started in 1920 as a spontaneous and unorganized uprising of farmers, the sufferer being the Liberal government which, although left in a minority, continued to hold office with independent support from the farmers for two years. Government by minority broke down

in 1922 when in the general elections of that year the farmers were returned with a clear majority over all other parties. The Liberal, and also the Conservative, representation was reduced to very small proportions; and as the Government commanded the general support of Labour as well as a group of Independents it had a clear field. In the general election of 1927 both Liberals and Conservatives appeared before the electors as definite opposition parties, offering an alternative government; and in some constituencies supported one another with second choices under an electoral system which includes the alternative vote. In the outcome the Conservatives gained, more than doubling their strength; the Liberals were again left with a small representation. Again the Bracken government had a majority over all, but with a greatly restricted margin.

It needed only the emergence of some question which would affect the solidarity of the Government ranks and give the three opposition groups an opportunity to vote together against the government to destroy the condition of political stability which has lasted in this province for the past seven years. This situation appeared with the dispute over the disposition of Seven Sisters falls. The Government, instead of reserving these falls for future development under public ownership auspices or proceeding immediately with their development themselves—both these policies have been urged—advised the Dominion Government to issue a lease to a company subsidiary to the Winnipeg Electric Railway and entered into a contract with this company embodying control of rates and providing for a power supply for the Provincial Hydro. The Labour party led the assault upon the Government's policy. After some hesitation the Conservatives joined the attack. There was some doubt as to whether the Government ranks would stand firm and in the sequel one member bolted. The Liberals, from being a helpless minority group,

suddenly found themselves in a position where, if they could not actually defeat the Government, they could leave it with so narrow a margin as to render it impotent. When these conditions emerged they were forced to consider how they were to use the power which thus came to their hand.

The Liberal attitude toward the Farmer government had been one of natural resentment. Mr. T. C. Norris, leader of the Liberals until 1927, was a farmer and his government had always shown itself notably sympathetic to farm problems. He and his following regarded the widespread secession of Liberal farmers and their support of the farmer movement as ill-considered and ungrateful. Thus, while there has been no marked difference of opinion between them, there has been little friendship or cordiality in the relationships between the Progressives and the Liberals. This feeling flared up into active and avowed hostility in the general elections of 1927.

But both parties are being forced by the realities of the present situation to consider whether this attitude is responsible. Both are seeing, or beginning to see, that they cannot serve their interests by fighting one another. The Liberals can perhaps turn the Government out, but they cannot inherit office. The most they can do is possibly to open a door for a Conservative administration, which certainly does not come within their scheme of things. The reasons for an alliance between the Progressives and Liberals are numerous and to a great degree obvious. There is no conflict between the two groups on the particular question now in issue. Mr. H. A. Robson, the Liberal leader, has steadily defended the propriety of the lease of the Seven Sisters to the Winnipeg Electric in the Legislature and on public platforms on the ground that the policy of the Government was, under existing conditions, the only one that could be adopted. In the important Dominion field there is already something in the nature of a working alliance between the Liberals and Pro-

gressives. It resulted in the Dominion election of 1926 in a sweeping allied victory, and is looked to by both parties as an assurance at the next Dominion election. Obviously this alliance could not survive if in a general election in Manitoba, following the defeat in the Legislature of the Bracken Government, the Liberals and Progressives appeared in the lists in opposition to one another. No deep divergencies in policy separate the two groups. Under the circumstances it is natural that Mr. Bracken should have made overtures and that the Liberals should have decided in convention to entertain the prospect of an understanding. The result is that negotiations are now going on looking to some kind of a formal alliance which will involve the addition of Liberal members to the government. This is likely to take the form of a coalition rather than a merger, both groups retaining, at least for the present, their distinctive titles and separate organizations. If the alliance is consummated the new government will be in easy control of the political situation, with a following which will comprise about two-thirds of the members of the Legislature.

J. W. DAFOE.

THE MINER-HARVESTER EXPERIMENT

While it is doubtless too soon yet to assess finally the significance of the experiment in mass migration involved in sending unemployed miners to the Canadian harvest fields last autumn, sufficient is known to indicate broadly the merits and defects of the scheme. Most Canadians will find it difficult to realize the acuteness of the problem of unemployment in the old land. We have an interest both from practical and sentimental considerations in the solution of this problem.

The proposal to send several thousand of the unemployed miners to assist in the harvesting of the western Canadian grain crop was accepted as a legitimate means of aiding, if but slightly, in relieving distress in the mining districts in England. The Canadian Department of Immigration offered to co-operate with the railways and other agencies in finding work for the men and did in fact bend all its efforts to that end.

The terms offered the miners by the British Government were most generous and included a guarantee of payment of return passage in case the worker should be unable to save sufficient for that purpose. This burden was shared by the steamship companies in such a way as to give them a direct interest in finding employment for the men. The number recruited was limited to 8,500 which was deemed to be sufficient to meet the requirements of harvesting operations and which would avoid flooding the Canadian labour market when the harvest was finished. The limited time available for selection of this number undoubtedly permitted many to be accepted who should have been kept at home.

The activities of a group of communist agitators among the immigrants did much to militate against the success of the scheme by fostering an attitude of mind which made disappointment inevitable. Weather conditions which could not have been predicted postponed the ripening of the grain and in many districts harvesting operations did not begin until a week or ten days after the arrival of the harvesters. This proved a real testing of the men; many of them refused to work at "odd jobs" on the farm in the meantime at lower wages than \$4 or \$5 a day which they claimed they had been promised. The homeward trek of disappointed began early in the course of the experiment. A great many remained until the end of the harvest but to-day there are not more than 1,800 or approximately 20% of those who came.

Generalizations regarding the attitude of the men are extremely dangerous. The cases of the misfits and discontented receive the attention of the press whereas little is heard of the men who gave satisfactory service and who returned without a grievance at the end of the season. After making allowance for this condition it would seem that a great many men were brought over who were either physically incapable of enduring the relatively hard labour of the harvest and threshing season or were unwilling to do so. The experiment has undoubtedly left a bad taste in many parts of the West and it is equally certain that many harvesters returned to England with an unfavourable impression of Canada.

The experiment is significant in throwing a penetrating ray of light on mass movements in immigration. There are certain types of people who are not capable of adjustment to Canadian conditions and who should not be allowed to come here. There is a real danger that in the movement of immigrants in large numbers sufficient care cannot be taken in making such a selection as will eliminate those who cannot be absorbed in our economic system. Our immigration policy must provide for a careful selection of immigrants not because we entertain snobbish ideas of our own superiority, but because actual conditions here make a discrimination between the fit and the unfit and it is preferable that such a selection should be made, if possible, before the immigrant arrives. Experience has indicated that frequently the European is more capable of making the adjustment to our economic conditions readily than a certain type of Anglo-Saxon.

There is always a danger of serious damage resulting from mal-adjustment of immigration. The dissatisfied and discontented are poor publicity agents. We would not like to accept a great many of the harvesters as typical of British labour nor is it desirable that the impressions carried back by

many of the miners should be regarded as applicable generally to western Canada. This type of misunderstanding cannot be completely eliminated but it is desirable that it should be reduced to a minimum. Our slogan should be "Go slowly and select carefully."

D. McA.

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

SUMMER, 1929

THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM

BY SIR GEORGE FOSTER

IN this rapidly moving age events succeed each other so quickly, and in their multiplicity so overlay and obscure each its predecessor, that the mind fails to register with precision, and to retain with accuracy, the wonderful march of development and progress. And it so happens that when one stops for a little to look and listen, and takes stock of the world's losses and gains, he is simply astounded at the magnitude and variety of the changes wrought and the vast accumulations of the favourable balance in profit and loss. This is true in matters material, intellectual and spiritual, in varying degree and proportion, but yet essentially so in all three spheres.

In a magazine article one can only deal with an individual phase, and with that only to a limited degree. The object of this paper is to call attention to the radical changes that have taken place within the last few years, in the methods of international intercourse, and the attitude and conduct of nations towards each other.

These changes have been made possible, and indeed neces-

sary by forces and facilities that have been developed within the memory of men of middle age, and especially within the last twenty years. Foremost are the wonderfully increased facilities for personal communication and interchange. Through long and tedious centuries the original swift runner or mounted messenger of chief or king has developed into the ubiquitous postman who provides safe and efficient service to all classes of all peoples in every clime and quarter of the globe, carrying equally the mandate of the ruler and the thoughts and wishes of the humblest subject. And in these later days, as with the rush of a mighty wind, have come the electric land wire and ocean cable, the mysterious wireless, and the uncanny but marvellous voice and physical likeness, by which conversation face to face, and tongue to tongue, is made possible over wide spaces. Time and space have been practically annihilated, and the prominent and directing personalities of all nations have been brought to the convenience of a round table conference, called at any hour of the day for a parley face to face. Contrast the conditions of to-day and to-morrow with those of even a decade ago, and what a change!

Then take the personal individual contact of the peoples of one nation with those of another; their number and wide distribution. In the far away times these contacts were few and confined mainly to rulers and chiefs, and were almost entirely dynastic and autocratic. Between the masses of the people there was little or no acquaintanceship or interchange of any kind. Democracy had not emerged.

Now all has been changed, and owing to the facilities and security of communication and transport, the personal contacts of the individuals of one nation with the other have multiplied a millionfold. The number of persons who for reasons of business or pleasure, of social, scientific, economic or humanitarian research and conference, annually pack their grips and sally forth to every quarter of the globe is astonishing and is

yearly increasing in almost geometrical proportion. Each of these units makes intellectual and social contacts with like units in every nation visited and each contact adds to the stock of mutual knowledge and understanding, dispels ignorance, conquers prejudice, and increases the vast and growing resources of sympathetic human brotherhood. These contacts are reinforced and multiplied by the immense circulation of newspapers, magazines and books in which information and exposition of current events in popular form and with attractive illustrations familiarize each nation with the conditions and forces and prominent representatives of the other in every phase of development and progress. And now these contacts of human units are immeasurably accelerated by the film which provides visual interpretation, universally understood, of the geographic features, the occupations, facial appearance, manners, customs, and social and intellectual conditions of one people to another. Thus all sections of the human race are brought within easy acquaintance and understanding of each other.

Arising out of these changed conditions, and greatly facilitated by them, has emerged a growing sense of the community of interest between nations which is rapidly countering and conquering the old selfish and pernicious idea that a nation's strength is measured by the weakness of its neighbours, and its prosperity by their impoverishment.

It is more and more coming to be understood that economically considered it is a wise policy to assist and co-operate with sister nations in such way as to contribute to the fullest development of the diverse resources of each, and the mutual profitable interchange thereof to the benefit of all. And if so in business and economic fields, all the more true is it in the domain of the social, intellectual and spiritual forces that work for good will, just dealing and international peace.

Another and most important factor is the growing alert-

ness and interest in the masses who are yearly becoming more instructed and better informed, an awakening sense of responsibility, and a demand for participation in those political acts and policies which determine the attitude of their nation towards other nations. They are more and more demanding to know what their governments are doing and proposing to do internationally, and the reasons why. They have learned the lesson in the late war that the application of international policies and their consequences in the end vitally affect them and their children, and they are no longer disposed blindly to trust their lives and fortunes to a mere fractional junta of statesmen or diplomats acting behind closed doors, however experienced or well informed they may be.

Nothing stirs the soul of the student of the Great War histories more than the revelation of what a mere handful of men were primarily concerned in the diplomacy which preceded the breaking out of hostilities, and the cynical indifference to the lives and fortunes of the masses who were to be affected by the outcome of their policies. The petty jealousies, the fierce hatreds, the vaulting ambitions and selfish schemes of a mere fraction of a nation, often the will of a single individual, decided for peace or war, and little thought was taken of the millions of human pawns that had perforce to play the cruel game. And in the after-conduct of the war the petty rivalry of politicians, the unholy greed of territorial acquisitions, the crass incompetence of many military commanders, and the cold and cynical way in which they threw men into the unequal contest against molten metal and poison gases, sears the soul of the reader and invokes his undying protest. How this after-study and research into the preceding diplomacy and subsequent conduct of the war dispels our war-time illusions, and lays bare the trickery and falsehood played upon our most sacred feelings of patriotism and willingness to sacrifice life and fortune for the fair cause of justice and liberty!

One would only have had to eliminate less than a dozen individuals in Europe to have made it certain that the world would have been spared the holocaust of blood and suffering which took ten million of lives and caused twenty million casualties and brought untold misery to countless women and children the world over. Against these old methods humanity has risen in revolt; it is registering its will to know why war in any case is necessary, and to rescue human life from the chess board of secret and autocratic manipulators who set their games and rely on their ability to arouse racial and national prejudice and patriotic fervour to force the play. The aroused conscience of the world is demanding as never before that governments shall explore other agencies and methods for settling disputed question than pitting human lives against merciless artillery, bombs, poison gases, submarines and airplanes, and shall devote the time now taken in the search for even more deadly and inescapable implements of public slaughter to devising methods of settlement by conciliation, arbitration and judicial process. The time has gone by for hidden diplomacy and secret compacts and the cruel and wanton usage of human lives in international conflicts, and to that end the masses, informed and organized, propose to know what governments are doing and why they are doing it.

The experience of all history, culminating in the lessons of the world war, has at last found its response in the world conviction that war as a method or agent in the settlement of disputes between nations is not only unspeakably cruel and incalculably costly, but is futile as well, and leaves behind it even greater evils than it attempted to cure. Such, moreover, is the perfection of modern destructive equipment that war henceforth will be no longer a contest by a small percentage of drilled forces on battle fronts, but a contest of peoples in which non-combatants, even women and children in towns and cities to the remotest corner of the domain, will become its

victims, and against the sudden surprise of whose swift airplanes no defence is possible and no precaution can avail. The death dealing perfection to which destructive agencies have been brought and the long radius of action and high speed attained by air and undersea vessels have, in reality, made war impossible if civilization is to be preserved.

Having mentioned the favouring influences of these later days let me point out some of the principal indicia of the changed and changing conditions of international dealings. They are many and only the most outstanding can be briefly mentioned in this article.

There has been brought into existence, organized and well equipped, an Association of nations now fifty-five strong, embracing all but seven or eight of the world's total list. These meet yearly in public assembly, and for three or four weeks discuss conditions and institute measures to prevent disputes emerging into wars; they devise methods of mutual co-operation for the relief and elimination of common evils and the mutual economic, social and intellectual betterment of all.

This League has constituted an Executive Council which meets every three months or oftener, if necessary, to direct and supervise the execution of the measures of the Assembly and the peace policy embodied in its covenant. It is officered by a permanent working secretariat of experts and assistants of exceptional efficiency.

This Association has established a tribunal of international justice which sits permanently at The Hague, before which all differences between the nations may, by agreement, be brought and authoritatively adjudicated. Under Article 36 of the Act establishing the Court, provision is made for reciprocal compulsory trial of all justiciable differences, and already thirty nations, including Germany, France and Spain have come under its provisions. This Court also gives advisory opinions upon such questions and points of procedure and

competency as may be referred to it by the Council or Assembly. The League of Nations maintains as its supreme article of faith that aggressive war is a crime against humanity and as its supreme rule of action that all international differences must be settled by peaceful agencies, conference, conciliation, arbitration, or judicial process. Growing out of its covenants and its objectives are certain rules of practice unique in the history of nations.

Under the covenant of the League, all treaties and agreements between its members are required to be registered at Geneva and are immediately published and distributed. This obligation has been loyally met by all members of the League, and the United States, though not a member, now registers there its foreign treaties and agreements. These treaties and agreements are open for discussion and criticism at the annual meetings of the League. Thus a system which proved a perpetual provocation to secret and counteracting alliances among the principal nations and a perpetual menace and anxiety to smaller states has been consigned to the limbo of discarded methods and outgrown policies. Its place has been taken by an open concert of world nations with decisions openly arrived at after open conference and discussion. For the secrecy of bureaucracy, impenetrable by parliament or people, has been substituted the open world forum where all the nations, great and small, meet on a footing of common information and confer on a basis of equality in an open atmosphere and under the impulses of the spirit of world peace and international goodwill.

It may be said that a few of the great powers still dominate the policy of the League and determine its activities, but in so far as this is so and must remain so by virtue of their larger geographical and economic interest, it is subject to open comment and criticism and the ultimate approval of all the nations and the informed world conscience. Consultations

between these powers are necessary to unanimity and effectiveness of action, and though private in initiative are then submitted to the open forum. Therein lies the cardinal difference.

Emerging from the constitution of the League of Nations is the new and important principle of the community of nations and their mutual interest in the prevention of war and the preservation of peace. The old doctrine of the absolute sovereignty of the individual nation is disappearing. For the old international rule of practice that a dispute between two sovereign nations was subject to the arbitrament of war solely and absolutely within the discretion of either, and that interference by another nation was considered a breach of international custom and an insult to national sovereignty, there has been substituted the doctrine of common interests and the duty of good will, interposition and prevention.

To this end each member of the League of Nations obligates itself not to go to war with a member nation without submitting its dispute to the Association and giving ample time for its examination and possible peaceable solution. Equally each member nation is empowered to bring to the notice of the associated nations any nascent difference or dispute which in its opinion threatens to result in war. And in the event of final non-agreement by the disputants the issue is subject to an unanimous decision of the League and penalties for non-compliance. Thus is affirmed and practiced the great truth that a war between two nations affects the community of nations and establishes the right and duty of friendly interference and peaceful settlement. Concrete outstanding examples of the efficiency and advantage of this new practice are given in the cases of the Aaland Islands, the Serbo-Albanian dispute, the Greco-Italian episode, the Greco-Bulgarian embroglio, and just lately the trouble between Paraguay and Bolivia.

Embodied as was this principle in the Covenant of the League, it has been reaffirmed and strengthened by repeated and progressive registrations of opinion by successive Annual Assemblies founded upon experience of the actual working out of its activities. It has also been embodied in the Locarno pacts, and in numerous bilateral Treaties between members of the League by which the nations bind themselves not to have recourse to war in the settlement of their disputes, but to submit their differences to Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration or to the World Court.

Another principle of international action unique in the world's history denies the right of the exploitation of weak and backward peoples by a superior Power as spoils of war. The Association of Nations has proclaimed the rights and liberties of these backward peoples, incapable for the time being of self-government and considered as wards in trust. It has declared them entitled to the aid and supervision of a duly authorized trustee who is bound to administer and develop its resources and capacities for the sole benefit of the ward, and, when the period of tutelage has sufficiently developed the capacity for self-government, to instal its ward in full independence and sovereignty. The Trustee acts within charter privileges and is supervised by an independent and capable commission appointed by the League. Great Britain at present operates as a mandatory nation in Palestine and Mesopotamia; France in Syria; Britain and France in portions of Africa; Australia, New Zealand and Japan in the few islands of the Pacific previously held by Germany.

Already in the case of Mesopotamia a large share of self-government has been granted under the advice and supervision of the acting mandatory power, while to the Syrians partial participation in their own government has been ceded by the French mandatory. In Palestine also, the British

mandatory is associating the local governmental bodies in the conduct of affairs.

The Paris Peace Conference recognized and secured the rights of national minorities which, in the settlement of boundaries, were included within the limits of the newly established or considerably enlarged nations and amount in the aggregate in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Roumania to some twenty or more millions of people. The League of Nations concerns itself with these minorities to ensure their proper treatment under the Treaty obligation of these several nations. Here again one notices the sympathetic and just recognition of a community of interests and mutual responsibility for the rights and liberties of weaker aggregations of alien and segregated peoples.

A notable development has taken place among the Republics of North, Central and South America in the Pan-American Union which includes a membership of 22 nations. Organized several years ago, it held its sixth and most important general meeting in Cuba in February, 1928, which President Coolidge and his Secretary of State visited and where they were enthusiastically received. Delegates from 22 American Republics participated in this conference at which very important principles and methods of international action were considered and far-reaching conclusions reached. Among these was one renouncing war as an instrument of national policy and substituting in its place the compulsory settlement of all juridical disputes by arbitration. It authorized the holding of a later conference in Washington to devise methods for the practical operation of this ideal. This conference was convened on December 10, 1928, and concluded its sessions on January 5, 1929. It unanimously agreed upon a general treaty of Inter-American arbitration, and upon a general convention of Inter-American conciliation, both of which are recommended for ratification to all the governments

involved. It is a notable fact that the United States accepted without reserve compulsory arbitration for the settlement of all disputes.

The latest and in some respects most important development in the status of international relationships is embodied in the Multilateral Treaty, signed at Paris on the 27th of August last by fifteen nations of the world. This marks the high tide in world sentiment against aggressive wars. It consists of two simple and plain sections; one declaring the renunciation of war as a national policy, and the other an affirmation that none but peaceful methods shall hereafter be used in the settlement of disputes of any nature or kind which arise between nations.

Whilst the Treaty embodies no higher principle than is contained in the Covenant of the League of Nations and has been repeatedly reaffirmed and uniformly carried out in its nine years' work and, although it attaches no penalties for infraction, yet it strikes a world note and embodies a world sanction not hitherto attained. It implies logically the obligation to devise means by which any violator of the pact will be restrained and subdued to obedience by the force of world opinion and by the active intervention of diplomatic, economic and financial influences. This Treaty was first ratified by the Soviet Russian Government, and on January 15th last was approved by the Senate of the United States without reservation by a vote of 5 to 1. It now awaits the ratification of the other nations of the world by all of which it will undoubtedly be completed.

Careful study of the above features of International Relationships and their contrast with the conditions existent prior to 1914 can lead us to no other than the inspiring conclusion that a new era has opened in which humanity can confidently hope for universal and permanent immunity from war.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF NOVA SCOTIA

BY LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

I HAVE just returned from a visit into the past of Nova Scotia, through the medium of a group of books* published recently, and have brought back with me many impressions, some vivid, others elusive, of life in the old province down by the sea about the middle of the last century.

One may describe the half century between 1830 and 1880 as the Golden Age of Nova Scotia. That was the period of the wooden sailing ship, the period that Mr. Wallace has so aptly described as one of *Wooden Ships and Iron Men*. It saw the ships of the Maritimes, built in their own ports, of their own timber, and navigated by their own men, cleaving their way through seas sunny or forlorn to every quarter of the habitable globe. They carried the products of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island to other lands, and brought back whatever their own colonies needed of necessities or luxuries. They sailed from port to port throughout the Seven Seas, sometimes not returning to their home harbour for several years, but bringing with them the wherewithal to build more ships, or comfortable homes, to buy or improve farms, or otherwise add to the prosperity of the homeland. Furthermore, the Maritimes built wooden ships for other maritime countries, and particularly for England.

**In the Wake of the Wind Ships*, by Frederick William Wallace. Toronto: Musson Book Company, 1927. A sequel to *Wooden Ships and Iron Men*.

Some Famous Sailing Ships and their Builder Donald McKay, by Richard C. McKay. New York: Putnam's, 1928.

Under the Red Jack, by C. H. J. Snider. Toronto: Musson Book Company, 1928.

There Go the Ships, by Archibald MacMechan. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1928.

Ballads and Sea Songs of Nova Scotia, by W. Roy Mackenzie. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928. A sequel to *The Quest of the Ballad*.

Some of these craft were jerry-built, put together in a hurry of second-rate materials, to meet the demands of some shipping emergency. They were built generally to the order of some English speculator, to be sold in England, and they brought more or less discredit to the Maritimes. Nothing of this kind, however, was ever turned out by the reputable shipbuilders of the three provinces, who prided themselves upon putting the best materials and the best workmanship into every vessel launched from their yards. Scores of ships of this class, built in Nova Scotia or New Brunswick shipyards, added to the fame of the great English passenger fleets of the fifties or sixties.

The wooden ship had much to do with the life and progress of the three Maritime Provinces, and also, it should be remembered, of Quebec. In 1878, for instance, Canada ranked fourth among the ship-owning countries of the world, with a fleet of nearly 7,200 vessels of a total tonnage of 1,333,000. That total may not seem impressive to-day, but in 1878 a 1,000-ton vessel was a big ship. These wooden ships of Canada, during the great days of the wind-jammer, "captured a huge share of the world's carrying trade and built up a reputation for smart ships and native-born seamen that was a legend in nautical history and fo'c'sle story for many years."

It might be helpful to have as a background some sort of general comparison between conditions in Nova Scotia in 1850, for example, and to-day, but the materials for such a comparison are in some respects singularly inaccessible. We know that the population of the province in 1850 was about 275,000, and to-day about 547,000; that in the same period Halifax has grown from 20,000 to 65,000; that Sydney, Amherst and Truro, with present populations of 25,000, 11,000 and 8,000 respectively, were villages in 1850; that Yarmouth, which bulked so large in the shipbuilding of the middle of the last century, had then a population of not more than a couple of

thousand people and has now over three times that number; that Pictou and several other small towns have practically stood still; all of which contributes little, if anything, to our present purpose.

We also know that in 1850 the trade of Nova Scotia amounted to \$5,150,000, and is to-day five times that amount. We are told, however, that trade between the Maritime Provinces themselves and between the Maritimes and Ontario and Quebec ceased to be recorded after 1867. It is clear, therefore, that if we need a background we must look for it elsewhere than in the field of trade statistics.

We may find it, possibly, in the history of Nova Scotia, and particularly in the character and environment of its people. Geographically, Nova Scotia was almost as inevitably a maritime country as the British Isles. It is almost an island, at least that part of the province south of the isthmus of Chignecto; and as communication between the communities on either side of the Bay of Fundy, not only before the creation of New Brunswick but for many decades thereafter, was almost entirely by water, the peninsula was for all practical purposes cut off from the rest of the continent. From the earliest times, Nova Scotians were a seafaring people. Their principal towns and settlements were on the coast, as indeed they are to-day. The sea was their thoroughfare from town to town and from village to village. They went to the sea for a large part of their food, and in getting it learned to be daring and expert seamen. As they developed and felt the need of many things not produced at home, they built more ambitious craft than those that sufficed for the local fisheries, and went out into the world to trade their own products for these coveted commodities. They had the timber wherewith to build ships; they had inherited aptitude for designing and constructing them; they had in the products of forest and sea an unlimited supply of things widely needed with which to fill

the holds of their vessels; and they had the right kind of men to navigate them to the markets of the world.

The history of shipbuilding in Nova Scotia carries us back to the earliest days of Acadia, when in 1606 Pontgravé, that adventurous merchant of St. Malo, built and launched two small craft at Port Royal. Nearly a century and a half later, we learn, the first craft, so far as vessels go, was built in the British colony, a brig launched by one John Gorham at Halifax. The pioneer vessel of that famous home of shipbuilding, Yarmouth, was a shallop of 25 tons, launched in 1763. Thirty-five years later, a much more ambitious vessel was built at Pictou, the *Harriet*, a ship of 600 tons burden. During the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, shipbuilding became an important industry in Nova Scotia, when a considerable number of schooners, barques, brigantines and brigs, with an occasional full-rigged ship, were turned out of the shipyards of Yarmouth, Halifax, Liverpool, Lunenburg, Shelburne, Bridgewater, Tatamagouche, and other provincial ports. That was the situation at the beginning of the period here called the Golden Era of Nova Scotia; the age when the wooden sailing ship dominated the life of the colony, and made the name of 'Bluenose' familiar to thousands of alien communities throughout the world; the age which brought to Nova Scotia a degree of prosperity which she had never enjoyed before, and which, from some points of view at least, she has never enjoyed since.

It would not be difficult to reconstruct the Nova Scotia of the early days of the sailing ship from the pages, half whimsical, half serious, of Haliburton's *Sam Slick the Clock-maker*, *Wise Saws and Modern Instances*, *Nature and Human Nature*, and *The Old Judge*, but it could not be done within the boundaries of a magazine article without sacrificing the characteristic spirit of Haliburton. That would describe the Nova Scotian on land. Of the Nova Scotian at sea one learns

many things in the pages of the books mentioned at the beginning of this article.

One incident that is particularly well treated is the story of Nova Scotian privateers in the War of 1812, an important part of the historical background, because in that conflict Bluenose skippers and seamen learned that they were able to give a good account of themselves, sometimes against heavy odds, and the lesson was not lost when they and their descendants entered the fray against keen rivals in shipbuilding and maritime commerce. The important part played by Nova Scotian privateers in the War of 1812 is not generally understood. Mr. Snider points out that more than one-third of all the vessels taken from the United States in that conflict were brought in by provincial privateers. He also corrects the somewhat widespread misconception that the privateer was a modified pirate. Privateers were "armed vessels equipped by private citizens to serve as intelligence craft, sea-scouts, and commerce-destroyers"; and he adds, "The writer has yet to find one instance of cruelty, of personal robbery, of insult to women, or of wanton slaughter, chargeable to the privateersmen of the Maritimes in the War of 1812." So effective was their blockade of the Atlantic coast of the United States that "in two months through the terror of one small schooner, the *Liverpool Packet*, New England was forced to reorganize its transport. Hitherto practically the whole commerce of the northern and eastern states had been carried by coasting vessels. There were no railways, and the roads were bad. After the first swoop of the privateer two hundred waggons had to be employed to move the blockaded goods, and insurance from Boston to New Orleans by water rose to 30 per cent premium. Grass grew on American wharves. Dismantled argosies were replaced by 'four-wheel fleets', slowly plodding along the execrable turnpikes from Boston to Pittsburg. There goods had to be transferred to rafts and

flat-boats, and floated down the Ohio and Mississippi, to reach the southern states." And this amazing result was brought about by the ships and seamen of the despised little Maritime colonies, and particularly of Nova Scotia.

One of Professor MacMechan's true tales of Nova Scotia seamen, in his *There Go the Ships*, carries the story of Blue-nose privateers back to 1798, when the Liverpool (N.S.) ship *Charles Mary Wentworth*, with her Liverpool consorts the *Lord Spencer* and the *Duke of Kent*, harried the Spaniard in the West Indies. It was men of the same stock and the same fine type as the captains of these vessels that half a century or more later were to bring Nova Scotia to the pinnacle of her fame as builders and masters of splendid ships.

Who were these men? Their names, for the most part, would mean nothing to Canadians, or even to Nova Scotians, of this generation. The most famous of all Nova Scotian shipbuilders was Donald McKay, but his wonderful clippers, *Flying Cloud*, *Sovereign of the Seas*, *Lightning*, *Great Republic*, and many others, whose history we read in *Some Famous Sailing Ships and their Builder*, were designed and built for the most part in Boston. William Lawrence, who learned shipbuilding under McKay, built many staunch vessels at Maitland, but his most famous ship was the *W. D. Lawrence*. She was not built until the latter part of the period now under consideration, but when she was launched in 1874 she was, according to Mr. Wallace, "the largest wooden sailing ship in the world," if one excepts the New York ship *Three Brothers*, which was a converted steamer. Donald McKay's *Great Republic* was a bigger ship, but she had been lost off Bermuda in 1872. The designing, building and operating of this huge vessel by William Lawrence "must be reckoned," says Professor MacMechan, "as the most impressive single chapter in the long and splendid story of wooden ships in Nova Scotia."

Of the achievements of such once-famous Nova Scotia shipbuilders and skippers as George W. Churchill of Yarmouth, Ebenezer Cox of Kingsport, J. G. Seely of Yarmouth, George McKenzie of New Glasgow, E. J. Budd of Digby, and Bennett Smith of Windsor, one learns much in Mr. Wallace's two books, *Wooden Ships and Iron Men* and *In the Wake of the Wind Ships*. It may be said of these men, who built ships that were models of craftsmanship, or sailed them with skill and daring that became almost proverbial, that their deeds had much more than a merely local or personal significance; they helped to build up Nova Scotian character, and they became part of the very texture of Nova Scotian history.

The calibre of these men and their ships cannot be better illustrated than in the following incident described by Mr. Wallace. An English barque is sailing the lonely waters of the south seas. A sail is sighted, and draws rapidly nearer.

"Within half an hour with the squalls of wind hounding her along, the stranger came hounding up out of the west into plain sight. She was a big ship—a wooden three-master black-hulled, heavily sparred, and deep-laden—and she was forging through the long green seas with yards almost square and royals and cross-jack furled. The white welter under her bows told of the speed of her onslaught through the water, and the great arcs into which the foot of her bellying sails were curved betrayed the tremendous urge of the wind in their woven fabrics. She rolled steadily, revealing her coppered under-body in a wet gleam of verdigrised green one moment, and, when she listed to port, her white-painted stanchions and rails, scrubbed decks, and a poop largely filled with huge cabin houses.

"A man was scrambling up her main-rigging. The watchers saw him gain the royal yard and run along the foot-ropes of the spar. Loosened canvas bellied forth as he cast the confining gaskets off, and while the sailor clambered up to the eyes of the rigging to overhaul the gear the yard was hoisted and the sail sheeted home and set in a manner which savoured of the smartness of the man-o'-war. This exhibition

of sail-carrying in a heavy breeze, the well-set and well-trimmed sails and yards, the faultlessly stayed masts, and generally spotless appearance of the big ship evoked two kinds of comment from the Liverpool vessel's personnel. The master and mate murmured admiration: 'A down-east Yankee, sure enough. They put the crews through their paces on those packets.' The men in the Britisher's fo'c'sle voiced other opinions: 'A damned nigger-driving Yankee where they works the soul-case out of the hands and let's you rest when you're dead.'

"A ball of bunting went up to the stranger's monkey-gaff. A jerk on the flag halliard broke the spun-yard stop, and, instead of the Stars and Stripes, the red ensign of the British Mercantile Marine flew snapping in the breeze. 'She's an English ship!' piped an apprentice boy on his first voyage. A sour-visaged Aberdeen carpenter favoured him with a commiserating glance and growled: 'English ship? A lot you know about it. She's a Bluenose.'

"Up on the poop, an old shell-back handing code flags was staring pridefully at the big vessel roaring past them. 'I know that ship, sir,' he vouchsafed to master and mate. 'I sailed in her one time. She's a Nova Scotiaman—the *W. D. Lawrence* of Maitland . . . twenty-four hunder' an' fifty tons register. A splendid vessel, sir, and the biggest built in Nova Scotia.'

"The captain nodded. 'Hard packets—these Bluenose ships. Worse than the Yankees, they say.'

"The sailor replied somewhat hesitatingly: 'Well, sir, they have that name, but for a man what is a *sailor* an' knows his book there's nothin' better nor a Bluenose to sail aboard of. For bums, hoboos, an' sojers, sir, they're a floatin' hell. They stand for no shenanigans aboard them packets, sir. One bit o' slack lip or a black look an' the mates'll have ye nocked stiff an' lookin' forty ways for Sunday. They works ye hard, but they feeds you good and treats you good if you does yer work.'

"Flags snapped from the gaffs of the two ships; messages were exchanged . . . A squall of snow blotted out the horizon and the other ship vanished in the whirl of it. 'There she goes,' observed the old shell-back who had served in her; 'a

ramping, stamping, hard-driving Bluenose—wooden ships with iron men commanding them.' ”

These wooden ships of Nova Scotia were built, in the early years, of native tamarac. Vessels built of this wood were extremely buoyant, and so durable that they were still in commission and sound and tight after thirty and even forty years of service. When the supply of tamarac failed, they were built of spruce, with keel of black birch. They were not generally built from naval architect's plans, but from a miniature model made by the builder. After the model had been prepared, and a satisfactory place selected by the water-side, the keel blocks were laid. One cannot, again, do better than quote from Mr. Wallace's books, which are a veritable encyclopaedia of information on Maritime ships and shipbuilding:

“The first part of the vessel, the keel, was then placed on the keel-blocks. This, the backbone of the ship, was made up of huge timbers, “scarphed” or joined together. The foreman then carefully marked on the keel the location of the stem and stern-post and the various frames or ribs. The shipwrights would be engaged building up the stem and stern-post and also the various frames, so that by the time the keel was laid the work of erecting them on the keel could be proceeded with. In a small boat, the frames are in one piece steamed and bent into place, but in large vessels they had to be built up of several pieces of timber sawed or chopped into the necessary shapes and fastened together with dowels and tree-nails.”

And thus the work proceeded.

“When the vessel was planked, the seams were caulked and made watertight. Water was pumped into the hull, and wherever a leak was noticed the place would be chalk-marked and made tight. Deck planking would be laid and caulked; hatch coamings fitted and all deck-houses erected. The ship would then be painted, the rudder hung into place, and all necessary blacksmith work, such as channel plates, stay-bolts, &c., fixed to the hull. The vessel was then ready for launching.”

Nova Scotian shipyards seldom built ships for sale abroad; the rule was to build them for local owners, or the builder built for himself. What shipbuilding meant to these communities in the glorious days of the wooden ship, and the deadening effects of its decline and fall, at least to some of them, is nowhere better illustrated than in Professor MacMechan's picture of Maitland then and now:

"Maitland is the Deserted Village of Nova Scotia. In the hey-day of sail, its shipyards rang from daylight till dark with the clamour of saw and broad-axe and adze on hardwood, of mallet on caulking-iron, of hammer on trenail. At night, nine hundred men would be free to walk about the one long street. Maitland was the home port of famous ships and able captains. Here was built the Great Ship, which made the Lawrence fortune in one voyage, the tragic *Esther Roy*, and many another staunch Bay of Fundy vessel.

Now the hamlet is shrunk and silent. Rarely does a human figure cross the street. The shore farms, and the few remaining big houses, look across the restless, red waters of the Bay, in their portentous ebb and flow, towards Economy and Masstown and Great Village, and beyond, to the blue range of the Cobequids. Sunset over these hills is like a gate opened in the Celestial City letting free the splendour of God."

But let us get away from this rather depressing contrast, and back to the days when the wooden sailing ship was still triumphant, and nowhere more so than in Nova Scotia. The building of the ship has been described; let us follow it out into the open sea. It sails, perhaps, from Yarmouth, with a cargo of lumber for Monte Video. As the vessel leaves her home port, the sails are raised to the roaring shanty:

Blow the man down, bullies, blow the man down.

Way, hay, blow the man down!

Blow the man down, bullies, blow the man down.

O give me some time to blow the man down!

or one or other of the rollicking songs, sung by sailors when pulling on the halliards, which Professor Mackenzie has pre-

served for us in his *Ballads and Sea-Songs from Nova Scotia*. This stout Yarmouth craft is not one of the crack clippers, built for speed, equipped with extra gear and big crew, to carry passengers and high-class freight; she is a cargo ship and carries a big load; yet she makes the equator in a little over twenty days, which is close enough to clipper speed.

Having discharged her cargo, and raised her anchor to the most famous of all capstan shanties,

I shipped on a vessel the other day.
Way Rio!
O, I shipped on a vessel the other day,
And we're bound for the Rio Grande.
Way Rio!
Way Rio!
So fare you well, my bonny brown gal,
For we're bound for the Rio Grande!

the little Bluenose sets out on a long voyage to Ceylon, which she makes in fifty-six days. From there she sails for Calcutta, then to Rangoon, and off to Mauritius, running through an Indian Ocean hurricane. The ship's log records, in the terse language of the sailor, "Blowing a hurricane. Ship all under water. Lost main & mizzen masts. Decks swept." But she is brought safely into port.

These wooden ships of Nova Scotia were found, in the fifties and sixties, in every out-of-the-way port where a cargo was to be delivered or picked up. One reads of Nova Scotian ships at Rio or Callao or Pabellon de Pica, Nagasaki or the Sea of Okhotsk, Formosa or Barbados or Shanghai, Flores or San Diego, Juan Fernandez or the Marquesas, Galapagos, Raratonga or Easter Island; the very names spell romance. The cargoes were not usually so romantic—grain from Philadelphia to Hull, coal from Newcastle to San Francisco, guano from the Chinchas to Bristol—but, again, the stories of some of the voyages are as fascinating as *Roderick Random*, *Midshipman Easy*, *Moby Dick*, or *Two Years before the Mast*.

One reads, for instance, of Calvin Valpey of Yarmouth with fourteen men setting forth nonchalantly for the gold-

fields of California in 1850, in his 69-ton schooner the *Eagle*. He made the passage in 159 days, braving the storms of two oceans, not to mention the dreaded Straits of Magellan. He was but one of many who took the sea road to Sacramento. "The faring forth of these intrepid adventurers," says Mr. Wallace, "in such small craft on a long voyage is testimony to the calibre of the Canadians who made the venture. Even in those early days no land was too distant nor any sea too stormy or hazardous for these Bluenose seamen and gold-seekers to attempt to reach or navigate. From Quebec to Cape Sable—the far-flung limits of Canada's Atlantic coast line—the seafaring spirit was strong in the hearts of the people, and the rounding of the stormy Horn, or threading the storm-harried and tortuous defiles of Magellan's Straits in mere cockle-shells, failed to daunt their courage or retard their enterprise."

While some Nova Scotians sailed to California to try their luck in the gold fields, others, with the restless spirit of the race, wandered half around the globe to see if New Zealand offered a more attractive home than the land of the Bluenose. One hears of a Cape Breton parson building a brig, filling her with his little flock, and sailing away to the antipodes; and of the following news item in a Wellington paper:

"We are informed by Captain Scott, the inward pilot, that the brigantine which has been for the last three or four days anchored off the Heads has proceeded to Otago. Her name is the *Emulous*, Captain Cumming, from Halifax, N.S. There are 53 passengers on board, and the vessel is owned by the captain and 11 others. All on board, with their wives and families, came out to settle in New Zealand. They had a fair passage of 103 days to the Auckland Heads."

Although we are dealing here with the wooden ships of Nova Scotia, a word may be said about one of the most famous of the New Brunswick vessels, the *Marco Polo*, built in

Courtenay Bay, St. John, in 1850. She was one of the largest of the St. John ships—those “Tall ships of St. John” of which Charles Roberts sings in one of his memorable poems—and, although built as a cargo-carrier, was a vessel of unusual speed. In Liverpool she was sold to the Black Ball Line of Australian Packets, and in 1852, under the command of the famous ‘Bully’ Forbes, left for Melbourne with over nine hundred emigrants. Before sailing Forbes boasted that he would be back at Liverpool within six months, and his words were received with derision. The *Marco Polo* arrived at Melbourne in 68 days, beating the steamer *Australia* by a week, and she was back in the Mersey well within the time he had predicted.

It is said of Forbes that when the frightened passengers urged him to shorten sail in a strong gale, he replied, “Hell or Melbourne”; and made this characteristic boast as he began the second voyage to Australia, “Ladies and gentlemen, last trip I astonished the world with the sailing of this ship. This trip I intend to astonish God Almighty!” Forbes afterwards commanded Donald McKay’s clipper ship *Lightning*, sailing her from Boston to Liverpool in less than fourteen days. On one day’s run the ship made 436 miles, which, it is said, has never been equalled under sail. His tombstone bears the legend, “Master of the famous *Marco Polo*.” Many years later the ship was taken off the passenger trade, and degenerated into a guano carrier. Off the coast of Chile a large shark was found to be following the ship. A shark-hook was dropped overboard, and the fish finally landed on the deck. Here it showed fight, and finally disappeared through the cabin skylight. The sequel, as told in *In the Wake of the Wind-Ships*, is not without interest:

“A sixteen-foot shark is no light weight. This one crashed on top of the cabin table and smashed it to pieces. The flailing tail stove in some of the cabin panelling and wrecked other

pieces of furniture. The captain, mate and steward were aroused from slumber by the commotion and rushed from their berths. One can imagine their amazement on finding a live shark in possession of the cabin.

"In rushed the carpenter, armed with his axe. He made a vigorous swing with the tool to cut off the shark's tail, but the monster whirled aside and the axe-blade cut deep into the cabin floor. In the battle between Chips and the shark the floor was sadly mutilated. At last, with the cabin a complete wreck, the floors and walls stained with slime and blood, the brute was finally subdued and dragged out through the fore-cabin and on the main-deck."

Some of the wooden ships of Nova Scotia were engaged in the whale-fishery, but this belongs for the most part to the latter part of the eighteenth century. Between 1825 and 1850, however, several vessels sailed out of Halifax for the whale-fishery of the South Seas. Some of these were built and owned by Samuel Cunard, the same man who became one of the owners of the *Royal William*, built at Quebec in 1831, and the first steamship to cross the ocean entirely by steam power. Out of this daring experiment grew the British and North American Royal Mail Steamship Company, afterwards known as the Cunard Line.

An attempt has been made in the foregoing pages to tell the story of the wooden sailing ship of Nova Scotia, and to suggest its influence upon the life of that province. The time has now come to describe its decline and fall, the inevitable result of the appearance of the iron hull and then of the steamship. Steel and steam won the victory over wood and wind. The rather depressing valedictory cannot be told better than in the words of Frederick William Wallace:

"The swift disappearance of the British North American square-rigger during the 'nineties and the early years of the twentieth century holds something of the tragic in the manner of their passing. The building of large ships ceased as though the art had been struck with a blight. Owners, no longer

reaping the dividends of yore, and frowning on high insurances, and low freights, disposed of their craft for what they could get, and the greater part of the existing Canadian merchant marine went under the Norwegian flag. These Vikings managed, for a time, to run them at a profit until their butt-ends started and they went to pieces in a gale. The old grey North Atlantic became the graveyard of hundreds of former Bluenose packets and the liner skippers breathed anathema upon their derelict remains.

"Within a decade, a vast fleet vanished 'like snow off a fence,' as one old Bluenose skipper remarked. St. John, Yarmouth, Windsor, Maitland, Pictou—port-names once familiar to sailormen of all nationalities—no longer graced the sterns of tall-sparred, black-hulled wooden windjammers which used to shine 'like the morning stars' in their trim and well-kept orderliness. In the swift transition to foreign flags they degenerated into Western Ocean 'drabs', short-sparred, unkempt, and with a windmill pump thrusting its ugly wings up between the main and the mizzen. Their ultimate and usual end, 'abandoned at sea', seemed a fitting release from the degradation into which they had drifted.

"Square-rigged ships, barques and barquentines of 500 tons and over, totalling between three and four thousand sail, are a mighty fleet for a comparatively insignificant nation to send forth in the course of some ninety years. Such was Canada's contribution to the deep-water marine, while her fleet of smaller sailing craft was numerically greater still and seemingly as myriad as the stars. A century saw them come and go."

So came and went the Golden Age of Sail.

CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PHYSICS

BY J. K. ROBERTSON

A CASUAL glance at a portrait reproduced in a newspaper, or at any good half-tone illustration in a modern book, reveals no abrupt discontinuity as the eye passes from one part of the picture to another. There are contrasts of light and shade, it is true, contrasts which may be as marked as the white of a man's collar against the black of his coat. The whole effect, however, is to convey to the observer an impression not strikingly different from that produced by the original object. A more careful examination, made with the aid of a magnifying glass, shows that every part of the illustration is made up of a large number of small isolated dots. The man's collar may appear white, but actually each little piece of white has numerous small black dots uniformly distributed over it. What seems to be continuous is essentially discontinuous.

A steel plate on the outside of an ocean liner effectively prevents water passing through it into the hold. To all appearances it is a continuous, solid, substantial substance. A careful examination of its constitution, spread over many years and made by many minds, reveals the plate as a structure consisting of myriads of small particles. The apparently continuous proves to be discontinuous.

If a piece of steel plate is allowed to drop from a height to the ground, it is a simple matter to calculate its velocity at any instant in its downward path, and to show that it moves faster and faster the farther it falls. In mathematical language, while the body is falling its velocity is said to be a

continuous function of the time. In solving this and similar problems the physicist makes use of what are called differential equations and of the calculus, that branch of mathematics which postulates continuously varying quantities. Equations of the same kind accurately describe many other phenomena, such as the propagation of light in free space, and, in this particular example, lead one to conclude that some property of light—what property need not here concern us—varies continuously as we pass from place to place or from one instant to another.

The natural philosopher, therefore, in his attempt to reduce the world of substance about him to law and order makes use of ideas in which both continuity and discontinuity play an important part. Many problems have received a satisfactory explanation only in terms of an atomicity of some kind; in the solution of many others continuity is an essential factor. It is the purpose of this article to discuss the part that continuity and discontinuity have played in the development of physics, as well as to indicate something of the amazing position to which the physicist has been led as a result of recent theories. At the outset it may not be amiss to point out that in his investigation the physicist accepts without question the objective reality of things about him. Their attributes, in so far as he is concerned, are found by sense impressions and by measurement. To the philosopher he leaves the task of analysing "the process by which the external world of physics is transformed into a world of familiar acquaintance in human consciousness. . . ."

I.

That matter is ultimately discontinuous has been postulated from times that almost antedate history. Going back no farther than the period of the early Greek philosophers, we find Empedocles making use of particles with "certain

openings between them;" Leucippus and his more famous pupil Democritus giving us atoms separated by empty space; and Philolaus, the Pythagorean, ascribing a definite geometrical form to the elementary particles of the primary substances, earth, air, fire and water. But, although in these early views we undoubtedly find the germ of ideas developed centuries later, the conceptions of these pioneers were more metaphysical than physical and need not here detain us. Belief in the existence of atoms on the part of a modern scientist must rest on experimental evidence obtained by measurement. That does not mean that we must actually *see* an atom and measure its size, but rather that phenomena which can be observed and measured must be in harmony with predictions based on the existence of atoms, or adequately explained only in terms of their existence. We must, therefore, pass over Aristotelian, post-Aristotelian, and scholastic philosophy and enter the seventeenth century before we can expect to find much of real value from the point of view of this paper. In that century it is significant that, while the discovery by the great Newton of the gravitational attraction between every two particles of matter in the universe gave a marked impetus to the discontinuous view of matter as well as to corpuscular views of other physical phenomena, his contemporary, Leibnitz, did not believe in the existence of atoms. Leibnitz, to whom with Newton we owe the discovery of continuously varying quantities, believed that there was a "grand and beautiful law of nature," called by him the law of continuity. According to this law, nothing could take place by leaps, while infinite subdivision must be possible in all classes of phenomena. Therefore, says Leibnitz, "we wrongly give limits to the division and subtlety, as well as to the richness and beauty of nature, when we posit atoms and the vacuum." But Leibnitz' arguments were directed against the early and more metaphysical theory of atomism, not against a modern atomic

theory, and, moreover, neither his evidence nor his methods were those of the modern scientist.

At the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century, Dalton gave the first expression of a modern atomic theory. It is important to realize that this theory of the existence of elemental particles, each of a definite mass, followed quantitative investigations of the manner in which substances combine chemically. It was an hypothesis designed to explain observed facts, and throughout the nineteenth century evidence in its favour became more and more conclusive. Only a passing reference need be made to one or two outstanding examples. "The fact that gases conduct themselves in the same way under pressure and temperature changes" was explained in 1811 by Avagadro (and independently by Ampère) on the assumption that equal volumes of gases at the same temperature and pressure contain the same number of ultimate particles. When Avagadro's hypothesis was first announced its great importance was not recognized, but later in the century, when the kinetic theory of gases was elaborated, it was seen to be one of the many deductions of that fruitful theory.

Avagadro's particle was the molecule, that group of two or more atoms, held together by strong forces, which normally exists as the smallest entity of any substance. Now according to the kinetic theory, in a gas (and to a less degree in a liquid), there is a random distribution of molecules in constant zig-zag motion, hitting and jostling each other as well as the walls of the containing vessel. By means of such a conception the nineteenth century physicist was able to show that the pressure of a gas was due to the bombardment of the walls by the moving molecules; that a rise in temperature corresponded to their increased kinetic energy; in fact, he could deduce numerous experimental laws so readily that belief in the reality of the atom and the molecule received general acceptance.

Spectacular evidence of the atomic theory was provided when Perrin showed that one could actually *see* by simple experimental means the movement of colloidal particles as a result of irregular bombardment by the molecules of the liquid in which these particles were suspended.

How long the atom was considered either to be “uncut” or “uncuttable” is difficult to state. According to Dalton, “we can as well undertake to incorporate a new planet in the solar system or to annihilate one there, as to create or destroy an atom of hydrogen.” As far as the greater part of the work of the nineteenth century is concerned, the atom was an ultimate uncut unit. The amazing thing, however, is that belief in the atom received its greatest support when, towards the end of the century, evidence of the existence of sub-atomic particles was obtained.

II.

When an electric current traverses a tube containing a gas or a vapour at low pressure, the accompanying luminosity is frequently both striking and beautiful. As the science of electricity developed and the technique of air pumps improved, it was natural that this phenomenon—the conduction of electricity through gases—should receive careful investigation. Seldom has any branch of research brought more adequate rewards for it led to the discovery of the atomicity of electricity, to the proof of the existence of sub-atomic particles, to the discovery of x-rays and, indirectly, of radioactivity. With the first of these two we are especially concerned.

When the pressure of the conducting gas is within suitable limits, a beam of what are called cathode rays proceeds in straight lines from the negative end of the tube. For a long time the nature of these rays was a question of debate, one school considering them a kind of ether waves, another looking on them as a flight of corpuscles. In other words, there was a continuous and a discontinuous explanation of the pheno-

menon. Finally, as a result of the work of such men as Schuster, Wiechert, Perrin and, preeminently, J. J. Thomson, it was shown that these rays are corpuscular in nature, that each particle has a negative charge of electricity, and that the mass of each is always the same small fraction of that of a hydrogen atom. The atom had been cut, and one wonders if the spirit of Leibnitz would have leaped with joy had it, perchance, in 1897 read these words of J. J. Thomson: "On this view we have in the cathode ray matter in a new state, a state in which the sub-division of matter is carried very much farther than in the ordinary gaseous state: a state in which all matter . . . is of one and the same kind; this matter being the substance from which all chemical elements are built up."

This negatively charged particle of sub-atomic dimensions, a common constituent of all atoms, is now designated an electron. Of the cumulative evidence in favour of this view of the atom which marked the closing years of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, only a passing mention can be made. Suffice it to say that the phenomenon of radioactivity not only found in this view of the structure of matter a satisfactory interpretation but also had much to add.

When the twentieth century opened, therefore, belief in the atom which, etymologically speaking, was no longer an atom, had become, one might almost say, a cherished conviction of the physicist. The atomicity of matter had been verified to an amazing extent and the electron reigned supreme as the ultimate constituent. At the same time the atomicity of electricity itself had been established for numerous experiments had shown that the electronic charge was a unit of which all charges were exact multiples.

III.

Investigation at the beginning of the twentieth century brought to light a still more remarkable atomicity, whose

significance is not yet fully realized. To appreciate something of its nature it is well to revert for a moment to the seventeenth century, when the nature of light was a much discussed question. A continuous school including in its numbers such men as Huygens, Descartes and Hooke, favoured a wave theory, whereas in the view of Newton and many of his contemporaries light was a flight of corpuscles. On the one theory, when light from a small luminous source falls on a screen, the screen is uniformly illuminated; on the other, if our eyes were sufficiently sensitive, it would show bright spots where the corpuscles hit, with darkness in between. In the latter case, apparently continuous brightness is observed for somewhat the same reason as is applicable to the half-tone illustration and its fine dots.

For many years experimental facts gave no decided evidence in favour of either of these theories, and it was not until the nineteenth century that the discovery of the phenomenon of interference so altered the situation that it ultimately forced the acceptance of a wave theory. Throughout the century experimental evidence in support of this theory accumulated to such an extent that in 1889 we find a scientist of the calibre of Hertz making the statement, "from the point of view of human beings, the wave theory is a certainty." When Maxwell showed that light was an electromagnetic phenomenon and that its propagation was accurately described by differential equations, the continuous nature of light seemed to have been established as firmly as a house that is built on rock. But even apparently impregnable fortresses may sometimes be shaken, if not altogether destroyed, and the twentieth century saw the birth of another and a discontinuous conception of light.

In the year 1900 Planck announced that a certain simple physical fact for which a satisfactory explanation had hitherto been lacking, found a ready interpretation if a discontinuous

emission of radiant energy were postulated. According to Planck, energy was emitted in little bundles or discrete units called *quanta*. Revolutionary as this conception was—for, in certain aspects, it was a flat contradiction of hitherto accepted ideas—it did not at first startle the scientific world, nor did the “heuristic” suggestion of Einstein in 1905 that light quanta might possibly maintain their identity during propagation fare much better. Before 1914, however, evidence of such a nature accumulated that physicists became convinced that, in radiant energy as in other fields, it was necessary to deal with an atomicity. Quantum ideas alone were able to explain the important laws governing the emission of electrons from metals on which light was incident, while, to mention one other example, by means of them, Bohr in 1913 inaugurated work which has revolutionized the study of spectra.

Here, then, was a new kind of discontinuity and one, moreover, which introduced a perplexing dilemma into modern physics. If one confines one’s attention to phenomena such as interference and diffraction, the wave theory with its continuous wave-front is both satisfactory and necessary. Numerous other facts, however, can only be explained in the light of a discontinuous quantum theory, whose nature is such that one is strongly reminded of the light corpuscles of Newton. One of the most striking examples of the corpuscular nature of light is provided by what is known as the Compton effect. According to this, when a quantum of radiant energy encounters a free electron a quantum of slightly less energy goes off in one direction, the electron itself in another. The significant point in so far as our discussion is concerned, lies in the fact that if this encounter is treated, at least in many respects, just like a collision between two particles of matter, one can account quantitatively for the observed phenomena. We conclude, then, that light has a dual aspect; it has the nature both of waves and of corpuscles.

IV.

The physicist is then confronted with a dilemma arising out of this dual character of light. A scientist, however, is not afraid of a dilemma, for, grasping both horns, he at once endeavours to wrest from nature secrets yet denied him. Apparent contradictions sometimes imply the lack of a larger outlook by means of which conflicting views may be shown to be but two different aspects of the same co-ordinating principle. The search for something more fundamental which will reconcile diverse views has been one of the outstanding recent problems in physics, and there are many indications that the solution is forthcoming.

To obtain even a general idea of the nature of this new work, it is necessary to realize that in the early development of the quantum theory there was a strange mixture of adherence and aversion to the classical mechanics. To give a single example, the emission of light from a radiating atom was considered to be the result of the jump of an electron from one state to another, subject to no known laws of mechanics while, before and after the jump, the path of the electron was governed entirely by ordinary Newtonian mechanics. Difficulties of this kind multiplied to such an extent that it became evident that quantum ideas must invade the field of mechanics itself, and that a new system must be discovered of such a nature that it allows for discontinuities in fine-scale phenomena, while at the same time it is the equivalent of classical Newtonian mechanics for bodies of ordinary dimensions. While progress has been made with more than one such system of so-called quantum mechanics, by far the most promising seems to be that designated *wave mechanics*.

Wave mechanics, in common with other systems of this type, is symbolic in character and hence, for any degree of exactness, requires mathematical expression. It makes at least one prediction, however, which has been tested by com-

paratively simple experimental means and has led to significant results. According to this, every mass particle is associated with a system of waves. On this view it is possible for electrons, for example, to act like waves, and experiments by Davisson and Germer in the United States, and by Thomson in Great Britain, have amply confirmed the truth of this conception. We are forced to conclude that an electron, at least sometimes, is no longer a sharply defined discontinuous entity, but, to quote one writer, is to be regarded as "a singularity of a pulsation which for any given time is in the same phase throughout space." Through the discontinuous—the atom, the electron—we have been led to the continuous. The new mechanics, which is providing a satisfactory solution of problems relating to microcosmic elements, while it is the equivalent of Newtonian mechanics for the gross bodies usually encountered, tells us that we cannot push atomicity too far. At any rate when an attempt is made to locate the element too exactly, it becomes somewhat elusive. Ultimate particles lose some of their discontinuous features and acquire a certain nebulosity.

Stated differently, the new mechanics has shown that the more accurately one attempts to define the velocity of a particle, the less accurately can its position be located—which amounts to saying that a particle cannot have simultaneously both position and velocity. This means that the physicist cannot predict the exact behaviour of an individual ultimate element, such as an electron or a light corpuscle. No measurement of either is possible without interaction between the electron and a quantum of radiation. But this very act alters the conditions it is desired to examine, and so, as Eddington puts it, "the information is out of date even as we obtain it." We must conclude that the interaction is a minimum which cannot be analysed, and hence that we have reached a stage where the law of causality ceases to apply. Now the

law of cause and effect was for generations one of those basic principles which the physicist never dreamed of questioning, and determinism was implicitly, if not explicitly, accepted. If we cannot at present analyse every operation, more and more refined observations will enable us to do so, and the consequences we can always deduce—so reasoned the deterministic physicist. But the examination of the behaviour of the *individual* of the microcosmic world has changed all that. There are things which cannot be measured and cannot be known. The future, therefore, can never be exactly predicted, because an exact knowledge of the present is impossible. Physics has then lost its deterministic character. All this, it is to be noted, arises from the impossibility of making “definite predictions as to what the individual will do next.” When one passes to the aggregation of individuals composing those bodies with which we ordinarily have to deal, the probability of predicting the behaviour becomes so great as to approach certainty, “and all the successful predictions hitherto attributed to causality are traceable to this.”

It would seem, then, as if we had reached a stage where it is written, “thus far and no farther.” For finite beings perhaps that was bound to be the case. Leibnitz’ conception of infinite subdivision is possible as an abstraction, but the physicist can make no abstractions which cannot be revealed or tested by measurements. If, then, he has been led to a stage where he sees the impossibility of further, that is, more nearly ultimate information being revealed by observation and measurement, for him what is beyond has no meaning. His journey has brought him through discontinuity after discontinuity, until a continuity is reached that cannot be analysed. He can know only in part and, in the final stage, must rest content with a description of the universe in mathematical symbols. Such is the position with which the physicist of to-day is confronted. To the philosopher can be left its philosophic significance.

THE TESTING OF HERBERT HOOVER

BY TOM KING

NOT long ago a philosophic author of international reputation, addressing the high school students of Washington, discussed the ever-recurring question whether mankind in general, and especially that portion of mankind which is domiciled within the territorial limits of the United States, was advancing to a higher plane of culture and civilization or was slipping back to a lower. He marshalled the arguments on either side with acrobatic agility. So steadily did he hold the scales, and so evenly were the arguments distributed, that it seemed for a time as though the weight of a feather on either side would tip the beam. In rendering final judgment, however, this philosopher predicated his conviction of an optimistic outlook upon the fact that Herbert Hoover had been elected President of the United States. This statement was not regarded by his audience as an intrusion of party politics; it merely voiced a widespread impression throughout the United States that a man of unusual gifts, almost a superman, had been placed at the head of the nation.

Higher hopes never clustered about an incoming President. More than one presidential election has turned upon a single issue, and little more was expected of the successful candidate than that he would carry out the mandate of the people. That accomplished, nothing more was expected and little more was forthcoming. Doubtless having some of his predecessors in mind, President Coolidge observed:

In the higher ranges of public service men appear to come forward to perform a certain duty. When it is performed their work is done. They usually find it

impossible to readjust themselves in the thought of the people so as to pass on successfully to the solution of new public problems.

There have been presidents of exceptional ability, such as Lincoln, Roosevelt and Wilson, but they have demonstrated their ability while in office and can scarcely be said to have been elected because of their peculiar qualifications. More than once the American democracy has been open to the reproach of being satisfied with the second best. Military heroes who were destitute of any political training or experience have been placed in the White House. While the cordial goodwill of the people has always gone out to the newly inaugurated President he has never, until now, been regarded as having qualities that placed him preëminently above his fellow-citizens. At the conclusion of his term the average President has been well satisfied with a popular verdict to the effect that he might have done a good deal worse. Upon the whole, the mediocre Presidents really did better than might have been expected. Woodrow Wilson once said that every President either grew or swelled: most of them have grown.

Now, Mr. Hoover is unique in this, that he is already fully grown. Many of his fellow-citizens long ago decided that he, above all other men, was qualified to be President of the United States. Thousands voted for him in the Republican presidential primaries of 1920, and as many more voted for him in the Democratic presidential primaries of the same year. This indicated not so much bi-partisan as non-partisan support. At that time Mr. Hoover was not a partisan. He had lived for forty-five years without casting a vote except at a municipal election. He was Republican by birth and early environment, but the staunch supporter of Woodrow Wilson and the League of Nations. In 1920 he virtually supported the Democratic platform and the Republican candidate, for in a manifesto issued by himself and others it was declared

that the only way to get the United States into the League of Nations was to make Warren G. Harding President.

Mr. Hoover voted for Mr. Harding in 1920, and served as Secretary of Commerce for seven and a half years in the Harding and Coolidge administrations. He ran his department in a thoroughly efficient and non-partisan way. The Republican national convention named him for President in 1928 in response to an overwhelming demand from the people that he be given the nomination.

It may be objected that the result of the presidential election did not hinge upon the popular conception of Mr. Hoover's ability or qualifications. Any Protestant prohibitionist, we are told, could have defeated Al. Smith; that it was Smith's personality, affiliations, views on prohibition, and religious belief which challenged the interest of the electorate. This is true, but it does not tell the entire story. The Republican politicians in charge of the national convention knew that Smith would be the Democratic candidate and would be defeated, no matter whom they nominated. They reluctantly acquiesced in Hoover's nomination, because the great majority of the delegates to the convention were pledged and instructed to vote for Hoover by a popular mandate they dared not disregard. These same politicians took charge of the presidential campaign but did not capitalize the asset they possessed in Mr. Hoover's hold upon the people. He made no effort personally to direct the campaign. It must be admitted that, inexperienced in politics, in some respects he made a disappointing candidate. He had none of the arts and graces of the popular politician. He was as efficient as a steam driven pile driver and as devoid of personal magnetism. He would neither lift his eyes nor his voice when addressing a monster meeting during the campaign in Boston. He had no cheery smile nor hearty handclasp, and was as barren of the small talk which makes up casual conversation

as Mr. Coolidge himself. Still, the people retained their belief in his great ability and high purpose. Even his continuous residence abroad for more than twenty years, which would have been fatal to any other candidate, did not militate against him. Now that he is elected we are to see whether his really great qualifications for many other undertakings fit him for the presidency. He is to be subjected to the acid test. What does he think? What can he do? What will he accomplish?

A Canadian reader is naturally interested in knowing the attitude of the new President toward the foreign policy of the United States. He would probably be more interested than the average American reader who has some fixed ideas about foreign nations unenlightened by any vital interest or accurate information. This every-day American citizen is opposed to debt cancellation, or even debt reduction, in respect to the allied nations. He is inclined to favour severe restrictions upon immigration and on the importation of foreign goods which come into competition with domestic products. He believes in the "Monroe Doctrine" although he would be sadly puzzled were he asked to interpret or define it. He desires peace but has occasional spasms of panic over the possibility of aggression by some combination of European powers. He feels no hostility toward foreign nations, desires to expand export trade, but is utterly unable to comprehend why any other nation should resent anything done by the United States. He regards Canada as a neighbour not as a foreign nation, but is impatient of any complaint from the Canadians about the United States tariff, which he considers a purely domestic concern. He pictures Latin America as more or less under the suzerainty of the United States and takes the same languid interest in South America that he takes in Porto Rico or the Philippines. Toward the rest of the world his attitude is one of indifference except in so far as

he is consciously or subconsciously influenced by ancestral origin or traditions. He is inclined to acquiesce in anything the President may do in the field of foreign affairs because the conduct of foreign affairs (subject to the Senate's share in the treaty-making power) is exclusively the business of the President.

It will therefore be seen that a strong, resourceful President could materially alter the foreign policy of the United States without much objection from the people. That he seldom does so is due to the fact that he is apt to have no particular views of his own and gives a free hand to the Secretary of State, who is in turn guided by the permanent officials of his department. The activities of that department are seldom inquired into by congress unless they involve the use of the military and naval forces of the United States. But in the case of Mr. Hoover it happens that the President for the time being is possessed of intimate knowledge of foreign countries. His adventurous life has led him to England, Russia, Egypt, China, Australia. His position during the war, and even more in the post-war period, brought him into touch with nearly all the governments of Europe and face to face with the public men directing these governments. For more than twenty years Mr. Hoover lived in foreign lands, making only occasional flying visits to the United States. His two children were born abroad. He might therefore be trusted to have a cosmopolitan outlook.

There is little doubt that he has this outlook but it was impossible during the campaign to convict him of it. No utterance made by Mr. Hoover since he entered the Harding Cabinet in 1921 could be discovered to which the most ardent Nationalist or the most strenuous one-hundred-per-cent-American could take exception. He had, more than any other man in public life, insisted upon the fantastically high tariff duties incorporated into the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act. He

had been conspicuous and outspoken in denouncing all proposals for cancellation of the inter-allied debts. He had publicly recanted his one-time faith in the League of Nations. It was the fashion among his critics at one time to refer to Mr. Hoover as "the Englishman," and there were public references to Sir 'Erbert 'Oover, and his alleged willingness at one time to accept a peerage. Yet it was impossible for his opponents to produce any evidence that Mr. Hoover had a too friendly feeling toward the Mother Country.

A presidential candidate, however, must not wear his heart upon his sleeve and Mr. Hoover was for years, and is to-day, a prospective candidate for President. There can be no doubt that the British Empire has long intrigued his imagination. England for years was his second home, and he is to-day better acquainted with the streets of London than he is with the streets of New York. Could Mr. Hoover not be an American he would certainly choose to be an Englishman. It is a fair surmise that he enters upon his administration entirely free from anti-British prejudice.

Upon the two subjects that might cause friction between Great Britain and the United States Mr. Hoover's views are well known. He would like to see a general reduction of naval armaments and some agreement between Great Britain and the United States respecting their limitation. In this he is not peculiar. The sticking point has been the American demand for "parity." This is interpreted by the man on the street to mean absolute equality. He would have a hard-and-fast agreement as to the number and character of the ships which are to constitute the British and American navies respectively. He would have two nations with widely divergent needs build navies in all respects identical. The naval experts further muddle the situation by assuming that the two navies are some day to destroy each other in a fratricidal conflict. There is reason to believe that President Hoover

approaches the problem from a more practical standpoint. He evidently desires an understanding based upon the assumption that either nation in reckoning her naval needs can leave out of consideration the naval strength of the other.

The President of course is a trade expansionist. He believes that the economic progress of the United States will almost entirely depend upon the growth of her export trade. He would, therefore, in any case of emergency, contend for the so-called "freedom of the sea." Neither naval limitation, however, nor the century-old controversy about the inviolability of neutral property at sea is likely to become acute during the next four or even the next eight years. Perhaps Mr. Hoover, like a good many of his fellow-citizens of British stock, believes that Anglo-American relations will never be improved by talking about them. The fundamental fact is that in any great convulsion or world-wide cataclysm the English-speaking peoples of the world would be found fighting on the same side. American citizens of continental birth see this more clearly than we do.

That Mr. Hoover has the friendliest feeling toward Canada no one can doubt. In advocating higher tariff duties upon agricultural products he probably did not have especially in mind the importation of meats and dairy products from the Dominion. When duties affecting Canada came under review there is every reason to believe that Mr. Hoover used his influence against making those duties excessive. He is on record as saying that a single homesteader in the Canadian west is worth more to American trade than a city block in Europe or an entire village in Asia. However, it is quite possible that the President is more solicitous about Canadian products because of his anxiety to bring about an international agreement for the construction of the St. Lawrence Deep Waterways. He is heart and soul for the canalization of the St. Lawrence. There are difficulties to

overcome but he is a man accustomed to success. If he fails to negotiate a treaty for the construction of the St. Lawrence Waterway it will be one of the greatest disappointments of his life.

Turning from the foreign to the domestic field, we find the new President grappling with prohibition enforcement, the tariff and farm relief. In his inaugural address he sounded as the keynote of his administration the observance and enforcement of law. To this subject he has returned in several public addresses, and indeed he has declared disregard of law to be the most serious menace to the Republic. With a great deal of the lawlessness apparently prevailing in some of the large American cities and the unsatisfactory administration of criminal justice in the various states, the federal government, however, has no concern. Crime and criminal law are subjects of federal jurisdiction in Canada, but in the United States this jurisdiction is largely reserved to the states. The same act may be criminal in one state and not criminal in another state. The state judges and prosecuting attorneys are not responsible to the federal government but are elected by the people of the localities which they serve. The apprehension and punishment of murderers, thieves, and other criminals are obligations cast upon the various states and not upon the national government. There are federal offences such as counterfeiting, the misuse of the mail, smuggling and kindred offences against the revenue which are cognizable by federal courts and call for action by the federal Department of Justice. Until the passage of the national prohibition law the federal courts of the entire country probably handled fewer criminal cases than a single police magistrate in New York or Chicago. Hence, the President's clarion call for law enforcement, except so far as it may exert moral influence upon the state courts, is little more than a pledge to enforce rigidly the prohibition act.

During the past ten years three presidents have tried their hands at enforcing prohibition. It may be said that neither Mr. Wilson nor Mr. Harding were convinced that enforcement was feasible. They must be credited, however, with doing their best, and no one certainly can complain that Mr. Coolidge was in any way derelict. The net result of their combined efforts has by no means been the ghastly failure which a great people imagine, but neither has it been a glittering success. If Mr. Hoover demonstrates that prohibition can be, and is in fact, enforced in the United States, his achievement will be a milestone in the history of civilization. If prohibition can be enforced in the United States it certainly can also be enforced in any and every country, and the success of the American experiment might league all the nations of the world into a war upon alcohol comparable with their united efforts to destroy the traffic in narcotic drugs. Should he fail, the situation would be serious, because in the United States there is no substitute for prohibition. The eighteenth amendment cannot be repealed, and there is nothing to indicate that the people desire to have it repealed. The controversy now raging is over the question whether they really desire to have it enforced.

Tariff and farm relief are more or less blended, especially as the proposition to use part of the revenue derived from the tariff for the payment of export bounties upon agricultural products comes into view. The farm relief bill which Mr. Hoover champions seeks to stimulate the coöperative movement among the farmers of the country. It derives support undoubtedly from the success of the Canada Wheat Pool. Anyone can see that if the Hoover plan succeeds the world price for wheat may be materially advanced by team work between a future wheat stabilization corporation in the United States and a future wheat pool or wheat pools in Canada.

But all this more or less skirts the fringe of a problem so

complex and intricate that even a superman might shrink from attempting its solution. The coöperative movement cannot, in this generation, be successfully extended to cotton, the principal export of the United States and a crop upon which the people of many states rely for their very existence. Tobacco, although a crop of great value and one of the leading exports of the country, has not been successfully handled by pools, despite the fact that many have been formed and some have been managed with ability. The tobacco buyers of the world are few in number. Corporations in Great Britain and the United States, more or less interlocked in ownership, constitute the only buyers, representing, as they do, not only their own shareholders but the countries of continental Europe in which tobacco is a government monopoly. These few buyers, closely united in interest, prefer to have the producers disorganized and disunited. They can and do disintegrate pools by paying better prices to non-members of the pools. Both cotton and tobacco are largely grown in the southern states where racial differences and economic handicaps make their sales through coöperative marketing associations extremely difficult. Corn, perhaps the biggest crop of the United States, does not lend itself to coöperative handling because the individual grower usually decides for himself whether to sell his corn or turn it into beef and pork for his own account. Even the wheat crop of the United States is much more difficult to handle coöperatively than is the wheat crop of Canada. In Canada the important wheat growing provinces are contiguous. The wheat is nearly all of the hard spring variety. The bulk of it is sold in Liverpool and sales are made on grades approved by the government. In the United States wheat growers are widely scattered over twenty-seven states. There are many varieties of wheat, and sales are largely made on sample rather than on grade. The wheat itself varies from a hard spring wheat comparable with the Canadian output to a low grade

soft wheat which, by the way, is the wheat mainly exported. The bulk of the crop is required for domestic consumption.

Hence any plan of farm relief which is predicated upon the theory that the producers of the basic crops belong to coöperative marketing associations rests upon an unsound foundation. The difficulty is not that the American farmer fails to receive the world price for his products but that he apparently cannot survive unless in some way he receives a higher price. There seems to be reasonable ground for the contention that the farmer in the United States cannot sell his products at the world price because he must pay an artificially high price for everything he uses and consumes. What the exact purchasing value of the farmer's dollar is may be open to dispute. The United States Department of Agriculture says that since 1920 it has ranged from 65 to 90 cents. Certainly to-day it is not over 80 cents. We do not need to enter into any discussion of the fiscal question to maintain the proposition that a man who sells everything in the open market and buys everything in a closed market must suffer considerable loss. The advocates of a high protective tariff, including Mr. Hoover, contend that high tariff duties upon agricultural products benefit the farmer in the same way as high protective duties upon manufactured products benefit the manufacturer. Congress has therefore been convened in extra session to increase the duties on farm products. But do these duties give the farmer a closed market? They have never even been applied to cotton and they would certainly have no effect if they were applied as long as one half of the cotton crop is marketed in Liverpool. There is a tariff duty on corn but it is only a paper duty because imports have always been negligible and some years non-existent. The tariff duty on wheat is high enough in all conscience and does exclude a certain amount of Canadian wheat from the American market,

but this has little or no effect upon the domestic price because of the large exportable surplus.

No doubt tariff duties advance the prices of those farm products which are not produced in sufficient quantity to supply the needs of the domestic market. Sugar, wool, citrus fruits, rice, peanuts and flax seed are cases in point. All branches of agriculture are not depressed; the live stock men, the dairy men, the truck farmers, the fruit and vegetable growers, are relatively prosperous. By coöperative marketing they can obtain the full benefit of the tariff duty, and reduce their cost of marketing as well. It is the growers of the basic crops of wheat, corn, cotton and tobacco who can hope for little benefit from the tariff or from farm relief legislation so long as they must market a portion of their crop in competition with all the world.

Various schemes have, therefore, been proposed from time to time for disposing of the exportable surplus. At this writing responsible men are seriously suggesting that the government should purchase wheat in large quantities and send it to China for distribution in the famine-stricken districts of that country. This would be an expensive remedy and an ephemeral one, unless in some way the Chinese famine could be continued. The farmers themselves—not only the wheat growers but the cotton planters and other agricultural producers—are proposing that the government pay a bounty upon exports. In the case of wheat this bounty would be 21 cents a bushel; in the case of cotton ten dollars a bale. The United States Senate has already included this bounty plan in their farm relief legislation to the great discomfort and disgust of President Hoover. It may be only a gesture but it is significant.

Thoughtful observers are inclined to believe that the factorizing of the farm is inevitable. They say there is too much land under cultivation, too many people on the farms, too much production, and argue that the food of the country

will eventually have to be produced under capitalistic ownership and corporate management. This is not Mr. Hoover's ideal; he has indeed eloquently praised the farmer and farm life as the world has known it for ages past.

There the problem is, and it will require a superman to solve it. Will Mr. Hoover be the *deus ex machina*? Those who believe implicitly in Mr. Hoover believe that nothing is beyond his power. He may yet surprise his critics by promulgating some far reaching programme to place agriculture upon a parity with industry. So far, however, he has announced no programme for farm relief more daring or spectacular than the one so often proposed by his cautious predecessor.

Mr. Hoover is difficult to portray. Even the camera fails to present him as he really is. The snapshots appearing in the daily press bear little resemblance to the conventional likeness which a year ago adorned every Republican committee room in the United States. Strangely enough they do not always resemble each other or Mr. Hoover himself. A close-up view of Mr. Hoover discloses a man above medium height, of stocky build, inclining to corpulence. He has an abundant crop of light brown hair, blue eyes, and a fresh ruddy complexion. The eyes are too small and the nose rather insignificant. He is brusque in manner and curt in conversation. An observer unaware of his identity would take him to be a business executive. He would not be mistaken for a lawyer, a doctor, a merchant, or a college professor.

When we try to find the real Herbert Hoover we are struck by the fact that he makes a singular appeal to the most diverse elements in the population, and that their conceptions of his personality are irreconcilable. The high pressure salesman, the hard-boiled man of business, the Babbits, the small business men who devote their lives to business exclusively, personify him as the protagonist of an amazing but

entirely material civilization. They associate him with mass production, quick turn overs, enormous profits, one-hundred-per-cent efficiency and mechanical standardization. They think of him as an educated, up-to-date Josiah Brouderby who calls a spade a spade, and a pump a pump, and cannot be induced under any circumstances to call either of them a tooth-pick. On the other hand millions of church-going, home-loving people envisage Mr. Hoover as the knight errant of the twentieth century. They see him feeding the starving millions of Europe and again housing and feeding the thousands of his fellow-countrymen overwhelmed by disastrous floods in the valley of the Mississippi. They find in his public addresses a devotion to the service of humanity, with flashes of spiritual insight bordering upon mysticism.

Yet the President is not inconsistent if we understand his philosophy. He devoutly believes, in spite of all human testimony to the contrary, that a nation cannot have any normal and permanent spiritual or artistic development unless it be rooted in the soil of material prosperity. He desires every community to have parks and playgrounds, schools and hospitals, art galleries and museums, but points out that they can only be constructed and financed by intensive industry, the accumulation of capital and the earning of generous incomes. This, in short, is the philosophy which dominates his ever active mind and stimulates his unquenchable vitality.

THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

BY NORMAN MACKENZIE

PUBLIC interest at the present time is being focused on the age-old subject of the freedom of the seas, because of its influence on Anglo-American relations. Great Britain, and more particularly the British Admiralty, cannot but remember that the British Navy was, in the final analysis, the determining factor in the winning of the Great War. One of the largest contributions that the British Navy made to the allied cause, apart from the keeping of the seas open to allied shipping, was the blockade of Germany. This blockade was not of Germany alone or of German ships and German ports but rather a blockade of the whole of maritime Europe to goods that might in any way be of value to Germany. The United States of America on the other hand have not forgotten the restrictions that this wholesale blockade imposed on their trade. They are convinced (mistakenly, I believe, but convinced nevertheless) that in another war they will be a neutral power. They know that an attempt will be made to regulate and prohibit their sea-borne trade by the belligerents and they are determined that they will have a deciding voice in the extent of this regulation and prohibition, and therefore they intend to build and maintain a navy large enough to guarantee this. Great Britain seems convinced that she will be a belligerent and that her navy will, as in the past, be the deciding factor in any war in which she may engage, and she feels that her navy must be strong enough not only to protect her own shipping but to cut off her enemy from world supplies in so far as those supplies are transported by sea. All of this, of course, envisages the perpetuation of war in international affairs—a most dismal prospect. But in view of the influence

that these ideas have upon public opinion in both Great Britain and the United States and even in Canada, it is interesting to review the history of the doctrine of the freedom of the seas and to consider what is the actual legal position of belligerents and neutrals at the present time.

The early peoples of the Levant, long before the Christian era, were concerned with this problem. Certain of them, the people of Tyre for instance, claimed dominion over the seas, while others, the Athenians among them, protested at times against any violation of the full freedom of the seas. Pericles is reported to have "Introduced a bill to the effect that all Hellenes—residents in Europe and Asia—should be invited to send deputies to a conference at Athens . . . to deliberate . . . concerning the sea, that all might sail it fearlessly and keep the peace."¹

The theory of Roman Law was that the sea was common to all men, but that theory, in so far as it was carried into practice, seemed to have been based on the idea that all men were Roman citizens or subjects. The Mediterranean is still cherished by those Italians who think of themselves as the lineal descendants of Imperial Rome as *Mare Nostrum*.

Throughout the middle ages the tendency was to claim control of the seas for oneself but to refuse to recognize any control or jurisdiction by others. The Italian cities, the Holy See, Spain and Portugal, and England too, made wide claims to jurisdiction in areas of the seas in which they were interested, and attempted to exclude the ships and citizens of all other nations from those areas. Venice claimed and enforced dominion over the Adriatic. Spain and Portugal made absurd claims to the Atlantic, the Pacific and Indian Oceans and tried to exclude unlicensed traders from them. The French kings claimed all those seas which washed their coasts, while English monarchs from Alfred onward made extensive and often

¹Plutarch, *Pericles*, XVII. Potter, *The Freedom of the Seas*, p. 24.

absurd claims to jurisdiction on the high seas, particularly around the English coasts.²

One of the most famous controversies of history was that between Hugo Grotius and John Selden. Grotius in 1609 published his treatise *Mare Liberum* in support of Dutch resistance to the pretensions of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean. The arguments of Grotius were not welcomed by the English as they were opposed to English interests at that time and John Selden, a famous English jurist, published a reply to Grotius in 1635 in his *Mare Clausum*. This work was adopted by the libraries of the Privy Council, the Court of Exchequer and the Court of Admiralty, as an embodiment of British public policy.³ In 1703 Bynkershoek published *De Dominio Maris*⁴ in which he propounded the doctrine that the extent of maritime jurisdiction should coincide with the actual physical power of control. Power of control was thought of in terms of the range of coast defence weapons, and, as that was about three miles, that area of the marginal seas came to be looked upon as part of the territory of the coastal state. With the development of science the range of cannon has vastly increased but the three mile limit has proved to be a convenient standard and, while it has not been universally adopted, its

²For instance, John in 1200 required the striking of sails to all British ships at sea, while in the case of *Regina v. Constable, III Leonard*, 72, it was held that "the Queen hath the whole jurisdiction of the sea between England and France." Potter, *ibid.*, p. 39.

³Potter, *ibid.*, p. 61. It has been alleged that Selden wrote his *Mare Clausum* to flatter Charles I and to obtain his own release from prison.

⁴"In his (Bynkershoek's) work his thesis is first, that the ocean or high sea, beyond cannon-shot from the shore is subject to occupation and therefore ownership, although in fact it has not been occupied and has not therefore been brought under ownership; second, that a state can take possession of the waters washing its shores, and hold such adversely against the world, as far as it can control and make that possession effective by cannon from its shores, and therefore, to the extent of the cannon shot from shore, marginal waters are subject to possession, occupation and, therefore, ownership. In the days of Bynkershoek, a cannon carried approximately three miles; hence the statement that a nation may occupy and exercise ownership over waters three miles within low-water mark." Introduction, Bynkershoek, *De Dominio Maris Dissertatio*. Classics of International Law. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, p. 17.

recognition is so general that the League of Nations, in its codification of international law, is endeavouring to have it made universal and authoritative.

But Bynkershoek and the definition of territorial waters is hardly within the scope of this article, which is rather concerned with the freedom of the seas and the rights of neutrals and belligerents in time of war. To determine these rights, it is necessary to examine the wartime practice of nations in the past, with particular regard to those statements of principle which have been accepted or denied by maritime nations at various times.

Contraband goods and contraband trade were recognized in comparatively early days. To go back no farther than the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we find French and English kings forbidding neutrals to trade with their enemies or to supply them with goods. Venice and Genoa were in the habit of removing contraband goods and enemy citizens from the vessels of friendly powers when such were found trading with the enemy. This, when coupled with the practice of confiscating the neutral ship carrying enemy goods as well as the goods themselves, was naturally resented by the neutral powers and gave rise to opposition and complaints. Various doctrines were advanced. A French ordinance of 1584 made neutral vessels carrying enemy goods liable to capture. The Hanseatic League held out for "free ships (i.e. neutral ships), free goods"—while the "Consolato del Mare," which was evolved by the Mediterranean powers in the fifteenth century (Barcelona 1494), was favoured by Great Britain and came in time to be known as "the English rule." This was, briefly, that enemy goods in neutral ships might be seized and neutral goods in enemy ships might not be seized. The seizure of enemy goods on neutral ships met with much opposition, and was largely responsible for the Armed Neu-

tralities of 1780 and 1800 formed against Great Britain, and for the War of 1812 with the United States of America.

During the Crimean war, however, Great Britain was associated with France and Turkey, and the English practice of seizing enemy goods in neutral ships conflicted with the French practice of seizing neutral goods in enemy ships. Because of this conflict and because of representations made by Sweden and Denmark, both France and Great Britain agreed to forgo their usual practice and to seize only contraband of war. At the end of the war the whole question came up for reconsideration. The British delegate at the Congress of Paris in 1856 reported to his government that "It is quite clear that we can never again re-establish our ancient doctrine respecting neutrals, and that we must in any future war adhere to the exception to our rule which we admitted at the beginning of the present war, under pain of having all mankind against us. I am, therefore, for making a merit of necessity and volunteering as a benevolent act of the Congress (of Paris) to proclaim as permanent the principles which we have lately acted upon, adding to it a resolution against privateering." As a result the Congress embodied in the now famous Declaration of Paris the statement that "The neutral flag covers enemy goods except contraband of war, and neutral goods excepting contraband of war are not liable to capture under the enemy flag."⁵ It further provided that blockade to be valid must be "effective." But, excellent as the above may appear in theory, in practice it offered little or no protection to neutral commerce in the subsequent American Civil War, the Russo-Japanese War or the Great War. Two other attempts to arrive at regulations which would prove satisfactory to neutrals and belligerents alike must be noted, the Hague Peace Conferences, and the Naval Conference of London.

⁵Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Vol. VIII, p. 93.

The Hague Peace Conferences were convened by the late Czar Nicholas II of Russia. They met in 1899 and in 1907, and were attended by representatives of all the important world powers. These representatives gave a great deal of time and thought to the drafting of conventions for the regulation of war and for the defining of the rights and duties of neutrals and belligerents. The conference of 1899 in its final act expressed the wish "that the proposal which contemplated the declaration of the inviolability of private property in naval warfare should be referred to a subsequent conference for consideration."⁶ The conference of 1907 actually drafted two conventions, one restricting the right of capture⁷, and the other dealing with the rights and duties of neutral powers in naval warfare.⁸ But these conventions were not primarily concerned with the real issue, the immunity of neutral ships and neutral goods on the high seas.

The Naval conference of London, called by Great Britain in 1908, was a real attempt to arrive at some agreement regarding the rights and duties of belligerents and of neutrals in time of warfare, and, among other matters, dealt with contraband, blockade, continuous voyage, and neutral ships and persons rendering unneutral service. As a result of this conference an agreement was reached on a number of points which was embodied in the Declaration of London of 1909.

⁶Scott, *The Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907*, Vol. I, p. 84, and Hall, *International Law*, 8th Ed., p. 534, to the effect that the prohibition of the right of capture of private property at sea was introduced at the Hague Peace Conference of 1907 but the discussion revealed considerable divergences of opinion. On a vote being taken, 21 states voted for absolute immunity from capture of private property at sea, 11 against and 11 abstained. Other proposals to mitigate the existing practice either by way of assimilating the laws of war on sea to those on land, or by substitution of sequestration for confiscation also failed to receive unanimous support, the only result being the adoption of the view that Powers should apply as far as possible to war by sea the principles of the Convention relative to the laws and customs of war on land.

⁷Hall, *ibid.*, p. 826-829.

⁸Hall, *Ibid.*, p. 708 et seq., and Scott, *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, pp. 1-31.

This defined blockade and the rules for enforcing it; contraband of war, creating the categories of absolute, conditional, and non-contraband goods, with detailed lists of each; the methods of dealing with contraband and ships carrying it; unneutral service, what constituted unneutral service, and penalties attaching; the destruction of neutral prizes; transfer to a neutral flag; convoy; resistance to search; compensation; and certain general and final provisions.⁹

This was a really comprehensive attempt to define and regulate the relations of neutrals and belligerents in naval war, but it failed completely. As early as August 20th, 1914, Great Britain had thrown over the rules relating to contraband (as she was free to do, because of the failure to get general ratification of the Declaration) and declared practically every conceivable commodity contraband. But before going into the position of neutrals during the great war, it is interesting to look at the position of the United States *vis-à-vis* of Great Britain on the freedom of the seas. In 1756 Great Britain declared in what has come to be known as "The Rule of War of 1756" that a neutral vessel engaging in trade which before the commencement of hostilities was closed to all but the ships of the enemy country, should lose her neutral character and be liable to seizure as an enemy.¹⁰ This principle was extended in the war with France in 1793 when Great Britain denied to neutrals the right to engage in trade between France and the French Colonies or to engage in the French coastal trade. This rule, together with the seizure of enemy goods on neutral ships, was bitterly resented by the United States and became one of the main causes of the War of 1812. The American policy, on the whole, has been to stand out for the immunity of private property generally from capture and

⁹Cohen, *The Declaration of London*, pp. 59-161, and Oppenheim, *International Law*, 4th edition, Vol. II, p. 464-468.

¹⁰Higgins, *War and the Private Citizen*, p. 171 et seq.

in particular the immunity of enemy property on neutral ships—the “free ships, free goods” doctrine. But this policy has been dictated by her own interest and has not been consistently upheld on all occasions. In their first treaty with France in 1778, the United States recommended the principle of “free ships, free goods,” and as this was in accord with French policy it was adopted. In 1783 Benjamin Franklin tried to get Great Britain to accept the principle of the immunity of private property from capture at sea but failed, and in 1794 Great Britain was successful in having the United States agree, in the Jay Treaty, to the British principle that “enemy goods on neutral ships are liable to seizure.”¹¹

But their acceptance of this principle was not in accordance with their real feelings and before long Jefferson was protesting that “Reason and usages have established that when two nations go to war those who choose to live in peace retain their natural right to pursue their agriculture, manufactures and other ordinary vocations; to carry the produce of their industry, for exchange, to all nations, belligerent or neutral as usual; to go and come freely, without injury or molestation; and in short that the war among others shall be, for them, as if it did not exist. One restriction on those mutual rights has been submitted to by nations at peace; that is to say, that of not furnishing to either party implements merely of war, for the annoyance of the other, nor any thing whatever to a place blockaded by its enemy. . . . If any nation whatever has a right to shut up to our produce all ports of the earth except her own, and those of her friends, she can shut

¹¹*Treaties and Conventions between the United States of America and other Powers*, p. 328-329. Washington, 1873.

Article XVII, Jay Treaty. “It is agreed that in all cases where vessels shall be captured or detained on just suspicion of having on board enemy’s property, or of carrying to the enemy any of the articles which are contraband of war, the said vessels shall be brought to the nearest or most convenient port; and if any property of an enemy should be found on board such vessel that part only which belongs to the enemy shall be made prize and the vessel shall be at liberty to proceed with the remainder without any impediment”

these also and so confine us within our limits. No nation can subscribe to such pretensions." In 1854 President Pierce again stated on behalf of the United States that "free ships make free goods except in the case of articles of contraband of war." But during the Civil War, a few years later, the United States, finding themselves a belligerent with Great Britain a neutral, appropriated Lord Stowell's doctrine of continuous voyage enunciated during the Napoleonic wars to deal with cases of neutral ships trading with France and enlarged and extended it so that British vessels were captured and condemned while on a voyage from one neutral port to another, on the ground that they were carrying contraband ultimately intended for the enemy, or were indirectly assisting to break the blockade of the Southern ports.¹² At the Hague Peace Conference of 1907 the British delegation announced that, "In order to diminish the difficulties encountered by neutral commerce in time of war, the government of His Britannic Majesty is ready to abandon the principle of contraband in case of war between the powers which may sign a covenant to this effect. The right of search would be exercised only for the purpose of ascertaining the neutral character of the merchant ships." To this suggestion the United States along with Germany, France, Russia and Montenegro refused to agree, and when the United States delegation were reminded of the traditional policy of their country they replied that they had learned much in the meantime and were following the policies of Roosevelt and the instructions of their government.

This was the position at the commencement of hostilities in 1914. Great Britain, by agreeing to the Declaration of Paris and because of her suggestions made at the London Naval Conference, had departed from her traditional position

¹²Hall, *International Law*, 8th edit., p. 798 et seq.

See also American position as outlined by their representative, Ambassador White, at the Hague Peace Conference of 1899 when he makes a plea for the immunity of private property from capture at sea. Holls, *The Peace Conference at the Hague*, p. 306-321.

of seizing enemy property on neutral ships. The United States, while still standing out for their conception of the freedom of the seas, were not ready, when faced with a direct proposal, to agree to an abandonment of the principle of contraband. The actual legal position of the belligerents and neutrals then was approximately that defined by the Declaration of Paris and in the Declaration of London wherein the signatory powers agreed that the Declaration itself corresponded in substance with the generally recognized principles of international law. But neither of these Declarations provided any real protection to neutrals in the war because they were so qualified by reservations regarding contraband and blockade that the belligerents were able almost wholly to disregard them.

The real cause of this failure has been admirably pointed out by Lord Cecil and Mr. Arnold Forster in their paper before the Royal Institute of International Affairs in which they said that "the assumptions on which the framers of the Declarations of Paris and of London had based their compromises have become obsolete. The framers had assumed with Rousseau that war is 'not a relation between man and man but a relation between state and state,' so that the individual would be only indirectly affected. They had assumed with Grotius that commodities could be so divided in war time as to leave private property and civil supplies untouched whilst state property and military supplies were stopped, and that the difference between contraband and non-contraband was a real one resting on a genuine distinction between the two classes of articles. Events were to show that these assumptions could not be maintained . . . war is no longer an affair of Governments and their armed forces. It involves the whole of the belligerent nations, and anything which diminishes the vigour of the population or the extent of its resources, is an element in victory or defeat. As Ludendorff

put it—"In this war it is impossible to distinguish where the sphere of the army and navy begins and that of the people ends. Army and nation are one." ¹³

The fact is that none of these agreements or rules are practicable in a modern war. Great Britain of necessity when she discovered that Germany was mobilized as a unit and that every article destined for Germany, with the possible exception of a few luxuries, was really helping her to prosecute the war was forced for her own protection to place them on the contraband list, thereby disregarding the lists drawn up by the Conference of London. She found too that goods in neutral ships going to neutral ports were destined for Germany; she seized both goods and ship. She finally discovered that even goods in neutral ships destined for neutral ports in countries bordering on Germany although consumed in such neutral countries were really replacing goods being shipped into Germany. She was forced to declare them contraband. She found the ordinary rules of blockade unworkable because of changed conditions of warfare. She was forced to substitute others. She justified her action on the ground that the goods were contraband goods—making herself the judge as to contraband, that the neutral ships were attempting to break the blockade—she again being the judge of what constituted a valid blockade. She justified other actions on the ground of reprisals. She seized enemy property, private and public, because it was impossible to distinguish between them. As a result neutral trade with Germany and, for all practical purposes, with all of neutral Europe was prohibited on one ground or another, if in any conceivable way it could be shown that it was of assistance to Germany. Germany in like manner preyed upon allied and neutral shipping alike, principally by means of submarines. As these were at a great disadvantage

¹³Journal of Royal Institute of International Affairs, Vol. VIII, p. 93 et seq.

in stopping and searching neutral shipping, it was inevitable that lives were lost and damage done to property and persons of neutrals. This was largely instrumental in bringing the United States into the war on the side of the allies.

And there the matter stood at the close of the war. The United States, though assisting in the blockade of Germany when she became a belligerent, resented keenly the heavy losses she had suffered as a neutral at the hands of both allies and enemies alike, and the second of Wilson's fourteen points is indicative of American opinion at the time. He laid down that "There should be absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in part by international action."¹⁴ But this reservation has lost its effect as Wilson understood it because the United States has not become a member of the League of Nations. The present American idea of the freedom of the seas seems to be freedom in war or in peace for American ships to carry goods, whether contraband or not, to and from any country whether belligerent or neutral. This view is based on the assumption that in the event of war the United States will be a neutral. In actual practice she is finding it difficult to afford such freedom even in peace time to the vessels of other countries, as witness her action in the enforcement of her prohibition and customs laws. But whether practicable or not, or whether she would extend to others the freedom she demands for herself were she a belligerent and Britain a neutral, there is no doubt that she does desire an agreement on the freedom of the seas, and unless she is satisfied on that point it seems certain that she will insist on building and maintaining a great navy.¹⁵

¹⁴Scott, *President Wilson*, p. 359.

¹⁵A clause in the Fifteen Cruiser Bill passed by Congress on Feb. 5th, 1929, declared for a treaty or treaties with all the principal maritime powers "regulating the conduct of belligerents and neutrals in war at sea, including the inviolability of private property (all private property whether belligerent or neutral) thereon" to be negotiated if possible before the meeting of the Naval Limitation Conference in 1931.

The outlook for success of such an agreement is not bright. In the first place, the move to make all private property immune from capture would render navies almost useless save in dealing with enemy warships and in the conduct of actual hostile operations—a very minor duty, as the late war proved. Nor will a re-definition of contraband, of blockade, or of the effect of a neutral flag be satisfactory. There are ways and means of getting around all of these. Nor would a great naval power be likely to agree to any arrangement that would give her nothing and render her navy practically impotent. Possibly the solution lies in the recognition of a distinction between private and public wars—between wars that are waged as an instrument of national policy or interest and those that are waged with the approval of some international assembly to prevent aggression. If such a distinction can be drawn, and if the United States would agree to such a division and be willing to accept and support the findings of an international tribunal, it should be possible to reach some understanding. If the war were a private one, the absolute freedom of the seas to neutral and even to private citizens and the private property of belligerents might be recognized. The countries engaged would then be dependent upon the success of their respective military and naval forces.

But such a suggestion seems highly fantastic in the modern world which is an interdependent unit and can neither live nor wage war without affecting others. If such an agreement, however, would satisfy the wishes of the United States it is worth considering, particularly if, in return, the United States would agree to an arrangement whereby effective international action could be taken against any belligerent that had been proven to be the aggressor in the struggle. Against such an aggressor a complete boycott might be established whereby all the maritime countries would agree to refuse to carry goods, munitions, and supplies of all sorts to

the country that had been declared an aggressor, but would continue to supply the country attacked with all that it required. Post-war developments point toward the evolution of some such plan. The Covenant of the League of Nations, the Geneva Protocol, the Locarno Treaties, and, more recently still, the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, depend for their ultimate effectiveness on some method of determining the international wrong-doer or aggressor and some measure of united action against the nation so branded. True, none of these schemes has in itself the requisite organization and machinery, nor have they together brought about any reduction of armaments. But they are indications of the direction in which the world is moving and, if indications give any guide to the future it seems probable that, ere long, neutrality will be non-existent and all countries will be engaged either on one side or the other in active or passive belligerent operations in any struggle of major importance. In such a case sea law could be made very simple. The high seas in time of peace would be open without discrimination to the ships of all countries engaged in legitimate occupations; but in time of war united action, which would mobilize all the strength of the rest of the world by sea and land, would be taken against any country declared an aggressor.

But for the moment there is no all-inclusive world organization, although practically every country, including the United States and Russia, has agreed to the Peace Pact which declared against war as an instrument of national policy. But neither the United States nor Russia is a member of the League of Nations, and its machinery is of little value without their support. Because of this, the more "local" plans that are now being suggested to settle the difficulties between the United States and Great Britain are of special interest. Senator Borah although against the United States becoming a member of the League of Nations and the Permanent Court of

International Justice, is strongly in favour of some agreement on the freedom of the seas. What he has in mind is not easy to discover—probably some codification of existing maritime law which would clearly define contraband, the rights of neutrals and belligerents, and would distinguish between private and state owned property. Great Britain has shown from time to time a willingness to agree to the complete freedom of the seas for neutrals and belligerents alike, with the exception of ships of war, as that would give her shipping complete immunity from attack and ensure her food supply. Neither of these suggestions alone seems to have much chance of success. Mr. Borah's codification would break down under the necessities of war as did the Declarations of London and of Paris. The complete freedom of the seas would give Great Britain immediate superiority at sea, for, freed from the necessity of protecting her trade routes and capturing raiders, she could concentrate all her forces wherever necessary and deal a crushing blow to any adversary, although in dealing with a European enemy it might place her at a disadvantage in that it would enable the enemy to equip and arm herself at leisure.¹⁶

Senator Capper has introduced a resolution into Congress to the effect that the United States would place an embargo on trade with any "aggressor nation,"¹⁷ and, if his proposal meets with approval, it is possible that some agreement on

¹⁶Pitt, in considering a similar proposal during England's struggle with France, stated England's position in the following terms, "Shall we allow entire freedom to the trade of France? Shall we allow her to receive naval stores undisturbed, and to rebuild and refit that navy which the valour of our seamen has destroyed? Will you silently stand by and acknowledge these monstrous and unheard of principles of neutrality, and ensure your enemy against the effects of your hostility?"

¹⁷Congressional Record, 70th Congress, 2nd session, February 22, 1929.

Resolved, etc., That whenever the President determines and by proclamation declares that any country has violated the multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war, it shall be unlawful unless otherwise provided by act of Congress, or by proclamation of the President, to export to such country arms, munitions, implements of war, or other articles for use in war until the President shall by proclamation declare that such violation no longer

international lines can be reached, although that in turn presupposes agreement on "aggressor nation," which is by no means easy to reach. Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Arnold Forster have made some suggestions that are worth considering. They state that "under present war practice, a belligerent is entitled to capture any goods other than the merest luxuries found anywhere on the high seas and consigned to some destination from which they or their substitute may reach his antagonist. This practice is based on the principles of the old law of maritime capture adapted to modern conditions. In a future private war this practice applied against us might easily destroy our existence, and applied by us might be equally fatal in consequence of embroiling us with the United States. Some settlement of the question should therefore be sought in concert with America, but certainly not by way of an open and unlimited conference without previous preparation. Since the present law has grown up by the gradual erosion of the restrictions laid down by the old law of contraband and blockade, in consequence of the universal nature of modern war, no solution can be secured by simply reiterating those restrictions. Abolition in private war of the right of capture of any ships or goods at sea other than ships of war seems the only way out. If this be accepted as the proper object of our policy, it would be best approached by emphasizing the distinction between lawful, or public, and unlawful, or private, war laid down by the Pact of Paris, by

continues.

Sec. 2. It is declared to be the policy of the United States that the nationals of the United States should not be protected by their government in giving aid and comfort to a nation which has committed a breach of the said treaty.

Sec. 3. The President is hereby requested to enter into negotiations with other governments which ratify or adhere to the said treaty, to secure agreement that the nationals of the contracting governments should not be protected by their governments in giving aid and comfort to a nation which has committed a breach of said treaty.

Sec. 4. The policy of the United States as expressed in section 2 hereof shall apply only in case of a breach of the said treaty by war against a government which has declared its adherence to a similar policy.

abolishing all maritime rights of capture in private wars and maintaining them, as defined and extended by Art. XVI of the Covenant of the League of Nations in public wars. In return, the United States might be asked to bind herself by treaty, or at the least to adopt legislation empowering the President to forbid all intercourse between citizens of the United States and a nation declared guilty by international authority of using war as an instrument of national policy."¹⁸

This statement in so far as it suggests the impossibility of regulating naval warfare along antiquated lines, and in so far as it differentiates between public and private wars seems thoroughly sound. It outlines the present situation and suggests a solution of the difficulty. True, it does not go into any details nor does it suggest ways and means of defining public and private wars nor aggressor nations with any degree of certainty. But, if the attention of the experts in the two countries were directed toward those ends rather than toward a rephrasing of obsolete rules of contraband and neutrality, it seems probable that agreement might be reached regarding them and that the necessary machinery for defining them might be created. In any event, it would satisfy a large body of people in both countries and might go far toward eliminating the possibility of competition in naval armaments between them.

¹⁸Journal Royal Institute of International Affairs, *ibid.*, p. 100-101

DOCTOR SOLOMON JONES: UNITED EMPIRE LOYALIST

BY LORNE PIERCE

ABOUT the year 1750 a Welsh gentleman by the name of Johns (later changed to Jones) settled in the province of New Jersey. After residing there for a time he was attracted by the possibilities of lumbering in the Mohawk Valley, New York, and subsequently settled at or near Fort Edward. There he lived almost half a century, and died about the beginning of the Revolutionary War. Jones' widow survived him many years.

The Jones family were all staunch Loyalists. It is related that one of the family three times was brought to the scaffold and was about to be hanged, in the vain hope that he would divulge the movements of the Royalist troops. After being hunted about like a felon he reached New Brunswick, where he lived to an advanced age.

Sarah (Dunham) Jones had seven sons and one daughter. Two sons were killed in the Revolution; Solomon, Daniel, John, David and her daughter accompanied her to Upper Canada. The fifth son took up his residence at Baddeck, Cape Breton.¹ At the advanced age of eighty-five years the mother passed away at the home of her son, Dr. Solomon Jones. Her daughter predeceased her, being buried in the Blue Church Cemetery near Prescott, Ontario, where she herself was laid to rest. An event in the life of David attracted the attention of Washington Irving, and may be of interest here.

¹For many items of the Jones family history I am indebted to Mr. Harold Jones, who resides on the original farm, "Olde Homewood," near Prescott.

"A 'Rebel's' daughter, Jean McRae, a young girl of tender nature and more than common beauty, was cruelly murdered by the Indians, who carried her scalp to Fort Edward, then occupied by the King's troops, where its silken tresses were immediately recognized by a young Tory lieutenant as those of his affianced bride. The young lieutenant was David Jones. Among others, Irving, in his *Life of Washington*, recounts the sad tale, and adds that young Jones is supposed to have gone to Canada; to have lived to an old age, a single and melancholy life; and that from the day of the terrible revelation at Fort Edward, 'he was never known to smile.' Dunham Jones, son of Dr. Solomon Jones, corroborated this. David lived with his mother until his death, which was not as an old man, but as a young man not many years after his removal to Canada. He lies in the old Burying Ground of the Jones family. Visitors to Fort Edward are shown the ancient elm tree with a spring beneath, where tradition says was perpetrated the murder of Jean McRae."²

Dr. Solomon Jones was born in the province of New Jersey in 1756. He was educated for the medical profession at a college in Albany, New York, which provided many of the doctors in the settlements of Canada in the early days.³ Graduating as Surgeon's Mate, he later joined the Royalist forces in his professional capacity and was attached to General Burgoyne's army. At the calamitous surrender at Saratoga, Jones effected his escape, crossed into Canada and offered his services to the commander of the British forces at Three Rivers. He remained with the armies in Lower Canada until peace was declared in 1783. He learned there to speak French, which was later a great advantage to him in his profession. Joining his mother, sister, and brothers, he moved to Upper Canada in 1783 and they then set out in search of a home. At last they arrived at Augusta. "They seem to have selected all their military grants with consummate judgment, for there

²*History of Leeds and Grenville, Ontario, from 1749-1879.* By Thad. W. H. Leavitt, Brockville, 1879, p. 92.

³*The Medical Profession in Upper Canada, 1783-1885.* By William Canniff, M.D., Toronto, 1894, p. 449, 450.

are no more fertile, no more charmingly situated lands in Ontario to-day than those located by the brothers Jones. . .”⁴

As United Empire Loyalists they were each entitled to one hundred acres fronting on the St. Lawrence River, and two hundred acres at a distance from the river, known as soldier’s bounty. A married man was also allowed fifty acres for his wife, and fifty acres for each child. This was called family land. Thus it was that Solomon Jones drew four hundred acres of the river front and four hundred in the second concession, which, with the broken front lying between the base line and the river shore, amounted to about 850 acres in all.

His farmstead selected, Dr. Jones commenced clearing the land, upon which he grew grain and vegetables. Soon he erected a log house, still remaining on the old homestead, and near it another log structure, used for an apothecary shop and office and which as time passed came to resemble a small general store in internal appearance.

Little by little the community in Augusta took shape. The duties of a pioneer were rigorous enough, but there was time for the amenities. Few Canadian communities could boast such an aristocracy of real worth as that represented by Squire Jones, Squire Sherwood, and their kinsfolk. Of these Dr. Jones, a man of remarkable gifts, soon took a leading part, ultimately becoming Member of Parliament and Judge of the Johnstown District Court.

Daniel Jones, a brother, received the honour of knighthood from William IV. Ephraim Jones, better known as Commissary Jones, had charge of the government supplies granted to the Loyalists by the British Government. The achievements of his family are probably unique. Charles, educated under Dr. Strachan at Cornwall, was a member of the legislature for Leeds from 1821 to 1828; a Legislative Coun-

⁴*History of Leeds and Grenville*, p. 92.

cillor from 1828 to 1838, and married Mary, daughter of Rev. Dr. Stuart, Kingston, first missionary of the Church of England in Upper Canada. William became Collector of Customs at Brockville. Jonas, also educated under Strachan, and one of the first members of the bar of Upper Canada, occupied a seat in the Legislative Assembly from 1816 to 1828 and from 1836 to 1837. He was appointed to the Legislative Council in 1839, becoming Speaker, but was not reappointed after the Union. Ultimately he became Judge of the Superior Court of the province. Alpheas Jones was made Collector of Customs and Port Master at Prescott. Sophia married John Stuart, sheriff of Leeds and Grenville; Charlotte, the Honourable Levius P. Sherwood, Judge of the Superior Court of Upper Canada; Lucy, Dr. Hubbell of Brockville; and Eliza, Henry John Boulton, Attorney General of Upper Canada and later Chief Justice of Newfoundland.

The families of each generation have produced members of the medical profession. Dunham Jones had two sons prominent in the profession, William Justus and Jonathan. Andrew Jones also had two sons who became doctors, Allen A. Jones, Professor of Medicine in the University of Buffalo, and Dunham Carroll Jones of Brooklyn, New York.

Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe arrived in Canada in 1792, and his coming aroused no little stir in the Loyalist community of Augusta. In early June Colonel Simcoe and Mrs. Simcoe, accompanied by Lieutenant Thomas Talbot, embarked from Quebec in a large bateau equipped with an awning. A second bateau contained the children, while a third carried the servants and baggage. After a short stay in Montreal they set out on June 22 for Kingston where the Queen's Rangers were encamped. The Governor's party passed through Grenville County and were accorded a warm welcome.

"In an oak-framed house, built in the Dutch style, with

sharp-pointed roof and curious gables . . . the gentry of the Johnstown district collected, looking spruce, though weather-beaten, in their low-tasselled boots, their queer broad-skirted military coats, and looped chapeaux, with faded feathers fluttering in the wind. So it was in a house, later a hostelry *Live and Let Live—St. John's Hall—Peace and Plenty to all Mankind*, that Governor Simcoe held his first levee on his arrival in Upper Canada. On the departure of the Governor for Newark, the capital of the province, a salute was fired from an old cannon, obtained from the ruined French fort on Isle Royal, the loyal company repairing to the inn, there to touch parting goblets, 'for the success of the good cause.' "

" 'Now I am content—content, I say; and can go home, to reflect on this proud day. Our Governor, the man, of all others—has come, at last. Mine eye hath seen it. Drink to him, gentlemen, he will do the best for us,' cried Colonel Tom Fraser, his face flushed and fiery, and his stout frame drawn up to its full height, at the head of the table.

" 'We do! We do!' vociferated young Kingsmill, emptying his glass, and stamping to express joy.

"The mild and placid countenance of Dr. Solomon Jones was lighted up by the occasion, and he arose and responded to the toast, recounting some of the services performed by the newly appointed Lieutenant-Governor in the late war."⁵

The years sped by quickly. In addition to his duties as squire of a large farm, Dr. Jones was in demand as counsellor, executor, magistrate and district judge, and as physician. His professional services were required from Kingston to Cornwall and north to the Rideau. The people were few and scattered, and the roads were all but impassible for most of the year. He was compelled, therefore, to make his professional calls on horseback. The doctor's saddle and ample saddle bags are still in the possession of the family. There had been a "hungry year" (1787), and there were "cholera years," when Dr. Jones not only ministered to the physical needs of

⁵*History of Leeds and Grenville, Ontario, from 1749-1879.* By Thad. W. H. Leavitt, Brockville, 1879.

his people, but also advanced medicines and money to the limit of his resources. The financial depression and the political unrest which swept the scattered frontier settlements made life far from happy. Leeds and Grenville were particularly distraught, although the Jones family remained staunchly loyal. As early as 1818 Robert Gourlay held meetings in the Johnstown District, and William Lyon Mackenzie carried his agitation for responsible government to the very doors of Solomon Jones. The Beverley Riots (at Delta) were a scandal when armed thugs were brought down from Ottawa to terrorize the electorate on voting day. Dr. Jones stood solidly for the Tory Government. His kinsman, Jonas Jones, introduced a bill in the legislature in 1816, entitled "An Act for the Prevention of Certain Meetings within the Province." Twelve out of thirteen voted in favour of it, John Beverley Robinson among them. This Act, fortunately, was repealed two years later.

The surgeons at that time were rarely designated doctors—usually surgeons, or surgeon's mates. What little information we possess regarding the first medical practitioners of Upper Canada is to be found in the United Empire List. A few were graduates of English medical schools; others received their training in Albany, New York; but most of them seemed to have no scientific knowledge whatever. Opium, calomel, and mercury were the common specifics. Diagnosis was an almost unknown art. "When in doubt," one surgeon used to say, "I likes to scour well." They were not infrequently illiterate, and occasionally downright ignorant. Charms were used, such as the stroking of a tumor, and the repetition of a mummary formula to drive away "the devil's swelling." One doctor actually deducted sixteen shillings from his bill "for killing your son." He was candid at any rate, and confessed that he had carried the smallpox contagion into his patient's house. The medical profession undertook its own house-clean-

ing, and in 1815 petitioned Parliament to enable it to purge its ridiculous company, most of whom, it was admitted, could boast of not "one ray of science." The first Medical Board of Upper Canada met at York, January 4, 1819. The name of Dr. Solomon Jones does not appear in the proceedings. It is reported, however, that "he is one of the first settlers, first doctors, and first in point of education and respectability."⁶

An interesting light is thrown upon Dr. Jones by two account books, still extant, which he used in his profession. Here are some of the items in the account against John Chester in 1786:

May 23rd.	To deliver his wife.....	£1-3-4
" 27th.	To visit; spouse	3-0
Nov. 4th.	To visit, and set his leg.....	£2-10-0
" 24th.	To innoculating 4 chil-	
	dren	£1-10-0

Five years later, Chester paid off this indebtedness by clearing land for the doctor.

An account of £1-11-4½, against Oliver Sweet, for merchandise and medicine, is liquidated for several "half days with oxen" drawing timber; and by "bottoming two chairs."

There is a curious jumble of items charged against John Smith, laborer.

5th April, 1799.

To the milk of a cow, one summer.....	£1-0-0
To a pig	4-0
To 21½ yards of home made linnen.....	7-6
May 3rd.	
To deliver spouse	10-0
To two bushels potatoes	5-0

An account of £2-0-9, charged against Widdow Nettleton, for medicines, and to deliver son's wife, is paid off by

⁶A complete record of this period in medical history may be found in *The Medical Profession in Upper Canada, op. cit.* and *Four Centuries of Medical History in Canada* (2 Vols.). By John J. Heagerty, M.D., Toronto, 1928, pp. 239 ff.

“spinning and nitting” self, £1-5-3; by cash £0-10-6; “by spinning and nitting by your mother” £0-4-6.

The first session of the first Parliament of Upper Canada, 1792, passed an Act by which the District of Lunenburg was changed into the Eastern District. Provision was also made for the erection of a gaol and courthouse at New Johnstown, Edwardsburg Township. Courts of Quarter Sessions were created to which were given extensive powers of local government. The Court assembled at Johnstown in April, 1800, consisted of Honourable Solomon Jones, Ephraim Jones, and three other magistrates. Among their first acts was the appointment of a High Constable and the granting to Abel Stevens, elder of the Baptist Church and the first settler of the Township of Bastard, authority to solemnize marriages. The Court House at Johnstown being remote from the centre of the district, Parliament authorized the erection of a new one at Brockville. Dr. Solomon Jones was one of a committee of five appointed to select a site. There exists among Dr. Jones' papers a memorandum showing the amount of Judge's fees from November 1801 to February 1803, the total being £92. 7s. 6d.

Solomon Jones was, therefore, not only one of the first doctors of Upper Canada, but also one of the pioneer magistrates. From 1796 to 1800 he sat as Member of the Legislative Assembly, a fitting acknowledgment of his professional, social and administrative enterprise. Not only was he “the beloved physician” to an extended frontier community, but also a stalwart in the Government party and the Church of England. His sympathies, however, knew no denominational or party limits. He became a school trustee and secured the erection of a school house open to all the children of the neighbourhood. He also subscribed to the building fund of the Methodist Church near by. Rosseter Boyle, writing to Major E. B. Littlehales, February 11, 1795, says: “Squire Sherwood and

Squire Jones went to Montreal to solicit subscriptions for a church at Aswegatchie (Johnstown, Township of Edwardsburg) and Sir John Johnson gave 10 guineas.”⁷ He was still interested in the army. An intercepted letter from Major John H. Buell to Major General Henry Knox, Secretary for War, Philadelphia, October 6, 1794, relates that: “General Wayne with the army arrived at the Miami’s village on the 19th or 20th Sept. unmolested. On the 21st Doctr. Jones for the first time was to give them a cast of his office. On the 22nd they began Regular Fortifications.”⁸

The year before his retirement as member of the Legislative Assembly, Dr. Jones petitioned His Excellency Robert Prescott, Esquire, Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief:

“That from the character of your petitioner and his well-known attachment to the British Government, he begs leave humbly to solicit your Excellency to appoint him to succeed the late Mr. Latham as hospital mate at Kingston, in the said Province of Upper Canada.”

It was natural that Dr. Jones should form many friendships at York while attending the sessions of the Assembly, his standing among his fellow-members and his great integrity giving him a high place in their counsels. Among his more intimate friends were: the Speaker, the Hon. D. W. Smith, with whom he dined frequently, W. D. Powell, Thomas Ridout, the Hon. Richard Cartright, and others of the same type. Thomas Ridout, writing from York, March 16, 1799, complains of the “extravagantly high” prices in that place, and requests Dr. Jones to procure 150 pounds of maple sugar for him in Augusta neighbourhood. Mrs. Ridout joins in cordial greetings to the Jones family. The Rev. Dr. Stuart, Kingston, was also a special friend. Dr. Jones’ sons attended

⁷*The Correspondence and Letters of John Graves Simcoe.* Collected and edited by General E. A. Cruikshank. Vol. III, 1794-1795. Ontario Historical Society Papers. Toronto, 1925, p. 291.

⁸*Idem.*, p. 115.

the Cornwall Grammar School conducted by John Strachan, and a most intimate relationship existed between the two men.⁹

Little else, save a few scattered incidents, is known of Dr. Solomon Jones' remaining years. On July 14, 1806, he was made a Commissioner of Highways for the Township of Augusta. During the War of 1812 he lent his services as physician to such forces as were encamped near him. On March 20, 1813, Lieut.-Colonel E. Macdonell writing from Prescott says: "Sir—I wish you to take Charge this day of the sick of the militia at this port." One Monday morning in February, 1814, Hon. Richard Cartright dropped in for breakfast and, in spite of the military activity about them, they enjoyed a friendly chat. From the President's office, Kingston, March 24, 1814, there was issued a proclamation appointing him a commissioner for Johnstown District, to assist in carrying into effect the "Act to Empower His Majesty . . . for a limited time, to secure and detain such Persons as His Majesty shall suspect of a treasonable adherence to the enemy." After the close of the war, Dr. Jones was appointed to adjudicate claims for damages done to farms during the hostilities. He was also named with Ephraim Jones and Alex. Campbell—all three Justices of the Peace—to receive complaints regarding illicit sales of liquor. In May, 1819, he was appointed by the Executive Council a member of the Land Board. On September 22nd, 1822, he passed quietly away at "Olde Homewood." Half a century later his memory was still cherished by the old residents "as a gentleman of high worth and marked capacity."

Dr. Jones had a family of seven children, Mary Tunacliffe,¹⁰ Anna Hawley, Jonathan, Maria, Dunham, Solomon, and William Tunacliffe. William was apprenticed as clerk

⁹Strachan's letters are among the Jones papers in the Library of Queen's University.

¹⁰Dr. Jones married Miss Mary Tunacliffe of Richmond, N.Y.

to Alexander Chisholm, a merchant of Montreal, in 1819. Solomon Junior became second clerk to a Mr. Spencer of Belleville in 1842. Solomon's sister Maria writes him: "Do not spend the Sabbath idly, but attend the English Church, at least once a day. Do not join in any pleasure on the Sabbath, particularly a sailing party. Do not allow yourself to become careless of your religious duties, for there is a time for all things." Dunham was a student of Dr. Strachan at Cornwall Grammar School. He became ensign in the 1st Regiment, Grenville Militia, and fought in the War of 1812, later being promoted to the rank of Captain of the same regiment during the Rebellion of 1837-1838. The pay sheets kept by Captain Jones still exist, showing that his company contained, during the three years in which they were under arms, about sixty officers, non-commissioned officers, and men. After the Rebellion he was gazetted Lieutenant-Colonel, made Justice of the Peace, and for many years served as Collector of the Port of Maitland. Jonathan married Sophia Sherwood, daughter of Levius Sherwood, member of the legislature for Leeds and later Judge of the Court of King's Bench and Legislative and Executive Councillor.

Dunham Jones was four years old when his father built the great colonial house (1797), which is still the home of his descendants. It is one of the grand manors of Canada, home fit indeed for a squire and one of the first families of the land. Its spacious rooms are filled with paintings, rare china, quaint, lovely pewter, old walnut furniture and other heirlooms. Wide lawns overlook the St. Lawrence which sweeps past bearing the traffic of a new age. Here, at the end of a colonade of maples, is one of Canada's houses of romance. Here Dunham Jones reared his eleven children, the eldest of whom, Andrew, succeeded his father on the old homestead. Here Andrew's five children grew to manhood and womanhood, his eldest son, Harold, in time succeeding him. And

here Harold Jones has lived with his family, three daughters and a son, Dunham Justus. Thus six generations have clung to the Loyalist acres, perpetuating the traditions which cluster about "Olde Homewood."

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE PROPOSED ST. LAWRENCE SHIPWAY

BY D. A. MACGIBBON

THE construction of a shipway from the Great Lakes to the sea is an undertaking of such magnitude that there is room for sharp differences of opinion about its advisability. In so far as these differences of opinion are based on economic considerations, and are not of a selfish nature, they revolve around the study of three problems. These problems are the total cost of the enterprise, the net reduction in transportation rates to be expected, and the volume of traffic that will make use of the route. If these questions could be answered fully and completely the data would then be available to determine whether the project would yield an economic surplus or deficit.

In addition to these main questions, there are certain considerations surrounding the project that tend to complicate the issue. The project involves international co-operation and an international agreement dividing the costs of the enterprise. Hence from a Canadian standpoint the kind of bargain that can be made with the United States is of great importance in determining whether the project is a desirable one for this country to undertake. It must be recognized that in constructing the new Welland Canal for international use, Canada is already carrying what would amount to a considerable portion of her share of the burden of the larger enterprise. But it seems wiser to treat the problem purely as an economic one without regard to national considerations or to national boundary lines.

I. The Total Cost of the Enterprise

The costs of the navigation project, as distinguished from power, fall into four categories. These are: (1) the capital cost incurred directly in the construction of engineering works chargeable to navigation; (2) interest upon expenditures during the course of construction; (3) cost due to the fact that after the channel has been completed some time will probably elapse before what might be considered to be a normal volume of traffic will develop upon it; and (4) an allowance for property possessing physical integrity but rendered obsolete and economically valueless by the construction of the new channel.

When we turn to the first category we are confronted at the outset with the condition that certain costs are to be incurred jointly for the production of power and for navigation. The amount in question is estimated by the Joint Board of Engineers at \$125,542,000 or \$141,186,000, depending upon whether a double or single stage development is adopted in the international section of the river. To simplify our calculations, we will assume that the double stage development, recommended by the Canadian engineers, will be ultimately adopted. The problem is, to what should this expenditure be charged? Three courses are possible, each of which has its merits. Those protagonists of the project who hold that power should pay for navigation contend that the total sum should be assessed against power. This, in effect, means that the users of power would be asked, to this extent, to subsidize the users of navigation. On the other hand, since the whole design of the projected combined development makes power subservient to navigation, and since the engineers state that navigation will be better with a joint development, it can be plausibly argued that navigation should carry the joint costs. If this argument were accepted, navigation

would subsidize power. But there seems to be no reason why each division of the project should not carry its own load, and since neither power nor navigation can claim to be subsidiary to the other, the fairest method of dividing joint costs appears to be to charge one-half to power and one-half to navigation.

According to the estimates furnished by the Joint Board of Engineers, on this basis there would be added to costs directly chargeable to navigation approximately \$63,000,000 for joint costs. This would make the total estimate of capital construction costs approximately \$372,000,000. Of this amount \$181,000,000 would be chargeable to the Great Lakes division of the route and would include a sum of \$115,000,000 for the new Welland Canal. The total sum is calculated to provide a 27-foot channel from Montreal to the Upper Lakes. A sum of nearly four hundred million dollars is certainly enough to give pause to any responsible statesman before he commits his country to an enterprise of such magnitude. Moreover, one would undoubtedly feel easier about the project if one could believe that initial capital expenditure would be kept within present figures. But experience with engineering estimates does not lend support to such a belief. The Manchester Ship Canal cost more than twice the original estimate. Up to June 30, 1918, the Panama Canal cost the United States Government \$150,225,109, or 107%, more than Congress expected it would cost when building of the canal was authorized in 1906. In 1922, after considerable work had been done on the new Welland Canal, the cost of the completed project was estimated at \$90,000,000. To-day, the figure estimated for initial costs is \$115,000,000, and the canal is not completed. The larger the project the more glaring appears to be the discrepancy between initial estimates and actual costs. It can always be pleaded in extenuation that certain changes in design occurred, or that certain extras were not included in the original estimates, or that political

exigencies delayed construction. These explanations, while they may in some instances exonerate the engineer, simply illustrate the possibilities that exist. They suggest in this instance that present estimates, generously as they may be conceived to have been made, may prove quite inadequate to achieve the purpose in view. It is rather significant to observe that in the report of the Joint Engineering Board, where advances in estimated costs over those put forward by the earlier engineering board appear, they are partly explained as "being based on the higher unit costs indicated by the detailed studies made by the present board."

The estimates submitted do not contain, apparently, any provision for the deepening of harbours that would be necessary before the chief lake ports would be able to accommodate the larger vessels that could use the route. By "accommodate" is meant to receive and to despatch boats fully loaded. It is natural that expenditures for this purpose should escape consideration in the official enquiry. The federal governments of both Canada and the United States can claim that they will have done their duty to the project when they have provided the channels which would enable vessels of the desired size to move between the Great Lakes and the sea. Other constructions necessary, they may reasonably urge, should fall upon the communities desiring them. But from the standpoint of making a comprehensive survey of the economic cost of the scheme, the omission of information on this aspect is serious. The St. Lawrence shipway as a transportation route without proper terminals on the Great Lakes would be incomplete. That part of the necessary expenditures might fall elsewhere than upon the central governments does not permit their exclusion from consideration. In Canada and in the United States large sums have been expended on ports by the federal government. The money has been either spent directly or loaned to harbour boards to finance improvements.

How few naturally good harbours there are on the Great Lakes is not fully appreciated. Port Arthur was originally an exposed roadstead. The mouth of the Kaministiquia River at Fort William was cumbered with shoals upon which small boats would ground half a mile out. The natural entrance to Duluth was a winding channel over a shifting sandbar with an average depth of 9 to 11 feet. The natural outlet of the Milwaukee River had a depth of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet and an artificial channel had to be formed by piers and dredging. Chicago River constitutes the inner harbour of Chicago, before improvement a sluggish bayou or creek stagnant for the greater part of the year. Similar conditions with respect to harbours obtained on the other lakes. Only by a combination of government, municipal and private enterprise, pursued for many years and at great expense, have the chief ports on the Great Lakes been brought with difficulty up to an average minimum depth at the present time approximately of 20 to 22 feet.

To increase the depth of these harbours to that of the proposed channel, namely 27 feet, would involve large expenditure for which estimates are lacking. At least a dozen important ports would be affected and the amounts would vary with the difficulty of conditions. But the total would be a large sum. For instance, the capital cost of the proposed expenditures on the port of Oswego by the United States federal government, due to the opening of the new Welland Canal, is placed at \$8,500,000. The complete cost of harbour improvements on the Great Lakes, however, would not be chargeable to the St. Lawrence project alone since deepening these harbours would benefit also the heavy interlake traffic that now exists; but it should carry its share.

The expense of constructing the waterway must be met as the work proceeds. For the use of the money required, interest must be paid, and this interest, in turn, is compounded until the project is completed. It is universally conceded that

such interest is part of the cost of the construction of the waterway. The size of the interest bill will be determined by the rate at which money can be obtained, the length of the period of construction and the distribution of expenditures throughout the period. Various rates of interest have been used in making computations; the United States Interstate Commerce Commission holds that railways of good credit can borrow money at $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ and it makes an allowance of $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ to cover the cost of syndicating and of placing loans with investors. For the St. Lawrence it is presumed funds would be provided by government loans which might permit a somewhat lower rate. At the present time the yield on Dominion bonds is slightly over $4\frac{1}{2}\%$. Mr. Hoover in his reports uses the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}\%$, but apparently included in that figure the cost of marketing the securities; others have used 5% .

The length of time that will be occupied in construction is also a matter of opinion. The shortest period estimated has been eight years, but as the project has received more intensive study, ten, twelve and even sixteen years have been suggested. Since it is proposed to carry on the work concurrently at many points, it is likely that expenditure would be fairly evenly spaced throughout the years of construction. If we assume that funds can be obtained at $4\frac{1}{2}\%$, including costs of marketing, and construction lasts twelve years, the bill for interest on \$372,000,000 would amount approximately to \$107,000,000. If the rate amounts to 5% the interest bill would climb to \$122,000,000.

It is difficult to estimate the class of costs arising from the fact that after the channel has been completed some time would probably elapse before a normal volume of traffic would develop. It is at least likely, however, that a period of from three to five years would be required before adjustments to the new route would give it a normal flow of traffic. With a

private venture the losses incurred during this period of operation would be regarded as part of the costs of establishing the enterprise and would have to be provided for in the capitalization. They should properly be included in the capital costs in this instance also.

The opening of the shipway would render obsolete the present canal system. The amount of capital invested at present by the Dominion of Canada alone in the St. Lawrence route, exclusive of the new Welland Canal, is placed at \$85,000,000. This system would have to be maintained in a state of efficiency until the "change-over" took place. Moreover, new terminals are about to be constructed at Prescott that will, in part at least, cease to have a purpose when the deepened channel is opened to Montreal. It is not known yet what these terminals will cost. A figure put forward is \$10,000,000. The transfer elevator at Port Colborne would not be required to the same extent as at present. Part of the elevator capacity at Buffalo would suffer. At present a considerable volume of grain is handled through Georgian Bay ports. The volume would be reduced with corresponding losses in earnings to the railways and to the owners of the transfer houses. Thus we see that the opening of the new channel would create losses at various points which would be no less real because they would be difficult to estimate.

In making a rough computation of the total cost of the route there are included figures for the costs of the last three items; namely, losses during the initial period of operation, a share of the cost of harbour reconstruction for the ports of the Great Lakes, and the value of property rendered valueless, and losses due to reduction in value by the new construction. These figures are purely nominal since a careful and detailed estimate of costs of this nature remains yet to be made. It is likely that investigation would considerably increase the amounts set down.

Initial cost of construction of 27-foot channel from upper lakes to the sea	\$372,000,000
Interest during period of construction at 4½%	107,000,000
Losses incurred during development of traffic	20,000,000
Share of costs of harbour reconstruction	30,000,000
Value of property rendered valueless and losses due to reduction in value	30,000,000
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Total costs chargeable to navigation with interest at 4½%	559,000,000
Total costs with interest at 5%	574,000,000
Annual charges:	
Interest on \$559,000,000 at 4½%	25,155,000
Costs of operation, maintenance and depreciation at 1½%	8,385,000
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Total with interest at 4½%	33,540,000
Total with interest at 5%	37,310,000

This estimate of annual charges is merely one of many that have been made, some higher, others considerably lower. It is submitted chiefly to indicate the order of magnitude of the costs of the scheme, the nature of the costs that must be taken into consideration, the great variety of factors that must be examined before a computation can be made, and, especially, the need for further study of certain economic aspects of the project. It needs no further calculations to demonstrate that if the project could be completed in eight years and financed upon a 4% basis the total costs and annual charges would be greatly reduced.

II. Expected Savings in Transportation Rates

When the project was first presented to the public extravagant statements were circulated with regard to the nature of the vessels that could use the route and the savings that would accrue from lake ports becoming ocean terminals. A leading mid-western American daily newspaper pictured vessels like the *Mauretania* docking and embarking passengers at Chicago although the proposed depth of the channel is only 25 or 27 feet and the deep load draft of the *Mauretania* is 38 feet. Much was made of the statement that a 27-foot channel would enable over 80% of the world's ocean vessels to penetrate to the Great Lakes. This statement lost some

of its impressiveness when it was pointed out that this percentage included a large number of small ocean boats engaged in short sea trading along the coasts of Europe and that a 27-foot depth would exclude approximately one-half of the ocean's most efficient freight carriers. It was also confidently premised that the opening of this seven months water-way would lead to the designing and building of a new type of ocean carrier of "great freight capacity and with a relatively shallow draft." It need scarcely be pointed out that ship designers are ceaselessly working at the problem of obtaining safe and economical cargo ships of shallow draft. There are enough shallow harbours in the world at the present time to constitute a sufficient motive for a new type of vessel, if it could be obtained, without requiring the opening of the St. Lawrence to stimulate its production.

In the same way dazzling prospects of reductions in freight rates were held out to the people, especially the farmers, of the American middle west. A freight rate was calculated from Duluth to Liverpool that exhibited savings in carriage equal to the total cost at present of carrying grain by water from the head of the lakes and putting it on board ocean vessels at Montreal. This implied that ocean boats would be prepared to carry grain from Duluth to Liverpool at rates that they were actually receiving for carrying it from Montreal to Liverpool. Moreover, savings of this generous sort were calculated upon the farmers' entire grain production rather than upon what they sent to market. Even what was retained for seed or used to feed work animals was reckoned to show a saving. By this magic arithmetic the economic advantages of the deep waterway were shown to be so great that they would very quickly liquidate the total expenditure required to construct it.

At least three methods have been employed to calculate the savings expected to be realized through a reduction in

freight rates. The economies of ocean transport and the advantages of a continuous voyage from lake ports furnish the material for one type of investigation. Then there is the possibility that the cheaply operated lake carriers, by making lower rates, might carry to Montreal where transfer to the ocean vessel could take place. How far they would be able to do this would depend upon the savings to be secured by sending the large lakers down the river. This also becomes a matter of investigation. Finally, in conjunction with these studies, savings have been estimated by concentrating attention upon the reduction in costs achieved by a reduced number of lockages and the elimination of transfer expenses between the upper lakes and Montreal.

An estimate of savings based upon the difference between the present rates of transportation down the St. Lawrence and those rates which are expected to prevail if the deepened channel is opened, applies only to the volume of traffic that at present finds it profitable to seek the route. When savings are reckoned upon the additional volume of traffic expected to develop, the measure of saving would be the difference between the total rate from the point of initial shipment to the foreign port by the new St. Lawrence channel and the rates by routes which are now cheaper than the present St. Lawrence route. This means that in calculating savings upon much traffic expected from American points the basis is the difference between the expenses of shipment by New York or other Atlantic seaboard ports and by the new route.

The factors involved are the comparative distances by alternative routes, the length of rail haul in each instance, terminal expenses, the type of ocean carriers possible to employ and insurance rates. The channel of the St. Lawrence is almost in a direct line of navigation to northern European ports but to many people who have not given special thought to the subject it comes as a surprise that American lake cities

are slightly over 400 miles nearer to Liverpool by the St. Lawrence route than they are by New York. The shortest mileage from Pittsburg to Liverpool would be by Cleveland and the St. Lawrence. The advantages in distance possessed on voyages to northern European ports do not apply to the Mediterranean and the voyage is very much longer by the St. Lawrence when the destination is the West Indies or South America. The actual distance of a voyage, however, is of less importance than the amount of cargo offered, the probability of cargo both ways, the assortment of cargo as between deadweight measurement, port charges, loading and discharging expenses.

The length of rail haul from many United States inland points to lake ports is shorter than to the Atlantic seaboard, but the importance of terminal costs as a factor in railway rates reduces the actual difference in the amount charged. The terminal expenses at the lake ports, in some instances at least, would be lower than at tidewater ports. This is especially true of New York where port expenses are very high. Up to this point the comparison is in favour of the St. Lawrence route.

When it comes to the type of ocean carrier available, the ports on the Atlantic seaboard have a distinct advantage. Approximately one-half of the larger freight carriers would be excluded from the St. Lawrence deep waterway. New York, moreover, can offer a variety of steamer services to all parts of the world that no other port on the North American continent can equal. At the present time she holds her supremacy as a port in the face of a freight differential of two cents per hundred pounds in favour of Philadelphia, and three cents in favour of Baltimore and Norfolk.

Apart from other considerations, the greater dangers involved in the St. Lawrence route lead to heavier insurance charges and thus to higher costs of shipment than by New

York. Canadians are inclined to maintain that these higher insurance rates are an example of wilful discrimination against Canada. This view finds no support in the investigations of the Imperial Shipping Committee, certainly not a hostile body. For a six year period, ending December, 1924, they found the proportion of total losses per 1,000 of ships using the St. Lawrence route to be .56, and for the United States north Atlantic seaboard .03. The proportion of strandings for New York alone per 1,000 ships was 1.31; for the St. Lawrence and its approaches 5.05. Here we have the basis of higher insurance charges.

A marked superiority that New York possesses over any other port on the Atlantic seaboard is a balanced load factor. Although the outbound cargoes from the United States markedly exceed the inbound, yet there is almost an even balance between the amount of freight received and shipped out at the port of New York. In view of the large proportion of bulk traffic that is expected to move from the Great Lakes region by the St. Lawrence, it is unlikely that there will be a favourable load factor for this route. Estimates of the volume of traffic available indicate a load factor of 50 to 100. It is well known that the lack of traffic from Great Britain to Canada makes this the "worst balanced sea route of the empire." A reasonable balance between inbound and outbound cargoes is an important factor in creating low ocean rates. New York enjoys this great advantage.

The question remains whether ocean boats will find it more profitable to enter the Great Lakes or transfer cargoes at Montreal. Terminal charges form a large part of the expenses of vessels. The late Sir William Petersen stated in evidence before a parliamentary committee that the total expense of an actual trip for one of his vessels from Hull to Montreal and thence to Hamburg with grain would be £3,543. Of this amount the actual port charges at Montreal were

£1,313. and he estimated port charges at Hamburg at £550. On this basis terminal charges represented over 50% of the entire expenses of the trip. From facts of this nature it is argued that it will be profitable for ocean vessels to proceed direct to lake ports for cargo and thereby eliminate Montreal charges.

Against this advantage must be placed the dangers of restricted navigation and frequent lockages, the expense of additional pilotage and the probability of increased insurance. Scandinavian ocean vessels operating on the Great Lakes are now facing additional insurance charges after the underwriters have had several years' experience of the hazards involved. These factors militate against the suggestion that ocean boats would be willing to enter the lakes without a substantial increase in rates over what they could obtain from Montreal. On the other hand, the undeniable superiority of the lake carrier in its own field consists in cheaper construction costs and relatively low overhead combined with remarkable capacity for freight carriage. This capacity is due to there being no need to carry cumbersome loading and unloading machinery and since the voyages are short they are able to operate with reduced bunker space. All these considerations seem to make it likely that lake carriers would retain a place in the export traffic by carrying freight to Montreal. But if ocean boats could secure a cargo inbound they would probably enter the lakes and return fully laden.

Various studies have been made attempting to determine the significance of all these factors and to arrive at the extent of the savings in freight rates to be achieved by the use of the St. Lawrence if deepened. With respect to rates on wheat, the estimates of reliable investigators range from 3 to 5 cents per bushel, with the preponderance of informed opinion in favour of the lower figure. This would involve a saving of from \$1.12 to \$1.86 per long ton. Estimates of the saving

upon other types of cargo show a similar range. For some types of cargo the estimated saving is placed as high as \$2.00 per ton. Canadian government engineers estimated savings at \$15,000,000 on 8,050,000 tons of traffic. This would amount to approximately \$1.86 a ton. Very recently an independent detailed estimate of the various kinds of Canadian traffic expected to move through the waterway was made.¹ It exhibits an average rate of saving upon 7,675,000 tons of traffic of approximately \$1.28 per ton. These predictions are very much more modest than earlier estimates, so widely heralded to the public, of all-round savings of \$3.00 to \$4.00 per ton.

III. Expected Volume of Traffic

The main factors that will determine the volume of traffic that would make use of a St. Lawrence waterway are: (1) the quality of the transportation services that the deepened channel would make possible; (2) the length of the season during which these services would be available; (3) the amount of freight able to move within this period.

The route will offer a slow service. The speedier freight boats are of large size and on account of depth restrictions would be unable to use the route. Moreover, the channel itself, with its frequent lockages and restricted navigation, would delay movement. A more rapid means of shipment will be available by rail to tide water and thence by mixed or cargo liner to destination. It seems certain that goods requiring despatch will utilize faster routes in preference to the St. Lawrence. As a rule goods of high value are handled by the speediest means of transportation available. We have an illustration of this in shipments of raw silk. When such shipments are discharged at Vancouver they are moved across the continent by express freight trains at high speed to the mills.

¹L. R. Thomson, M.E.I.C., Proceedings of the Engineering Institute of Canada, February, 1929. The St. Lawrence Problem, page 9.

Commodities of high value are said to "bear" a relatively high rate of freight per ton but in return they demand speed in transportation. Traffic managers are well aware of this fact. The traffic manager of the Canadian Merchant Marine in explaining operating deficits on government vessels to a parliamentary committee in 1925 accounted for operating losses on the ground that the government had slow vessels and could not attract the higher class of traffic. . . "I am telling you," he said, "we can not draw it for our steamers, taking 12 to 14 days for the passage, against the steamers that are making the passage in eight or nine or even eleven days.' All transportation experience indicates that only bulk commodities or commodities which can not be handled easily at terminals would find it advantageous to use the route.

The notion that the rate of flow of export or import commodities would be greatly increased during the season that the channel is open in order to take advantage of the route appears to be fallacious. During the course of the year Europe absorbs a large volume of foodstuffs. But the volume flows thither at a remarkably even rate because it moves in response to customers' demand. Dealers in Europe do not stock up beyond a certain point nor do they provide large storage facilities at their home ports to make accumulation possible. They prefer to bring commodities in week by week and not to tie up their capital or incur carrying charges by putting their imports in store for a lengthy period. Before their limited stocks become depleted they place further orders abroad and in this way maintain a continuity of supplies. The officials of the Wheat Pool state that large deliveries of wheat of the 1927-28 crop were made during the months of December, January, February and March when the St. Lawrence route would be closed. The Wheat Pool quickly learned that consumers' demand governed the rate at which stocks could be moved profitably across the Atlantic. The conclusion

follows that of the total volume of freight suitable to move by the St. Lawrence route, the proportion that actually will move by that channel will be determined by the length of period the waterway is open each year.

Since the St. Lawrence will be closed for approximately five months of each year shippers will have to make use of other facilities of transportation for that period. This consideration is likely to prove decisive in persuading a fairly large group of shippers, who are near the margin of indifference with respect to which route they will use when both are available, to continue their shipments by the Atlantic seaboard. It is possible they may be able to exact some concessions from the railways as the reward of loyalty, but the disturbances to forwarding arrangements created by the transfer in the spring and autumn from one avenue of transportation to another would work against any change. These disturbances would be accentuated if the railways adopted the policy of making a difference in winter and summer rates to meet water competition.

These factors enter into a determination of the volume of traffic that will make use of the channel. The United States Department of Commerce estimates "potential tonnage available" in the United States at 6,400,000 tons of export traffic, 3,000,000 tons of import traffic and 7,000,000 tons of inter-coastal and coastwise, or a total of 16,400,000. Canadian engineers of the Department of Railways and Canals estimate Canadian traffic at exports of 5,450,000 tons and imports at 2,600,000, or a total for Canada of 8,050,000. This would give a grand total of 24,450,000 tons. Government figures are apt to be tainted with official optimism. An independent study for Canada places the volume of traffic to be expected at 7,675,000 tons. To reach a satisfactory conclusion it is necessary to go beyond general estimates to an investigation into the amount of traffic likely actually to move by the route

at given freight levels. Such an estimate demands an intensive study of the requirements and annual cycle of activity of each kind of industry before reasonably reliable figures can be secured.

The significance of these estimates may be emphasized by a comparison with the traffic on the Panama Canal. The present traffic by the Panama is approximately 29,000,000 tons for a 41-foot channel with a twelve months service. On the St. Lawrence 24,450,000 tons is suggested for a channel 27 feet deep offering a seven months' service. With an average daily volume of the density estimated for the St. Lawrence throughout the year the Panama Canal would show a total traffic of approximately 42,000,000 tons annually. On the other hand, if the St. Lawrence developed an average daily volume of traffic as dense as the Panama now enjoys, after fifteen years of operation, its total for a season of seven months would be nearly 17,000,000 tons. The writer is of the opinion that 17,000,000 tons would not be an unreasonable estimate of the traffic to be expected upon the St. Lawrence for a considerable duration of time.

IV. Summary of Results

Our survey shows estimates of annual charges ranging from \$33,540,000 to \$37,310,000. Estimates of expected savings on transportation rates vary between \$1.28 per ton and \$1.86 per ton with the weightiest opinion supporting the lower figure. The estimated volume of traffic may be said to be between 15,000,000 tons annually and the official estimates of 24,450,000 tons. It will be obvious that these figures can be combined in various ways to support quite different conclusions. If the engineers did not exceed their estimates of capital cost, if savings approximated \$1.86 per ton and if there were 24,000,000 tons of traffic annually, there would be a substantial gain in constructing the channel. But even with

this volume of traffic, if savings did not exceed \$1.28 per ton there would be an annual deficit upon the route. Finally, if the route did not achieve a traffic density greater than either the Suez or the Panama, even though savings reached the upper figure of \$1.86 per ton, there would still be a deficit to be met from taxation by the two countries.

V. The Incidence of Costs and of Benefit

For many years it has been an accepted part of Canadian public policy to operate canals free of tolls to the users. This fact would make it difficult politically to consider establishing a system of tolls on the St. Lawrence deep waterway designed to take care of the annual charges arising from capital cost, operation and maintenance. Even if this objection were overcome the establishment of a system of tolls that distributed the burden fairly among the users would be a task of considerable difficulty.

In view of these circumstances, if the route were operated free of tolls, the only way of arriving at an approximate estimate of the advantages to be gained from construction would be to compare the sum of the annual charges, which would have to be defrayed from the public treasuries of the two countries concerned, with the sum of the calculated savings to shippers from reductions in freight charges. To make this phase of the study complete, however, it would be necessary to trace and estimate the effects of the burden of additional taxation imposed upon enterprise and industry and to balance these evil effects against the benefits expected to be realized from subsidizing navigation users on a large scale. Such a study would be very difficult to make and will not be attempted at this time. But it is necessary to mention this aspect of the problem since the specific dynamic benefits of making water transportation available are very often greatly magnified

without there being any apparent perception of the fact that canal transportation is usually subsidized transportation purchased at the expense of heavier taxation that works a general ill to the economic life of the whole country. In this instance the whole of Canada and the United States would bear the burden of taxation while the chief beneficiaries would be Ontario and the Lake cities of the United States. Western Canada would probably derive some advantage but this advantage would probably be balanced by an increase produced in the field of domestic freight rates.

DAUGHTER OF LEDA

BY LEO KENNEDY

Mistress and Queen of the Trojan tower,
Helen stood for a little hour
Garbed in her grief and dressed in her pride,
Waiting the turn of the battle's tide;
Plaiting the heavy nets of her hair
Helen the Queen was lovely there.

Never a Trojan but turned his eyes
Burdened with brooding, upon the prize
Guarded with stone and the blood-stained spears
A decade of bitter, ravaged years;
Never a Trojan but blessed her head
In spite of the living; in spite of the dead.

The dead were unnumbered—but that was no matter;
The girl was a harlot—but that was the chatter
Of less-favoured creatures with no good word
For a woman born of a Queen and a bird.

Upon the stones of the parapet
Dame Helen walked, and her eyes were wet
With thinking upon that noble lad
Dead Paris, and the joy they had
When youth's bright flesh was firm and sweet
And the days went by on careless feet.

'His voice is silent; his lips are cold,
And Death has anointed his eyes with mould;
The dull mole tunnels his bones, and the worm
Defiles the flesh which was sweet and firm.
Out of such union, a flower or a weed
Buds, and blossoms, and goes to seed.'

Thus spoke Lady Helen, and her heart was torn
With pity for lovers still unborn.

Deep in the heavens the voice of a lark
Suddenly spoke, and she paused to hark,
Weaving her hair to a golden net,
Leaning upon the parapet;
And up from the meadow surrounding Troy
The note was repeated, a word of joy.
Strong wings whirred, and the two birds flew
Over the green and into the blue;
Queen Helen stood with her hand on the stone,
And a shrill exultation fluted her bone.

‘The beautiful and the brave go down
Into the dark, and tall Troy Town
Like a stricken woman with cheeks of chalk
Stands sentinel by the narrow walk
Of the ravaging worm, and the stumbling mole.’

Queen Helen said in her pain and her dole:

‘The world wears old, and the slow tides slip
Over the hull of the sunken ship;
And a woman must wait in her grief and her pride
At the change of the moon, for the turn of the tide;
The woman must wait, be she plain or fair,
Plaiting and weaving the nets of her hair.’

Mistress and Queen of the Trojan strength,
Helen turned from her thoughts at length
And looked to the north where the Grecian oars
Were rowing the Galleys back to the Wars.
The Trojans scoffed, yet their lips were set:
But Helen smiled from the parapet.

PLEASURE IN TRAGEDY

BY H. STEINHAUER

THERE is possibly no problem connected with tragedy which is so fundamental as the paradox that we should feel pleasure in witnessing a tragic spectacle. If, therefore, it has not received adequate attention from those who have given it consideration, it is not because its importance or its fascination has not been sufficiently recognized, but because it presents such difficulties that most critics have despaired of finding a convincing answer. In a critical speculation of this kind it is desirable to furnish proof (whether a priori or empirical) for our conclusions, but here is a problem which practically defies proof of either kind. The question of our pleasure in tragedy has not been entirely neglected, however, for there are several theories which attempt to explain this mystery.

All such discussions naturally should begin with a reference to Aristotle's *Poetics*—the Bible of aesthetic theory. There is a difficulty in that Aristotle has almost nothing to say on the subject—one sentence, to be exact—and that one sentence is open to various interpretations. So, we had better leave Aristotle for the present and, in the meantime, examine other theories. There is, first of all, what Professor Macneile Dixon calls the malevolence theory—the view that we derive pleasure from tragedy because we enjoy the suffering of others. We are so cruel by nature, it is said, that we delight to see others struggling with adversity, particularly as we ourselves are free from suffering at the moment. There is no way of refuting this uncomplimentary view of human nature

except by opposing to it the equally extreme view held by St. Augustine and Burke when they assert that our pleasure in witnessing a tragic spectacle is nothing but our sympathy and pity for the sufferer. It is the pleasure which we feel in doing a good deed. And thus the malevolence theory may be met by the benevolence theory. Neither of these makes a strong appeal because it either degrades or exalts human nature too much. Both forget that human nature is human nature, if not perfect, at least not totally depraved.

A much saner view is that of Schopenhauer, whose great charm, here as everywhere, is that he is not over-subtle, but so wonderfully human and refreshingly simple. He starts with a bias: he is a pessimist; but grant him his premise, and you have clear sailing thereafter. Life is evil, he says; we all suffer, and suffer most of the time. But there is an escape from our suffering, and that is in becoming absorbed in art. When we throw off the yoke of our daily passions and desires and sink into a state of pure aesthetic contemplation, we are, for some moments at least, free from suffering and grief. Then we view life as a spectacle, as an objective picture, not as an object of our desires. In this way alone can we know happiness. Tragedy shows us a picture of life as it is; it presents before our eyes the trials and tribulations of someone who, like ourselves, is struggling with an adverse fate. We rejoice in this spectacle because we ourselves for the moment are free from the misfortunes which beset the tragic hero. There is no malevolence in this view; we are not glad because the hero is suffering defeat at the hands of adversity, but because we ourselves are free from his fate. Lucretius has expressed the same view in the opening lines of the second book of *De Rerum Natura*:

Suave, mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis,
E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem;
Non quia vexari quemquam est iucunda voluptas,
Sed quibus ipse malis careas quia cernere suave est.

"Pleasant it is, when over a great sea the winds trouble the waters, to gaze from shore upon another's great tribulation: not because any man's troubles are a delectable joy, but because to perceive what ill you are free from yourself is pleasant."

There is no denying the fact that there is much more to be said for this theory than for either of the preceding views; certainly it cannot be dismissed lightly. And yet not many will accept it; some because they will not allow the premise that our daily life is full of suffering and that art is an escape from this suffering; others because the pleasure derived from tragedy is, according to this view, negative in nature, and they feel that the delight which they get from tragedy is far too real and vivid and positive to be ascribed to a feeling of relief from pain or grief.

The late C. E. Montague, in a posthumous essay published in the *London Mercury* for December, 1928, suggests a much more complex solution of the problem. Four elements, in his view, go to make up our pleasure in witnessing tragedy. The satisfaction which we feel, he says, corresponds to the spectator's gradual admission to an exceptional measure of intimacy with the deeply moved mind of the dramatist. It is the thrill which we experience upon receiving an emotional confidence or intimacy. When the tragedian shows us the secrets of his wonderful mind, we cannot, therefore, help but feel a thrill of exultation. There is a peculiar joy, moreover, in seeing the powerful mind of the dramatist at work; we are thrilled at the contact with vital power in full flood; for any contact with abundant life and energy is rousing and exciting—and this is the second factor in our enjoyment of tragedy. A third element is the satisfaction we feel in seeing a severe technical task triumphantly accomplished; it is the pleasure derived from the craftsman's victory over the intractableness of his material, handsomely won by the refinements of his

ingenuity and precaution. Finally, as Mr. Montague feels that these three reasons do not sufficiently explain our pleasure in tragedy, he adds a fourth: we feel a natural exultation at the early deaths and baffled loves of tragedy. Not that we are malevolent, he says; but the spectacle of human suffering is a phase of life, and every phase of life interests, excites and delights us.

This view of the problem is not as satisfactory as Schopenhauer's. The first three reasons derive the pleasureable sensation, not from the spectacle, but from the dramatist or from the spectator. While this is not a final objection (for perhaps the pleasure does proceed from other sources than the drama itself) as long as an explanation can be found which does not go beyond the spectacle, it is preferable to such theories as Mr. Montague's. And the fourth reason, despite the author's explanation, is after all only another form of the malevolence theory.

There is one answer to our question which does not seem to have attracted much notice from those who have reflected on the problems connected with tragedy. Yet this view seems to me to be a clearer and more reasonable explanation than any other yet offered. True, Professor Macneile Dixon devotes a section to it in his stimulating book, *Tragedy*. "Does pain give birth to pleasure?" he asks, and in reply quotes a few great men—among them Shelley and Leopardi—who seem to have believed (if only from a stray reference or two) that it does. But he dismisses the question with a curt epigram from Bishop Butler: "Everything is what it is and not another thing"; pleasure and pain are two extremes which do not touch. Professor Dixon is too hasty; for there is more in this than meets the eye.

The history of the drama may be conceived as one long struggle for freedom. Drama began with what seems to us nowadays an intolerable lot of restrictions, just as primitive

life was over-burdened with numerous taboos. A tragedy "according to Aristotle" had to fulfil certain requirements; the hero must be a great man, a king, a statesman, a great soldier; the plot must be constructed after a certain fashion; the action must have proper motivation; the diction must be in the grand manner. Shakespeare still observed all these restrictions. Corneille, Racine and the other French tragedians willingly obeyed even more regulations. They accepted the three unities and all the minor inconveniences which they involve. But liberty came at last when Diderot put the stamp of approval on Nivelle de la Chaussée's *comédie larmoyante*, which drove princes and generals from the boards and put the bourgeoisie in their place. Diderot was followed by Lessing who swept away a few more cobwebs, arguing that Aristotle had not been correctly understood, but in reality proving that the western genius is not "according to Aristotle." Since then the drama, and tragedy in particular, has been gaining more and more liberty, with the result that to-day we enjoy tragedies written by playwrights who, two centuries ago, would have been hailed by Voltaire as worse than "génies sauvages."

We have done much to shatter these idols of the theatre by recognizing that art is not artifice, and that drama which is not closely related to life will not interest an audience. We no longer observe the unities, nor the doctrine of the great tragic hero. We have emancipated ourselves from "tragic flaws" and the grand manner. But there are still a few idols left, and these we worship the more fervently because they are so few in number. We still solemnly assert that art is fundamentally different from life. Thus Professor Macneile Dixon, who is singularly free from prejudice in his aesthetic judgments, reminds us that in real life there are no tragedies, and that a tragedy is a work of art designed to please. And the late C. E. Montague supplies a variation on this theme when he says that in real life we may have accidents, but no

tragedies. Even Nietzsche, whose aesthetic sense was keen and judgment sound, is violently opposed to drama which is based on life as it is ordinarily lived. But this is nothing more than sheer prejudice. We must not assert dogmatically that art is in any way necessarily different from life. It need not be, although it may well be. To say that in real life there are no tragedies is to shut out at once a host of plays—such, for instance, as Galsworthy's *Justice*, Masfield's *Nan*, Henri Becque's *Les Corbeaux* and Tchekov's *The Cherry Orchard* and *The Seagull*—which are veritable slices of life based on ordinary tragic incidents, featuring poor, weak, insignificant characters, written in simple, homely language, sometimes in dialect.

The distinction between the "accidents" of life and the "tragedies" of art points, among other things, to a belief in the old dogma that drama must have proper motivation. Fortunately, Mr. G. Bernard Shaw has slain this dragon in the preface to the *Three Plays for Puritans*. What is Dick Dudgeon's motive for saving Anderson's life at the expense of his own?, he asks. And here is the reply:

"On the stage, it appears, people do things for reasons. Off the stage they dont: that is why your penny-in-the-slot heroes, who only work when you drop a motive into them, are so oppressively automatic and uninteresting. . . . Not one of my critics but has seen a hundred times in his paper how some policeman or fireman or nursemaid has received a medal, or the compliments of a magistrate, or perhaps a public funeral, for risking his or her life to save another's. Has he ever seen it added that the saved was the husband of the woman the saver loved, or was that woman herself, or was even known to the saver as much as by sight? Never Need I repeat that the theatre critic's professional routine so discourages any association between real life and the stage, that he soon loses the natural habit of referring to the one to explain the other."

Of course Mr. Shaw hasn't all the angels on his side. The

dramatist may transcend life, both in comedy and in tragedy. He may embellish the facts and occurrences of every-day life until they shine with a lustre all their own. That is what Shakespeare does, and, in our own day, Mr. Shaw himself. For if Mr. Shaw's incidents are based on ordinary life, his characters rarely speak as people do in real life. But this embellishment must not be elevated to the position of a canon, or we shall be forced to expel Galsworthy, Masefield, Becque, and Tchekov from the halls of the tragic muse.

True, the material which every-day experience furnishes the dramatist is usually trimmed around and presented in such a way as to make it more effective on the stage. For instance, in life we often arrive on the scene of a tragedy when half the spectacle is over; and only when we inquire later from the bystanders what happened before our arrival do we grasp the significance of the whole. But no dramatist would imitate such an occurrence by presenting a tragedy which left us in the dark regarding what had taken place before the curtain rose. It would be silly, for example, to open *Hamlet* with the scene in which the prince kills Polonius behind the arras, leaving us to inquire from our neighbours why he killed the old fool. Such points, however, concern technique and logical arrangement alone. But the materials and the characters which the dramatist finds in life need not necessarily be changed.

Now, if life and art need not be divorced, what happens when we witness a tragic spectacle? Briefly, we feel pain, and if we feel the pain keenly enough we begin to feel pleasure. For it is a fact which cannot be denied by any number of Butlerian epigrams that pleasure and pain are as inseparable as the inside and outside of a circle. It is a fact, moreover, which has been generally recognized. "The pain of the inferior," says Shelley, in a remark quoted by Mr. Dixon, "is frequently connected with the pleasures of the superior parts

of our being." Goethe expressed it in *Werther* and in the little poem which he calls *Wonne der Wehmut*:

Trocknet nicht, trocknet nicht,
Tränen der ewigen Liebe!
Ach nur dem halbgetrockneten Auge
Wie öde, wie tod die Welt ihm erscheint!
Trocknet nicht, trocknet nicht,
Tränen unglücklicher Liebe!

"I am convinced," says Burke, "we have a degree of delight, and that no small one, in the real misfortunes and pains of others." Yes, and he might have added, in our own as well. Leopardi (again I am quoting Professor Dixon), visiting Tasso's tomb was moved to tears, and describes it as "the first and only pleasure I have found in Rome." Indeed, the whole Romantic school made capital of this *mélange des genres* in life. In modern times it has played an important rôle in the philosophy of Nietzsche, and in Havelock Ellis's studies in the psychology of sex. The abnormal forms of this pleasure in pain and pain in pleasure are known to science as sadism and masochism. But there are a few grains of these wild growths in every one of us. We are all masochists enough to bite hard on an aching tooth and to feel pleasure as a result of the biting.

If you ask why pleasure should result from pain and pain from pleasure, I can only reply by a speculation. Shelley called it an "inexplicable defect of harmony in the constitution of human nature." But there is a simpler explanation of the phenomenon. Nature seems to be the mother of democracy; her task is to level out abnormalities in her creatures. She is the great enemy of excess of any kind, including excess of pleasure and of pain. For it is a law of nature that all excess leads to destruction and annihilation; and Nature herself takes care to give us warning when we are approaching the danger spot. If pleasure continued increasing indefinitely, we would reach a point at which we would die of ecstatic joy; Nature warns us by changing our pleasure to pain—and lo! we take

heed and are saved. Similarly an excess of grief might cause us to die of low spirits; our grief, therefore, becomes transformed into pleasure. Théophile Gautier, in a little poem which he calls *Le poème de la femme*, describes a beautiful woman who sits staring at her own nude figure; she becomes so enraptured with her own beauty, so entranced with the graceful curves of her body, that she finally sinks down in ecstasy and expires from voluptuousness.

L'extase l'a prise à la terre;
Elle est morte de volupté.

It is a good thing that this happened once, for it provided Gautier with material for a poetical masterpiece; but if death from joy or grief were a normal occurrence, it would go hard indeed with the human race.

We see, therefore, that in actual life we receive pleasure from witnessing tragedy; and the greater the tragedy the more pleasure we feel. If the pleasure which we derive from an actual tragic experience is not very great, it is because the calamity itself has not affected us very deeply. We are too detached in life; we forget things too easily; and when we have shed a few tears and found relief in them, we promptly turn our minds to other matters.

Not so in art, especially in dramatic art. Comparatively few people may possess the blessed faculty of becoming totally absorbed in a picture or a piece of sculpture; but it is not long after the rise of the curtain at a good play before the audience is held spellbound. Explain it how you will; the fact remains that we are able to participate more keenly in the woes and calamities of a fictitious tragic hero than in the real suffering of our next door neighbour. Before we are aware of it, we are suffering the imaginary grief of the tragic hero as acutely as if it were our own, indeed more keenly than if it were our own. Our suffering is so great that if we did not feel pleasure in our pain we would expire. But nature is

always at hand to take care of her children; and our acute suffering is changed into the great comfort with which every good tragedy leaves us.

"Can you imagine a man," says Nietzsche, "capable of listening to the third act of *Tristan and Isolde* without the aid of words and scenery, purely as a vast symphonic period, without expiring by a spasmodic distention of all the wings of his soul? A man who has thus put his ear to the heart-chamber of the world-will, who feels the furious desire for existence issuing from it as a thundering stream or a gently foaming brook into all the veins of the world, would he not collapse at once? Could he endure in the wretched fragile tenement of the human individual, to hear the re-echo of countless cries of joy and sorrow from the "vast void of cosmic night" without flying irresistibly towards his primitive home at the sound of this pastoral dance-song of metaphysics? But if, in spite of all this, such a work can be heard as a whole without a renunciation of individual existence, and if such a creation could exist without destroying its creator, where are we to find the solution of this contradiction?"

Nietzsche's answer does not concern us, because it involves other issues and points of view, such as Greek tragedy, Schopenhauerian metaphysics, and the Wagnerian music-drama. But the quotation shows that Nietzsche was occupied with our problem and that he realized that complete absorption with painful art (in his case music) would cause an annihilation of the individual, unless some form of relief were invented to counteract the process of destruction.

But we have dealt with only half the problem. Granted that most people feel a keener pleasure from feigned tragedy than from real suffering, the question still remains: why do people willingly go to see suffering and to suffer themselves? Why do they even pay money to feel pain? Schopenhauer's theory, of course, provides a simple and perfectly satisfactory answer, if only we would accept the premise. If tragedy gives us pleasure by making us forget our own suffering and by

showing us how fortunate we are in being free from the grief of the tragic hero, there is sufficient reason for welcoming such a spectacle. But, as we have seen, many refuse to allow the premise; and besides, according to this view, we ought to feel pleasure alone in witnessing a tragic spectacle, while in reality we experience a mixed feeling of pain and pleasure.

Why, then, do we welcome grief from tragedy? True, some people do not. They do not feel the pleasure which for most results from pain, and if they did witness a tragic scene it would leave them nervous wrecks. It is these who faint in theatres and at accidents in the street. Nature provides for them in another way; she instils in them a dislike for tragic spectacles of any kind. But those who take pleasure in seeing tragedy on the stage are persuaded to go out of sheer curiosity or sympathy, just as we throw away our work when we hear an automobile crash, and run to the spot of the accident, not thinking at the moment of the pain which the spectacle will cause us.

It is, after all, perhaps dangerous to speculate whether people nowadays prefer actual tragedy to feigned grief, grief because the feelings of modern cultured men and women have been either really tamed or only camouflaged by social convention. "Choose a day," says Edmund Burke, "on which to present the most sublime and affecting tragedy we have; appoint the most favourite actors; spare no cost upon the scenes and decorations, unite the greatest efforts of poetry, painting and music; and when you have collected your audience, just at the moment when their minds are erect with expectation, let it be reported that a State criminal of high rank is on the point of being executed in the adjoining square; in a moment the emptiness of the theatre would demonstrate the comparative weakness of the imitative arts and proclaim the triumph of the real sympathy."

I am not so certain that a modern "highbrow" theatre

audience would forsake a tragic spectacle to witness an execution in the next block. But then, it may be that they would refrain merely from a sense of the bad form of the thing. And certainly I can conceive of even the most refined and cultured gentleman laying aside Hardy's *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* to read about the latest sensational Chicago murder in the daily newspaper. Sympathy? Yes, and curiosity too. There is no difference between life and art. The man who likes to see tragedy in the theatre likes it for the same reason that he enjoys witnessing an execution or an accident, at least his feelings are the same—a mixture of pleasure and of pain.

And now, to return to our starting point! What does Aristotle say on the subject? "One should not seek from tragedy all kinds of pleasure, but that which is peculiar to tragedy, and since the poet must by representation produce the pleasure which comes from feeling pity and fear, obviously this quality must be embodied in the incidents." *The pleasure which comes from feeling pity and fear!* Does this, perchance, suggest the interpretation offered in this essay?

FARMING ON PEACE RIVER A CENTURY AGO

BY ELIZABETH JAFFARY

I N the autumn of 1925 two old journals written by factors of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Dunvegan were dug up on the banks of the Peace River below that post. A traveller passing along the side of the river some days earlier had pulled from the earth a letter dated 1896 written by the Chief Trader to Peter Gunn, then in charge for the company at Lac Ste. Anne. When this letter some thirty years old was delivered to Mr. Gunn curiosity ran high. A careful search showed that a slip of the bank had occurred; other half-revealed papers brought pick and shovel to work. Soon a box was uncovered in which among a lot of rubbish—sweepings of the abandoned fort—were these precious journals of 1839-42 and 1853-4. Their covers were gone; some pages were torn, others were mud-stained: many were dog-eared. But, fortunately, they were still quite legible. These priceless old records now form part of the archives of the Province of Alberta. Beside them on the shelf rests a volume of extracts from the journals of the same post for the years 1828-30, secured from the estate of a Hudson's Bay Company's factor, recently deceased. These three treasures recently acquired by the provincial archives are probably the only unpublished records in Canada of this famous frontier trading centre, for, although the company required that journals be kept in duplicate at each post, one for reference there and the other for London headquarters, all remaining copies were called in many years ago.

These journals, supplemented by the well-known private diary of Daniel Harmon of the Northwest Company who was stationed at Dunvegan from 1808-10, shortly after its founding, contain the story, somewhat broken it is true, of a fur trader's life on the frontier one hundred years ago. In these days of rapid settlement of the Peace country when farm houses are rising around the site of the old post and old buffalo runs are being broken by the plough it is interesting to turn over these pages of good rag paper and to place the old beside the new.

The early entries give us an interesting view of the weather, the varied occupations of the fort, and passing incidents thought worthy of noting.

"Friday, 13th March, 1840—Weather cold." "Lalonde off for the Animal (a moose killed by the hunters) mentioned yesterday with Plante's Dogs. Two young men came in for a little Ammunition and Tobacco. Two men arrived from Lesser Slave Lake bearers of Letters from the different parts of this Department. No very particular news save that our Gentlemen Messrs. Dease and Thomas Simpson have returned successfully from their northern discovery Expedition."

These Arctic explorers had returned from their discoveries east of Point Turn Again, the farthest limit reached by Sir John Franklin. All the factors of the time were proud of their achievements.

"Thursday, 16th April, 1840. The weather has got a little milder and it thaws. Commenced packing our Furs. Traverme, Edward and Sanderson the Packers. Plante and Bourassa busy at fencing. Pawse with Olivier making Nails for Canoes, but the Bellows is very bad and they can not get on fast. Lalonde making Oars."

"Saturday, May 6th, 1854 — Snow disappeared and weather warmer. Racine and band arrived this afternoon. They give (except Racine himself) very little in furs, owing to gambling with the Slaves of Mackenzie River. They have a good deal of Leather."

The extracts from the journals of 1828-30, and most of that of 1839-42 were written by Colin Campbell, who in the front of the earlier volume says that he was born in Upper Canada and had at that date been twenty-three years in the service. He remained at Dunvegan until 1841 when he was transferred to Chipewyan. The fact that the Company chose him to reopen Dunvegan in 1828 after it had been closed for several years following a massacre at Fort St. John, one hundred miles to the west, shows that they considered him both tactful and courageous; and such he proved to be. William Butcher who succeeded him writes the last few pages in a hand that is almost copperplate. The gentleman in charge during 1853-55 speaks for himself: "October 8. Today is my Birthday, thirty-eight years in this rascally old World and nineteen years less three months in this humble Service in which I have got on famously being at present about a hundred pounds and upwards in debt to the Concern. I trust that some Youngsters who may see this will read and profit by it."

Ascending the Peace River from Fort Vermilion, Harmon gave this picture of the country: "About sixty miles below this where the river is thirty rods wide there is a fall of about twenty feet. Through the whole course from this fall nearly to the Rocky Mountains at a little distance from the river on each side there are plains of considerable extent which afford pasture for numerous herds of buffalo, the red deer or elk and a few moose." On arrival at Dunvegan he reports: "This is a well built fort pleasingly situated with plains on each side of the river. . . Our principal food will be the flesh of buffaloe, moose, red deer and bear. We have a tolerably good kitchen garden and we are in no fear that we shall want the means of a comfortable subsistence." This statement is of special interest for it was chiefly from this region that the pemican was procured to provision the Athabasca canoes as far as Isle à la Crosse.

The only land under cultivation in the first half of the nineteenth century in the far west was around the trading posts and here the plots were of necessity limited in size when implements were of the crudest kind. A ploughshare and scythes were brought from England via York Factory for Dunvegan, but the remainder of the tools were made at the post. We read "Carphy employed making a Harrow, "Cadrant off for Wood for making Shovels", "Pawse gone for Birch to make Cart wheels", "Men preparing Wood for Rakes." In the back of the volume of extracts is recorded, "Extent of ground under cultivation in 1829—about three and one-half acres." The later journals are not so definite but speak of the old, the new, the hill and the prairie gardens and "the large Potatoe field."

On July 21, 1809, Harmon writes: "We have cut down our barley and I think it is the finest I ever saw in any country," and October 3rd, 1810:

"We have taken our potatoes out of the ground and find that the nine bushels which we planted the 10th of May have produced a little more than one hundred and fifty bushels. The other vegetables in our garden have yielded much in the same proportion which is sufficient proof that the soil of the points of land along the river is good. Indeed I am of the opinion that wheat, rye, barley, oats, pease, etc., would grow well in the plains around us."

Again, in 1829:

"Seed sown 20 kegs	Potatoes—Produce	257 kegs
2 " "	Barley	" 14 "
1/4 " "	Wheat	" 1 "
	Turnips	18 "

besides small Seeds such as Onions, Cabbages, etc. which produced pretty well.

The Wheat is very subject to Smut.

Note—A Keg is the common Powder Keg of 9 Gallons.'

The farm products of Peace River had been of great value to the North West Company in their struggle with the Hud-

son's Bay Company and this was recognized after the union of the two companies in 1821. In 1833 the Council of Rupert's Land resolved that "the Gentlemen in charge of Posts in Peace River where the climate and soil are favourable be directed to devote their attention to that important object forthwith; as it is intended that [the Districts of Athabasca and McKenzie's River] shall depend on Peace River alone for their flour after the close of Outfits, 1834."

In 1840, sixty-four kegs of potatoes yielded seven hundred and fifty-three and one keg of barley eight kegs. "Baptiste and the Women cut the Barley." Wheat is not mentioned in this journal, but in that of 1853-55 it again appears, one keg being sown but no record of returns is made nor any comment on smut. Two ounces of turnip seed produced forty-five kegs and although the quarter keg of peas appears in a storehouse report we are not told whether it had been grown locally or imported for seed.

On returning from a trip to Chipewyan in 1855 the gentleman in charge writes: "We starved dreadfully all along the route. The ice did not break up at Vermilion until the 10th of May and we were thirty-two days getting to Chipewyan so it may be supposed we ate all the Potatoes intended for Seed for that post." Several times in the two later journals seed potatoes are sent both to Chipewyan and to Lesser Slave Lake (Grouard) and once two kegs of barley to Chipewyan. In January, 1854, the middle of a very severe winter, the same gentleman writes: "We have two hundred kegs of potatoes still in Caveneau (root-house). This is little enough as the Cattle must have their share. I have taken them in hand in hopes of preserving the principal part of them."

The problem of fencing was difficult. In a bush country snake fences were the fashion but evidently at Dunvegan wood was too valuable. "Bourassa putting up small Pickets about

the Garden", "Plante cutting fencing Wood", "Men making Pickets" we read, and on another occasion "Men gone for Wood for Pins for the Pickets." Nails had to be hammered out by the blacksmith from iron brought from England and were too precious to be used in fences. But in spite of the pickets, as to-day—"The cows got into the Potatoe Patch last night and did considerable damage." And "Last night our Haymakers had a false alarm in consequence of hearing us fire with Powder to drive the Cattle out of the Potatoe field."

About the year 1823 some enterprising Americans drove 300 head of dairy cattle up to the Selkirk Settlement on the Red River. Some of the offspring of this herd were taken westward to the Hudson's Bay Company's posts in the valley of the Saskatchewan and thence on to Lesser Slave Lake and eventually to Dunvegan. In the notes of 1828-30 no cattle are mentioned but by 1839 they had arrived. The record tells us: "Three Cows calved", "Butchered old Calico, the Bull", "Drove five head of Cattle to Gros Butte. Good feed there." "One of the Cows that came from the Saskatchewan last fall died last night." "Men hauling Wood with three Oxen." We are surprised by the entry in 1840, "Shipped to Chipewyan three kegs of butter," and the next year "Shipped eight kegs"—the earliest known record of butter-making in Alberta.

Horses were common enough on the prairies after their introduction in the second quarter of the eighteenth century by the southern tribes who stole them from the Spaniards in Mexico. In 1828 when Dunvegan was reopened after its desertion following the massacre at Fort St. John, Colin Campbell arranged for a team of horses to be driven down from Fort Vermilion. But "Our Wood Cutter by awkward driving and negligence allowed one of our Horses to fall over the hill and broke a leg." And April 5, 1830, "The only Horse we have (except a colt two years old) died of some Distemper or other." Twenty years earlier Harmon wrote, "We have

good horses here," and by 1839 they had become plentiful once more. "Sanderson returned with part of our Horses—7 or 8 still missing." "Killed one of our old Horses to feed the Dogs." "Settled with Boipon and Bartonais to make a couple of large Canoes for which they are each to get a young mare." By 1854 there were several different bands.

Horses were valuable for saddle and plough, but for packing home the meat—buffalo, deer, moose and bear—killed by the Indians and halfbreed hunters for the post, they were almost indispensable. Frequently the "kills" were made many miles from the Fort and often across the river; hence, except in winter, dog-teams were of little use. In 1830, thirty-seven thousand, two hundred and eighty-six pounds of fresh meat were received.

Feb. 16th, 1830, "Our two Fort Hunters arrived and report having killed fifty-three Buffaloes, a great many more than we want and they are not fat enough to make dried Provisions, so that the meat will be lost. The snow is so very deep that all large Animals cannot run from their pursuers and there will no doubt be a great number wantonly killed although I do my best by persuasion to prevent it." Herein lies one explanation of the early disappearance of the buffalo from the Peace River country.

Although the prevailing weather is recorded daily we do not get an accurate idea of the climate. Naturally, the journals noted the unusual. Apart from Harmon's entry on December 20th, 1808, "At 9 o'clock this morning the thermometer was at 40° below zero," the only mention of temperature is on January 14th, 1854, when our optimistic friend still "in this rascally old world" writes, "Very cold weather, the coldest of this year. I would suppose a Thermometer to be at 35° at least if we had one here." Of the depth of snow Harmon says, "In this vicinity the snow was at no time more than 2½ feet deep," while on November 22nd, 1853, the entry

appears, "It is frightful to see such a quantity of snow at this time of year, nearly a foot and a half now on the ground," and in January, "The snow is three feet deep." The next year, "December 19th—Not a bit of snow," and on Christmas Day, "Snow at last thank Goodness." Again, speaking of summer frosts, Harmon notes, "June 23rd, 1809. Last night was so cold that the tops of our potatoes were frozen," and in contrast we find, "May 2nd, 1854, Very warm weather and mosquitoes thick."

Potatoes were planted between May 4th-7th and were dug between September 27th-October 2nd. The forming and breaking of the ice in the river were two very important events in the life of the post. The year's "returns" could not leave for York Factory until the river was clear and should the "outfit" (the year's supplies) returning in the fall be caught by ice a distressing situation would ensue. From as early as October 17th to as late as Christmas Day, ice closed the river to traffic, while between April 21st and May 11th it was clear once more.

Going back to David Thompson's records made at Dunvegan in 1803, we find a mean temperature for the period from April to October of 54° and for the rest of the year 8° , while the mean for the whole year is 35° . Malcolm McLeod, editor of Chief Factor Archibald McDonald's notes on his trip with Sir George Simpson across Canada in 1828, from whose book the above figures are taken, compares these temperatures with those of other parts of Canada in the following illuminating remarks: "As to the period of cultivation (April to October) it is a fact worth noting that Dunvegan, Toronto and Quebec do not vary much more than half a degree in mean temperature and that as to Halifax the difference is $1^{\circ} 69'$ in favor of Dunvegan. As to the winter cold of Dunvegan its steadiness and dryness are, both for man and beast, better than that of any other place in the Dominion,

save Manitoba perhaps." McLeod's statements about the Peace River country must be taken, however, with a measure of caution for he carried on a campaign to make the Canadian Pacific transcontinental pass through that region and not by the more southerly route or by its present line.

Both cattle and horses ran on the range in winter but guards were necessary because of the many wolves. In 1854 they were particularly bad. "January 25th—Another horse killed last night by the wolves and a horse and colt wounded, the latter two quite close to the Guard, who fired some shots during the night. In fact it is impossible for them to keep any time from their encampment, it is so cold." A few days later, "I went with seven head of cattle to Gros Butte. Plenty of feed there for a hundred head of them—the wind having left a great part of that country bare. Will send half the horses tomorrow." Some hay was put up. One year "The Haymakers have now twenty stacks," another year "twenty-five stacks."

How far agriculture in the Peace country has advanced from these small beginnings! Standing out in contrast with these little cultivated plots around the posts, last year nearly half a million acres were under the plough. Harvests measured by kegs have become millions of bushels. A century ago cattle were driven in under the greatest difficulties; now they are shipped out by the train-load.

Gone forever are the days set forth in the old mud-stained pages: "The plains Indians are hatcheting each other again." "England and France are at War with Russia". The old picture has faded and a new one is coming on the screen with cities rising on the sites of the old fur posts; with railroads and radio, motors and aeroplanes; and with Herman Trelle's world-famous wheat, oats, and peas, reaped from the plains described by Harmon and our trader-diarists whose confident predictions have been amply justified.

THE UNKNOWN MOVIES

BY DOROTHY STACEY BROWN

THAT the American films which pour over our border in their thousands are bad, almost without exception, has been said many times and with varying degrees of emphasis, but it is a fact which strikes one in its full force only when a higher standard is set up for comparison. We have what is called the "movie mind"; we believe what we see and as we sit meekly through the Russian Revolution or the exploits of the Foreign Legion as presented by some Hollywood director, our only protest is an occasional feeble question as to whether this is really the best result to be attained by so many people with so much money. The answer is of course in the affirmative—this *is* the best that money and masses can do without the addition of brains. Sometimes such a picture as "Variety" comes to us from abroad, censored to such an extent that the point of its story is destroyed, but with enough of the original conception left to prove it a much finer film than Griffith's "Battle of the Sexes". "Variety" convinces those interested that something good has at last come out of the movies, but one film alone can hardly make us realize that the standard of European film art is as high and frequently higher. We cling to the belief that the motion picture is as indigenous to North America as the red Indian.

Two weeks spent in Paris in the dead midsummer season, however, will help to clear the fog in which America shrouds the art of making motion pictures. For the hot, tourist-crammed Paris of August is not the Paris of spring theatrical revivals or autumnal *premières*; theatre and opera offer

repetitions of ancient, well tried bills and the corner kiosk screams the fact that "Rose-Marie" is approaching the six hundredth performance. In despair one buys at a news-stand that gay little booklet *La Semaine à Paris* which professes to list all the current amusements offered by the city of light.

At first sight the motion picture list is bewildering. Each film is classified four times: by title, by *genre* (comedy or tragedy), by *arrondissement* and by 'star'—the last category a cosmopolitan mixture of names which reads like a committee of the League of Nations. In this way are served the bourgeois who objects to stirring outside his own neighbourhood of an evening, the fan who follows a favourite star, the taste which runs simply to the mirthful or the gloomy, and also the adventurous soul to whom the play is the thing and who will fare forth even to the suburbs in search of it.

Careful study of this magnificent cross-indexing revealed an amazingly rich choice of entertainment: "Siegfried's Death" playing on the boulevards; near the abattoirs at Pantin, Emil Jannings and Conrad Veidt in "A Qui la Faute?"; "A Tragedy of the Street" shown just across the Seine, one of the best of French films; Charles Dullin's "Joueur d'Échecs" in a remote northern suburb; both "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari" and "Polikouchka" within easy walking distance; and almost every picture Charlie Chaplin has ever made, to be seen at one or other of half a hundred theatres scattered throughout Paris.

This enthusiastic preoccupation with Charlie is a significant index to the taste of the most artistic city in the world. His continental popularity is proverbial; it is often misunderstood and usually misrepresented. Contrary to the usual notion, Anglo-Saxon audiences do not take their amusement seriously; they laugh, boisterously enough, but they do not philosophize over it. It is the philosophizing of Charlie that appeals to the French; the gale of glee that sweeps the

theatre when Charlie trips repeatedly over a watering-can is infectious; but the serious discussion found from time to time in the periodical press, the solemn opinions voiced by Lucien Fabre, Jean Tedesco, Elie Faure, the books and special numbers of magazines published about him—these are evidences of something in Charlie that we had not seen.

To the French he is "le grand artiste américain," who clowns with formal ballet steps and whose remarkable technique gives a matchless interpretation of the life of one for whom society has apparently no place. Both *La Petite Illustration* and *Les Chroniques du Jour* devoted special numbers to "Charlot," and in both he was placed among the world's great artists. Marcel Brion said, "Forever wandering on the world's barren highways, Charlot has outgrown his mishaps, his individuality and his genius, has passed to the measure of the synthesis, Man. That is why each of us understands him in our own way and why we are alternately angered at our emotion and ashamed of our laughter." As high a tribute was paid by Elie Faure: ". . . I write the name Shakespeare advisedly. It is perfectly appropriate to that god-like effect which, for example in "Sunnyside," Charlot produces by means of his extraordinary art, mingling the depths of pity and the height of whimsicality."

In the face of such opinions it is humiliating to return to one's own country and hear a teacher of high school English say contemptuously, "I have no desire to see Charlie Chaplin." A highly cultured Canadian society woman remarks, "Oh, Chaplin! A film artist, isn't he? But of course I never can understand why anyone goes to the movies." Yet in Paris pictures which Charlie made ten and fifteen years ago are drawing crowds, while in the winter of 1926-'27 twelve of his old pictures were played at Copeau's Théâtre du Vieux Colombier, accompanied by lectures on English humour from Ben Jonson to Charlie Chaplin.

Charlie may be an important phenomenon to the French audience, but it is the European film which creates wonder in the mind of the foreigner. Sometimes the older ones show a certain clumsiness; they may lack the snap and what Alexander Bakshy of the *New York Nation* calls, "that characteristic Hollywood sleekness and prettyfying," but their essential qualities outweigh these occasional shortcomings. They have artistic sincerity, a striving for truthful presentation of character, a recognition of the use of balance and design in plot as well as in setting. There is an authenticity about them which springs from the use by European producers of their own national literature and which Hollywood can never attain through its re-creation of English aristocratic life according to the views of some alien director or its capitalization of the Foreign Legion because there is a capacious sand pit near at hand. It is a sad and significant fact that no American director, with the exception of King Vidor with his production, "The Crowd," is aware that he is in the midst of a unique civilization whose story lends itself peculiarly well to his methods. He, seemingly, cannot see that it is his function to draw romance out of the reality about him.

A picture of venerable antiquity—for the good ones run for years—showed the earlier Emil Jannings, a young man, more sentimental and less formed than the massive and imposing figure with which American films have lately familiarized us. With him was Conrad Veidt, also much younger but with the essential points of his unique interpretive method already developed. The play, a German picture called "Whose Was the Blame?", contained two men and a woman, her child and its nurse. Sub-titles were very few and sets limited to barely four interiors and such exteriors as can be found in two city blocks. The picture must have cost so little that an American producer would consider it beneath contempt, but even he could scarcely ignore its finished acting

and its dramatic effectiveness and balance. The actress who played the leading rôle gave a remarkable picture of the bewildered pre-war woman, still dependent on man. She leaves her home and her good but dense husband for a more romantic lover, but finds that the cycle of life begins all over again in the old way, with the difference that this time it is the lover who brings the little cakes which had been her husband's idea of a gift and the husband who attempts to win her back by bringing the flowers which had symbolized the lover. Her work was so supremely imaginative and delicate that one scarcely noticed an additional quality—the possession of a comeliness too often the whole stock-in-trade of an American heroine of the films.

That the motion picture has excellent possibilities in the field of the epic was proved by two companion pictures drawn from the *Nibelungen Lied*, "Siegfried's Death" and "Kriemhild's Vengeance," shown in succession at a business-like little theatre on the *grands boulevards*. These films—again German—were masterpieces of design, balance and power. To call them "the greatest spectacle ever filmed" would be near the truth, but the words have lost their meaning in superlative America. The settings were grandiose in their piled-up masses and simplified lines; forests with trees of fabulous girth; rocks like mountains against which Siegfried and his charger shrink to pigmy size; Burgundian castles reminiscent of a Gordon Craig stage setting for *Macbeth*; great arches lined with saints; interiors where ornament was reduced to geometrical patterns giving at once an effect of mediaevalism and of modernist design. The hero met his death at the hands of *der grimme Hagen* in a fairy-like grove of birch trees near a spring, and there was an interesting use of the language of symbolic imagery in its repetition at the opening of the second play, when Kriemhild comes in the dead of winter for a handful of the earth which drank her husband's blood that

she may later slake it in that of his murderer. Attila was introduced in the sequel, his rudely constructed palace, tents and savage horsemen providing a strong change of theme in story and setting. The epic closes on a wild scene in which Kriemhild, who throughout has been the personification of vengeance, gains her end by burning the Burgundian knights in Attila's banqueting hall.

Such films shown on this side of the Atlantic might reasonably be hoped to create a revolution in public taste, if not in that of the picture-makers. They have dignity, form and beauty; the cheaply sentimental is omitted, and the individual subordinated to the sweep of the whole in a way which reduces the American spectacle, by comparison, to a piece of tawdry vulgarity. Further, the most assiduous search failed to reveal the cost of settings in the epic, the numbers in its crowds, the name of the photographer. Even the names of the "stars"—there were many—were lost in the excellence of the whole.

To demonstrate the versatile genius of the German film-producer comes "A Tragedy of the Street," a story of the simplest realism, which was shown in a dingy little theatre near the Châtelet. Here is a tale of starved affection suddenly satisfied and as suddenly disappointed, sordid if you like, but as accurate a cross-section of life as an Arnold Bennett novel. The woman, played by Asta Nielsen, is verging on middle age, worn, unbeautiful, human; the settings move between her rooms in the narrow, cobbled street with its overhanging houses, and a house in the wealthy quarter of the town. Nothing is wasted on spectacular effect, but the strictest attention is paid to the minute details which reveal this woman's life. It is a summing up of the tragedy of the submerged tenth, done with such consummate art that it is also a striking picture of the tragedy of life.

A notable French film was made from René Bazin's novel,

La Terre Qui Meurt, important for its true, sympathetic picture of the peasant farmer and the beauty of its outdoor sets. The rolling pastures and flat marshes of La Vendée, narrow streams and dusty country roads made a beautiful background for a story told with simplicity and charm.

An excellent production of Dumas' *Kean*, from either Russia or Germany, featured Ivan Moskvine in the part of the famous English actor. Primarily a part of a 'star', it gave Moskvine opportunity to display the competence which comes from a Stanislavsky training. The riotous tavern scene with Kean and his sailor friends breaking into a wild ballet, and the death scene with its uncannily beautiful use of hands and facial muscles make this interpretation stand out as one of the finest single pieces of work on the screen. American 'stars' who have hitherto held a monopoly of such romantic rôles should look to their laurels, for Moskvine too has crossed the Atlantic.

The version of Pirandello's *Henry IV* is a triumph of the subtle art of the Italian film-makers, and presents Conrad Veidt as the man who loses the best years of his life among the dark shadows of hallucination. The story provides an unrivalled opportunity for Veidt's curiously restrained, delicate style, and makes an instructive contrast with his latest American film, even though the inanities of a Hollywood plot, property Arabs and California sand could not extinguish his extraordinary fineness and sensibility. But in "Henry IV", as the man who slipped from masquerade to madness, Veidt's fine art gave a really perfect rendering of a mind diseased, groping its way back to sanity only to find that the world is sometimes a better place to the mad than to the sane.

In the Ciné Latin, a queer little theatre which was once a church, we saw the most famous of the German impressionist movies, "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari." It is a tale told by

one madman to another as they sit in the grounds of an asylum. To a town such as may still be found in the more untouched parts of Europe, and rather like Chartres with its streets that angle steeply up to the summit where the church stands, comes Dr. Caligari, an itinerant fakir with a face like one of the wicked out of the background of a Dürer passion. He lives by the prophecies uttered by a tall, emaciated, seemingly dead man whom he revives at will and sometimes despatches on sinister nocturnal missions to ensure that the prophecies are fulfilled. As a result of one of these a young man is found dead and his friend undertakes to hunt down the criminal. There are scenes in which the creature abducts a girl over snow-covered roofs at midnight, performing feats possible only to a sleep-walker; fearsome glimpses of Caligari's caravan at night where the doctor plots evilly while his slave lies motionless in his coffin-like box, a pursuit which finally leads back to the asylum in which the story opens. The whole is a prodigious piece of psychological consistency in which all details of plot, of *décor* and of make-up are bent to one end: the streets twist crazily; the house-roofs make tangled geometrical patterns like a wizard's charm; houses with insanely leering windows cast shadows abnormally black, and even the people are touched by the same strange quality which makes them just one degree mad. At the end it was with a sense of shock that one returned to the world of reality.

Others were lighter in theme, but none mediocre. The great actor, Drain, of the Comédie Française, played the rôle of Napoleon in a stirring French version of the "Adventures of Brigadier Gerard." Several German comedies introduced a brand of humour new to us—joyous plays bearing that direct relation to life which is the most conspicuous lack of a Mack Sennett comic. But not once—except on one unfortunate occasion when we saw an American film by mistake—did we come away with that resentful feeling of an evening

wasted which nine times out of ten accompanies us as we leave a picture theatre at home.

Weighed against even this slight list, the current films of America are sadly lacking in variety of plot and treatment, skill of interpretation, and logical thought. Take, for instance, the John Barrymore edition of the classics with his white-washed Don Juan or his ruined lady, Manon Lescaut; the latter was "jazzed" by the addition of a Manon who glorifies the American girl, of a brutal ship-captain marked for annihilation in the best Barrymore manner, and of a variety of gory combats. Of the filming of Wells' novel *Marriage*, Mr. Willson Disher says in a witty article in the *Fortnightly Review*: "Travesty of the novel by the film is what we expect, but here is worse . . . we may at least demand that Wells' name should not appear on the label of the stuff that has made Hollywood notorious."

We have been plagued by Foreign Legion films, notable for their occasionally brilliant camera work and unbelievably foolish plots. Aeroplanes had a vogue which gave opportunity for new camera angles, hair-raising excitement and buckets of sentimentality. "The Crystal Cup" left one undecided whether to wreck the theatre or, like Shaw's elderly gentleman, die of discouragement. The pictures in which European 'stars' were featured stand out as superior, for the camera records the minutest details in the art of a great actor; but even these and "The Circus," that supreme example of what an artist of Chaplin's measure can achieve when he is both director and 'star,' have been too few to balance the overwhelming dullness of the rest.

The European films mentioned above are patronized by all classes, and not, as we might expect, by a few intellectuals only. The *Manchester Guardian*, in a recent estimate of the German film situation, says: "The German picture-goer has a very real sense of craftsmanship. . . . There is no question

in his mind that the productions are anything but fine. He goes to see them because he wants to. His preference for them is more critical than patriotic, more of the head than of the heart . . . so in the criticism of her picture-goers, eliminating the dross of the dollar, lies Germany's hope of a cinema refined."

The same might be said of the Paris public. Though German, French and Russian films rely not at all on vulgar appeal, they hold their own against importations from the United States, overwhelming in numbers as these are. They are shown not in select quarters only, but in Parisian theatres of all sizes and descriptions. Their public is precisely that of a Canadian theatre—shop-girls, labourers, college professors, tired business men, father and mother and the children. Nor does the public only regard them as serious and important; *La Petite Illustration* devotes whole numbers to detailed discussion of films, and a great daily newspaper—*Comoedia*—gives a prominent page to news of the screen. French literary classics and historical plays are filmed with a seriousness which would amaze Hollywood and which leads to such regard for detail as the "shooting" of a cavalry charge supposed to take place in Poland on the actual ground with Marshal Pilsudski's troops lent for the occasion. Trained actresses and actors of the Comédie Française constantly appear, the screen making a splendid medium for their careful art. Charles Dullin, actor-manager of the Atelier Theatre, famous for his production of Evreinoff's *The Chief Thing*, and a long list of classic and modern plays, had the leading rôle in an elaborate production of *The Chess Player*. When "The Life of Joan of Arc" was filmed, the girl who played Joan was conscripted against her parents' wishes on the ground that she was needed for service to France; as they still protested, she was provided with a chaperone in constant attendance while she worked. Members of the Académie Goncourt supervised the recent

production of Flaubert's *Salammbô*, to ensure that the novel should be followed in a manner worthy of its great author.

Though American films are now shown in Prague, in Stockholm, in Vienna and in Rome, their standard continues to be set according to the lowest common intelligence of New York, with the result that plays written by morons are acted for the most part by people chosen because of a profile. *Polikouchka*, a Tolstoy tract artistically filmed, is an example of how the motion picture in Russia is deliberately designed for the culture and education of the people. If a few American film magnates would visit Paris and study what the French public wants, they might cease to insult our intelligence by such pictures as "Fazil" or "Show Girl." A full Paris theatre will sit for three hours, watching a bill which consists of an old Charlot, a long travelogue about the Aegean Sea and a Hans Christian Andersen fairy tale faithfully done for children. Such a bill will run for weeks on end, creating an interest which rudely upsets one's ideas about the public's insistence on crime, passion and legs.

Unfortunately, not even the importation of great European 'stars' has been sufficient to raise the general level of American screen plays; there is little to be done with "The Street of Sin," "A Man's Past," or "Surrender," even though they are played by Jannings, Veidt and Moskvine. Nor does it seem likely that Bernard Shaw's formula for further artistic progress—"Write better films, if you can, there is no other way. Development must come from the centre, not from the periphery!"—will penetrate to Hollywood. Even diminishing box office returns did not warn American directors that something must be radically wrong with their work; their first reaction was to bolster up feeble plays with weaker vaudeville programmes and their second to put forth the "talkies," an invention still in its infancy. The "shoutie," as *Punch* has dubbed it, far from following the example of King Vidor's

"The Crowd," and the magnificent performance of Jannings and Stone in "The Patriot," has thrown the motion picture back into a second childhood from which it is but slightly redeemed by a new cleverness in camera shots. The crowds are at present flocking from curiosity to the new films, which, like cheap light operas, depend on a song with a catchy refrain to carry them. When they pass on into the outer darkness of the small theatres as yet unequipped with the expensive sound production apparatus, the effect will be that of bad vaudeville, struck suddenly into silence with nothing but the dumb show left.

Worst of all, the talking picture implies that the filmmakers do not understand the medium in which they work. For years Chaplin has been demonstrating that a story can be told to the eye without the written or spoken word; Jannings' great work in "The Last Laugh" was a confirmation only, not a discovery. European films show a recognition of the value of the visual image as a language; along these lines they have made a most significant contribution to the art; they have given it a strength which comes from the use of a universal language conveying its forcible message through the eye. The fundamental weakness in the organization of the American picture has been its dependence on a smartly written sub-title.

But unless Hollywood undertakes a radical revision of ideals its new talking monster is likely to destroy it. The qualities which give the movie its unique power are lost when the picture is forsaken for the word. Such a step can lead to no work comparable to that which has been done in Europe. The competition in Germany is increasingly well organized, while Russian productions show an excellence fast establishing them in public favour. Though American films continue in the lead through sheer force of mass production, Germany and France have placed quota regulations on their presenta-

tion, England has definitely negatived block booking and American ownership of her theatres, and it would seem that those countries at least will soon offer only a very reduced market.

In a recent number of the *North American Review* a prominent Paramount director says: "In directing pictures I have never leaned towards rehearsals. I try to explain what I think is the spirit of the story. . . . In other words, if there are seven actors on a set I want them to be seven individuals and not seven Monta Bells." To anyone with the least experience of play production, this is an interesting peep into Hollywood's methods and its ignorance of the most elementary rules of its job, for this type of democracy is fatal to anything approaching a consistent and dramatic whole. Certainly, it gives some idea of the future of the films so long as they remain in the hands of their present leaders. Even should they discover their own definite *genre*, it is a question whether the American motion picture can ever raise itself to the level of the European.

Meanwhile our prospects in Canada of seeing anything else appear extremely slight. Motion pictures from Europe would bring what is newest, most progressive and artistic, but our theatres are owned by great American film companies who show in them pictures of their own manufacture, so that between this and the block booking system a constant monopoly is given to pictures seldom better than third-rate. Only in the proportion of rather less than once a year have we the opportunity of seeing a "Last Laugh" or a "Metropolis."

And unless we see more of the best movies we cannot hope for any convincing reply to those who deplore the effects of the current romantic sensationalism and brainless comedy on Canadian youth. Our boards of censorship deal feebly with detail on a basis of rule of thumb; no hope can reasonably be placed there; it was not the censorship of the stage that

killed the old melodrama, or the censorship of books the dime novel. As progress in the past has come from the finer forms of theatrical production and the public libraries, so only more and better movies will kill the criminal vulgarities of to-day. As the *Manchester Guardian* says, "The movies are no longer a peepshow entertainment that wise men can afford to ignore."

Unfortunately, it is only on the continent of Europe that we can find a consistent diet of good films. British production is gone; Canadian does not yet exist. In any case it may be maintained that films made in accordance with the standard of quality now in force abroad are a healthier diet for any age and infinitely more entertaining than those based upon someone's vague impressions concerning the public's appetites. The organizations at present expending their energies by clamouring for more censorship and the system of film classification by age of admittance would be doing better work by insisting on greater variety of film sources, thus helping to eliminate the elements they find undesirable and bringing a more cosmopolitan quality into the education of the Canadian people. In the small town especially, where the picture theatre is the sole form of entertainment, and where perhaps once a month legitimate plays make a one night stand, good pictures would be a link of inestimable value with the larger civilizations outside. They could be brought for a negligible cost as compared with even the simplest stage production.

While we in Canada are meekly allowing ourselves to be condemned to America's worst by the death-grip in which the big American film corporations hold our theatres, the United States has already taken first steps to introduce a little healthy competition into the art or trade, if such it should be called. At the Little Carnegie Theatre in New York a continuous succession of new European films are being given their American *première*. Among those shown recently are "Uneasy Money," the adventures of a banknote, produced by

Karl Freund of "The Last Laugh," "Variety," and "Faust" fame; "Ten Days That Shook the World," produced by the Russian S. M. Eisenstein and reviewed in the *Nation* as "The most significant of the season's film offerings"; and the German film spectacle, "Lucrezia Borgia," with Conrad Veidt, produced in authentic settings in Rome.

Since these pictures can be seen across the line they could easily be imported into this country, were it not that the commercial side of the industry prefers to keep things as they are. Only opposed wealth could change the situation by financing a line of Little Theatres of a new type for the presentation of good films. Here, regardless of origin, the finest productions of the classics, the newest impressionist films, the travel pictures Europe does so well, might be imported and shown. The great corporations would be represented so far as their work is good, but they could not exclude the small experimental studio. No way of educating public taste could be more rapid or reliable, and, if Paris is any criterion, the crowds would soon flock to such a theatre. More and more the dissatisfaction with the films now being shown is expressed wherever there is a taste for the genuinely interesting or the beautiful. If, as many believe, the movies are one of the strongest influences in our life to-day, we in Canada are in dangerous proximity to a great welter of mediocrity. Perhaps the time will come when enough people will realize that they are being denied the best works of a great art in favour of its poorest, and then the sugar-and-water ineptitudes of Hollywood may entice us in vain.

QUEBEC, 1629-1929

BY DUNCAN MCARTHUR

ON July 20th, three hundred years ago, Lewis and Thomas Kirke, acting on the authority of a commission issued by King Charles I of England, received from Samuel Champlain the surrender of the post and settlement at Quebec. Thus began the first English occupation of the valley of the St. Lawrence, limited, as it was, to a scant term of three years. A glance at this episode may be of interest in indicating the part then played by Canada in the relations between France and England and in emphasizing the extent of the changes which three hundred years—a brief period in the history of nations—has wrought in this country.

Very different was the setting of this drama from that of the magnificent spectacle enacted on the Plains of Abraham one hundred and thirty years later. The clash of cannon and the roar of musketry at Quebec re-echoed around the world in 1759 and sounded the death-knell of the empire of France in North America. It caused rejoicing in London, in Boston, in New York, in Philadelphia, because it seemed to remove a barrier impeding the English in their efforts to extend their settlements westward and to occupy the interior of a continent; it left sixty-five thousand French Canadians in doubt regarding the fate of their language, their customs and their religion. Much less significant, it is true, was the surrender of Champlain and his handful of colonists at Quebec in the summer of 1629.

Two decades had passed since the founding of Quebec, yet in 1629 its population was barely one hundred souls. There was Madame Hébert, the widow of the pioneer farmer of the

St. Lawrence valley, with her son-in-law, Guillaume Couillard, and his family, occupying the only farm-house in the community; there was Abraham Martin, who gave his name to the plains above Quebec, and his family; Robert Giffard, surgeon, and Jean-Paul Godefroy, interpreter, both now associated with the fur trade and destined later to play important rôles in the life of the colony; there were the Récollet priests, le Caron and de la Roche, with five lay brothers, and the Jesuits, Brébeuf and Massé and three lay brothers as well as several servants. Most of the settlers were associated with the fur trade as agents, clerks, interpreters or workmen.

The overshadowing predominance of the fur trade, indeed, had much to do with the slow progress of the colony and with its surrender to an enemy. The development of New France had followed other lines than those laid down by Champlain, its founder. Of penetrating vision and powerful imagination, Champlain was one of the first of the great imperialists of Europe. It was not an easy matter for European peoples, whose horizon had become limited by centuries of a tradition which regarded the Mediterranean as the centre of the world, to project their minds across the Atlantic and to realize the significance of the existence of a new-world continent, greater in extent than Europe and capable of sustaining millions of people. Champlain, first among Frenchmen, made this intellectual adjustment adequately and completely. His knowledge of the extent of the continent and of its position relative to the Far East was necessarily limited, yet, such as he knew it, northern North America, by the potent alchemy of his imagination, was fused with France, his mother-country, to fashion a new and powerful world empire. He had hoped to find that the great inland waterway of the continent would lead to the 'Southern Sea' and would open a shorter and more profitable trade-route between Europe and the Orient. By this means France would be able to compete successfully with

Spain, Holland, and England, her rivals in the rich commerce of the farther east. He had visions of the colonizing of this highway of trade by his compatriots and of the building of an empire in which would be incorporated the native races, converted to the Christian religion and civilized through the missions of the Roman Catholic Church.

Exploration and settlement were the key-notes of Champlain's policy. But such meagre information as was available regarding the valley of the St. Lawrence did not make it attractive as a place of abode for those who lived in comfort in France. To obtain settlers it was necessary for him to appeal to those to whom fate had not been too kind and who were willing to submit to the perils and privations of life in the wilderness in the expectation of improving their lot. But such as these could not pay the cost of their transportation to America. In these circumstances Champlain was obliged to adopt a policy of "assisted immigration"—a policy which has been associated with the migration of Europeans to this continent from the beginning.

The particular form of assistance was determined by the economic character of the communities which absorbed the immigrants. English corporations, endeavouring to form settlements on the Atlantic coast, brought out indentured servants under contract to give their labour—usually on the tobacco plantations—for a term of years in payment of their transportation. But such a scheme was not well adapted to Canadian conditions. Fur was to Canada what tobacco was to Virginia; in the exploitation of the fur trade Champlain thought he saw a means of inducing settlers to come to Canada. Exclusive privileges in the fur trade were granted on condition that the monopolists should bring to Canada a specified number of settlers each year. This plan, seemingly well suited to Canadian conditions, did not produce the results anticipated by Champlain. The traders complained that their

special privileges were not respected; that interlopers—'bootleggers' in furs—were enjoying equal advantages in trade without the expense of transporting settlers. The provisions regarding immigration were virtually ignored. But other conditions contributed to the defeat of Champlain's plans. Most of the merchants interested in the fur trade resided in the seaports of the western coast—Rouen, St. Malo, Dieppe, and La Rochelle—towns in which Protestantism had secured a firm foothold. Many of these traders were Protestants; most of Champlain's business associates, in fact, seem to have held to the reformed faith. The schism in the church and the wars of religion which it entailed were too recent to permit the growth of religious toleration. The Huguenot minority became extremely aggressive, as is the habit with minorities, and were inclined to place the interests of religion above those of the state. Their church stood first in their affections; loyalty to the state came second.

French Protestant traders could scarcely be expected to share the missionary enthusiasm of Champlain for a French Catholic empire in North America. Their interest in Canada was limited to the fur trade as a profitable investment for their capital. Not only did the provision regarding the transportation of settlers to Canada involve a diversion of funds from the fur trade, but the planting of settlements along the St. Lawrence would have driven the fur trade farther afield and would thereby have added to the cost of the traders' operations. As long as fur-trading interests determined the course of Canadian development, obviously there would be little progress in settlement.

By 1626 this situation, which had already impressed itself on the mind of Champlain, was becoming appreciated in the councils of state in Paris. Since 1622 the fur trade had been in the control of a syndicate of merchants, Protestant and Catholic, dominated by the de Caens, William and Emery his

nephew, adherents of the reformed faith. The Récollets and the Jesuits received little encouragement from the merchants in their efforts to convert the Indians. This condition proved the undoing of the de Caens and their associates for the representations made by the Jesuits at court were effective in directing the attention of the crown to Canadian conditions.

Cardinal Richelieu, the chief minister of state of Louis XIII, shared Champlain's dreams of empire in America. To realize these schemes Richelieu hoped to arouse the interest of the French noblesse as well as of the merchants, and to enlist extensive financial support. A new company was formed, the Company of New France, including among its shareholders many of the more prominent officers of state of the kingdom. The company became the owner of the territory of New France; it was given a monopoly of trade and, in return, undertook to transport settlers—four thousand within fifteen years—and to maintain them for a period of three years after their migration. Only Roman Catholics might be accepted as settlers. Francis Parkman, who was never able to overcome completely his New England puritan bias, has criticized French policy severely on the ground that by excluding the Huguenots, whom he regarded as most capable of undertaking the tasks of pioneering, it imposed a heavy handicap on the development of the colony. During the first twenty years of the colony's existence no such limitation had been imposed and French Protestants had not seized the opportunity of migrating to Canada. It is clear that the Huguenots who were interested in Canada were traders and did not desire to live on the land. The supreme need of the colony was tillers of the soil. Despite the restriction imposed at this time, Protestants did migrate to Canada and were engaged in trade and commerce rather than in agriculture.

The organization of Richelieu's company was completed in 1627 but too late to make possible the sending of an expedi-

tion to Canada. By the spring of 1628, however, preparations had been completed for the sending of such an expedition, which should mark the dawn of a new day in the history of the colony. Four armed vessels and a fleet of fourteen transports, commanded by Paul de Roquemont, and laden with colonists, provisions, arms and settlers' equipment left the port of Dieppe late in April bound for the St. Lawrence. The relations between the French and English courts at this time were not particularly happy. Charles had dismissed the Roman Catholic attendants of his French spouse with scant ceremony; English ships had seized French merchantmen and France had retaliated by holding English and Scotch vessels at Bordeaux. Charles replied by issuing letters of marque authorizing English ships to seize French property at sea. Such were the circumstances which attended Richelieu's efforts to found an empire on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

At this stage enters Gervase Kirke of London, merchant. Kirke was of English birth and descent but had spent most of his life at Dieppe, where he had engaged in commerce with marked success. He had married a French lady at Dieppe and there his five sons were born and were successively introduced to their father's business. By this time he had become established in business in London but maintained his trade connections with his former home. He learned, doubtless, by this means of the elaborate preparations being made for the Canadian expedition and of the value of the cargo carried by de Roquemont's transports.

A group of merchants, including Kirke, and styling themselves the Merchant Adventurers of London, hastily formed the design of organizing an expedition which should attack the trading post at Quebec before the arrival of the French fleet and, should fortune favour the enterprise, might even fall heir to the rich stores being sent to Canada. Three vessels were armed and equipped and placed under the com-

mand of Kirke's eldest son, David. All four of his brothers were associated with him in the enterprise. They found no difficulty, seemingly, in securing pilots familiar with the St. Lawrence for several Huguenots who had navigated the Great River of Canada had grievances against their former French employers and deserted to the English. The Kirkes reached the St. Lawrence in advance of de Roquemont, captured several French fishing-vessels in the Gulf and established themselves securely at the French trading-post at Tadoussac. A few scattered settlements along the upper river were destroyed and, finally, messengers were sent to Quebec to demand of Champlain the surrender of the post. Although the defences had been neglected by the de Caens, Champlain preferred a test of strength, confident in the expectation of early relief from France.

The Kirkes were none too sure of their crew in a land engagement and decided to watch the river in the hope of intercepting de Roquemont's fleet. It was not necessary to wait long. On July 18th the French fleet hove in sight and a brisk engagement followed. The French vessels were so heavily laden that they could not manœuvre properly; de Roquemont possessed ample artillery but it was stowed away in the holds of the vessels. The French admiral finally thought it wise not to expose the lives of his civilian passengers to unnecessary risk and decided to surrender. The Kirkes thus came into possession of fourteen captive ships, nine hundred prisoners and a vast supply of munitions and merchandise. Champlain's tiny settlement was thus placed in a position of great jeopardy.

The London Adventurers were greatly elated, as well they might be, by their good fortune and applied to the crown for a patent for the trade and plantation of the lands 'wrested' from the French. This application was opposed by Sir William Alexander, Scottish courtier, poet and philosopher, who

had received a grant of Acadia or Nova Scotia from James I in 1621 and who feared that the concession now being demanded might infringe on his rights. Attempts to reach a compromise failed and the rival interests were finally merged in the Scottish and English Company which early in 1629 received authority to 'displant' the French on the St. Lawrence, to form new colonies, and to enjoy a monopoly of trade.

In the early spring the new company dispatched two fleets to America, the one, under command of Sir William Alexander, the younger, destined for Port Royal, and the other, in charge of David Kirke, entrusted with the capture of Quebec. Kirke again made Tadoussac his base and sent his brothers Lewis and Thomas with three armed vessels to complete the reduction of Quebec. With the return of the Kirkes Champlain was compelled reluctantly to abandon all hope of succour from the motherland. The position of the colonists had become desperate in the extreme. The inhabitants were still largely dependent on France for food supplies—thanks to the encouragement of the fur trade at the expense of agriculture—and no provisions had arrived for nearly two years. For two months their only source of sustenance had been roots gathered in the woods. In these circumstances there is little wonder that Champlain found it difficult to maintain the morale of his people. Many were discontented; some were indeed suspected of being in league with the English. Scarcely knowing whom he could trust among his own people, without provisions and confronted by a vastly superior force, Champlain had no practical alternative to surrender, and gave up the keys of the post, July 20th, 1629.

Many of the French at Quebec doubtless regarded Kirke and his men as saviours rather than as captors and their pitiful condition seems to have aroused the sympathy of the Englishmen. Arrangements were made for the transport to Europe of such as wished to return. Champlain, now mindful of the

interests of the colony, was anxious to return to France to plead its cause before the king. The Récollets and Jesuits had no desire to remain at Quebec under the changed conditions, particularly as the Kirkes had taken the precaution to bring a Protestant minister with them.

The alternatives presented to the few families which had settled at Quebec were not attractive. The abandonment of their homes with the loss of all the worldly goods they possessed was the price they were required to pay for returning to France; should they remain, they would be deprived of the ministrations of the church. Champlain counselled several to stay at Quebec, confident, doubtless, that the period of English occupation would not be long and hoping, one suspects, that the giving of hostages to the English might not only help to protect French interests at Quebec but might aid materially in enlisting the support of the crown for his efforts to secure the early restoration of the colony. Madame Hébert, the Couillards, a surgeon, Duchesne, the Abraham Martins and at least three other families decided to remain. Some of those engaged in the fur trade with the de Caens seem, likewise, to have preferred to stay at Quebec, while the prospect of profits made it easy for several of the French interpreters to transfer their allegiance to the English.

Lewis Kirke remained in Canada as commander of the English forces. His brothers, with their prisoners and a substantial quantity of furs, reached England in late October. Then it began to appear that they had gained a bootless victory. The Peace of Suza, concluded in April, 1629, had terminated hostilities between Charles and Louis and had provided for the restoration of all property captured two months after the signing of the treaty. Thus the fate of Quebec had been decided even before it had been captured. Port Royal, which had fallen to the Alexanders much earlier, did not come within the provisions of the treaty. The Kirkes

and their associates, realizing that their tenure of Canada would probably be of short duration, determined to reap an early harvest.

Disputes arose regarding the quantity of furs taken from the de Caens. This issue and the disposition of Port Royal provided Charles with ammunition in a new diplomatic battle which he was obliged to wage with Louis. The English parliament was dissolved in 1629 without voting supplies and did not again assemble for eleven years. Charles was in dire need of funds and had use for the balance of the dowry payable to his wife Henrietta Maria. Highly as he regarded his Scottish friend, Alexander, there were limits to the sacrifices he would make on his behalf. Port Royal and the interests of the Scottish and English Company at Quebec could not be permitted to stand in the way of the realization of Charles' plans for maintaining his independence of parliament. Both claims were finally surrendered as a means of securing moneys from France to replenish the royal treasury. It was not until July, 1632, that Lewis and Thomas Kirke restored Quebec to the de Caens.

The period of the first English occupation of Quebec was without incident of great significance. The Scottish and English Company sent settlers to Port Royal but their hold on Canada was too insecure to warrant their attempting permanent settlement. Their attention was directed exclusively to the exploitation of the fur trade and the fisheries. The uncertainty of their position, in fact, disposed them to make the most of their opportunities without regard for the more remote consequences. The defensive works and warehouses at Quebec were allowed to fall into disrepair and, more serious, the Indians were not given that consideration which might have been expected had the English been remaining longer in the country. The natives early appreciated the difference and could only with difficulty be persuaded to trade

at Quebec. In this Kirke and his associates unwittingly did Champlain a good turn by making the Indians realize, as they did not before, the kindliness of their French allies. The Protestant minister did not quite fill the place of the Récollet and the Jesuit fathers. The way was made easier for the French when they returned in 1632 because the native had experienced another and a different régime.

It is not without interest that Canadian issues should have been associated, even remotely, with a most significant phase of the conflict for greater popular liberties in England. Had the Scottish and English Company been able to retain Canada, the valley of the St. Lawrence might well have become part of a New Scotland. Had such been the case, the course of its development under the direction of the Alexanders and the Kirkes affords a stimulating challenge to the historical imagination.

THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM IN CANADA

BY W. A. CARROTHERS

THE problem of the migration of peoples is one which attracts a great deal of attention at present. The situation faced by migrating peoples is a new one because of the fact that for a considerable time there was no restriction on the movement. Now they are faced with very definite restrictions in the country to which the majority migrate. Mankind has ever been on the move in the attempt to improve the conditions of life, or to avoid circumstances that are painful. Prehistoric movements may have taken the form of dispersions without definite ideas of the possibilities ahead; where life had become intolerable through famine or other cause, people were prepared to find anything better than to bear the ills they had. In other cases migration assumed the form of conquest. Peoples who had waxed fat in the fertile valleys became the envy of the scraggy mountaineers, and, unable to defend themselves in war, they fell a prey to their more athletic neighbours. In certain instances the migrating hordes were swallowed up in their efforts to find relief.

The movement of migration has flowed from countries with a dense population to countries sparsely populated. In densely populated countries there is intense competition for a share in the resources which nature has provided. This competition leads to restrictive social, economic, and political institutions and customs which provide protection for certain groups. Thus there arise wide extremes in the conditions of life. Poverty and distress are to be found side by side with wealth and luxury and, in general, the standard of life of the common people is depressed. In the sparsely populated countries there is generally speaking more

wealth to divide, and there are greater opportunities for creating wealth. Competition is less keen; institutions and customs tend to be more democratic. There is less disparity in the economic and social status of the people and the general standard of life is higher; there is greater freedom of conduct and, for the most part, life is more attractive.

In densely populated countries the burden of government is usually greater, because over-population is the most fruitful cause of war, and a high price must be paid for national security. This is the case particularly in Europe which has a population density of about 120 to the square mile, and Asia which has a density of about 58. Canada has a population density of 2.41. British Columbia has the lowest density, 1.48, Prince Edward Island the highest with 40.56, United States 36.2, Australia 1.8. About four-fifths of the world's population is contained in Europe and Asia which have only two-fifths of the land surface of the earth. It is then natural that the movement of peoples should be away from Europe and Asia.

During the nineteenth century approximately forty millions of people migrated from Europe chiefly to the North American continent. This movement has been none the less remarkable because of its peaceful character. It seems as if the westward march of peoples, stopped in previous centuries by the stormy waters of the Atlantic, once more set in under the pressure of old forces in new forms. The wide spaces of the new world provided the means of life, and the foundations of new nations were laid. During the same time New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa have been built up by a more purely British stock. The nineteenth century witnessed one of the most amazing movements of people in the history of the world.

This movement was largely the result of economic pressure, although to some small extent political and religious forces were at work. But economic distress, or fear of distress.

or, as in the first fourteen years of the twentieth century, hope of advancement, were the motives behind the movement. In the earlier years of the century the movement was largely from the British Isles, and particularly from Scotland and Ireland, while about the middle of the century people from Germany and Scandinavia joined the stream. It was in 1846 that the first party of Germans passed through London on their way to the United States. The movement then started in north-western Europe and by the eighties had spread to the south and east with the result that as it progressed the peoples drawn in were more alien to the original stocks on this continent in race, language, religion, history, traditions, customs and political institutions. It is this which constitutes one of the main problems of immigration to-day.

“Where any considerable immigration into a democratic country occurs, the racial and linguistic composition of that immigration becomes of paramount importance. Canadians generally prefer that settlers should be of a readily assimilable type, already identified by race or language with one or other of the two great races now inhabiting this country and thus prepared for the assumption of the duties of democratic Canadian citizenship. Since the French are not to any great extent an emigrating people, this means in practice that the great bulk of the preferred settlers are those who speak the English language—those coming from the United Kingdom or the United States. Next in order of readiness of assimilation are the Scandinavians and the Dutch, who readily learn English, and are acquainted with the working of free democratic institutions. Settlers from southern and eastern Europe, however desirable from the purely economic point of view, are less readily assimilated, and the Canadianizing of the people from these regions who came to Canada in the first fourteen years of this century is a problem both in the agricultural Prairie Provinces and in the cities of the East. Less assimilable still, according to the general opinion of Canadians, are those who come to Canada from the Orient.” (Canada Year Book, 1927-28, p. 191).

The problem of the assimilation of immigrants may be divided into three phases, racial, economic, and social.

Racially we cannot assimilate the yellow, brown or black races. At the same time their standard of life is so low that they could not be assimilated economically without seriously affecting the standard of living of the white workmen already in the country. For this reason a policy of exclusion has been adopted in the United States and to some extent in Canada. The racial distribution of the population of Canada is of interest. According to the 1921 census, 55.40% of the population is British in origin, 28.96% being English, 13.35% being Scotch, and 12.61% being Irish. The English element has increased proportionately while there has been a decrease in the Scotch and Irish as compared with the census of 1911 or 1901. The French race constituted 27.91% of the population in 1921, which is again a slight decrease. During twenty years from 1901 to 1921 there was a decrease in the proportion of the French and British races from 87.73% to 83.31%. This decline has been due in the main to the immigration of continental Europeans to Canada during these years.

There has also been an increase in the Asiatic population from .44% to .75%, which does not look serious until one realizes that it is largely concentrated in one province—British Columbia. According to the British Columbia Public Service Bulletin of July, 1928, an estimate of the Oriental population of British Columbia at December 31st, 1927, based upon the immigration returns and on the natural increase shown by the vital statistics, indicates that there were then in the Province 25,177 Chinese, 23,315 Japanese, and 1,233 Hindus, or a total of 49,725. In the case of the Chinese, who are being excluded effectually by the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923, this represents an increase of 7% over the 1921 census figures, while in the case of the Japanese the increase is 55%. A supple-

mentary report prepared for the information of the members of the legislature last session indicated that nearly twice as many Japanese are being born in British Columbia as enter it annually from Japan, and laid emphasis upon the sinister fact that the preponderance of women over men among Japanese immigrants is on the increase. The proportion over the period of years 1909-'24 was 5,111 females to 3,957 males, but in 1925 it was 2 to 1; in 1926 it had increased to about 5 to 2, and this was maintained in 1927.

The legislature of British Columbia has from time to time brought this serious situation to the attention of the other provinces and of the Dominion Government, with results not yet considered satisfactory to the majority of the people of that province. The problem of Asiatic immigration is a vital one for the Province of British Columbia. The admission of any race that cannot blend satisfactorily is a menace, and may become an increasing menace both socially and politically in the future. Race problems in Canada are sufficiently serious at the present without increasing them unnecessarily.

The problem of competition between Oriental and white workers is to some extent being solved by the Male Minimum Wage Act, a type of legislation in which British Columbia has led on the American continent. This Act applies to both white and Oriental employees. The Board of Adjustment appointed under the Act has taken the view that if employers were obliged to conform to a higher standard of wages in the employment of Oriental labour, such labour would tend to become less desirable from the employer's point of view, and to a certain extent would be replaced by white help. The Act has been applied in two cases, that of the lumbering industry, and the restaurant and catering business. Enquiries have shown that where white and Oriental workers are engaged in the same occupation the white worker would command 25% more wages owing to his greater ability to respond to an

unexpected emergency. It was reasoned then that if employers were compelled to pay their Oriental workers 40 cents an hour, which is the minimum wage under the Act, they would be willing either to pay their white workers more for work of the same class, or bring a larger number of white workers into the mills. A comparison of the numbers of whites and Orientals employed in 31 large sawmills on the coast area shows a decline in the number of Orientals employed from 44.80% in 1925 to 34.30% in November, 1926, and to 31.14% in October, 1927. There was an actual increase in the number of white employees of 1,817, and an actual decrease of Oriental employees of 465.

Turning to the more general problem, it is fairly obvious that a larger population in Canada would be an advantage. At present a comparatively small population of under ten millions is scattered over a large stretch of country from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Political, economic, and social institutions have been built up capable of ministering to a much larger population. The cost per head of these institutions would be much less if they could be used more intensively, and incidentally a greater variety and interest would be given to our social life generally.

The problem with regard to the races and peoples of Central, Southern, and Eastern Europe is somewhat different from that of the Oriental. The assimilation of these peoples is possible but difficult. From the biological point of view their assimilation would not necessarily lead to race deterioration. It is a little difficult to agree with the extreme Nordics who are so greatly exercised over the possible contamination of the Nordic stock with the Alpine or Mediterranean. To my mind the problem here is not so much racial as economic and social. "Race improvement and race deterioration are physical, biological concepts; civilization—the progress or decline of culture—is a social concept. Social and cultural and

national progress are not matters of biology, and not necessarily contingent upon race improvement." It must be admitted, however, that environment determines the direction and the extent to which the possibilities are to be realized. There is no reason why a proper blending of these stocks should not produce a race with certain features superior to any of those forming the blend.

There is danger rather to our political, social, and economic institutions and life. We assume here that Canadian institutions, political, social, and economic, are superior to those of the countries from which these people come. We may hold this view without reflecting disparagingly on the institutions of any other country as they exist in that country. We have progressed sufficiently in Canada as a community to warrant speaking of Canadian standards of life, of justice, of integrity, of fair play, of morality—both public and private. It is by these that our would-be citizens must be judged. The Canadian people have decided that Canadian ideals, and Canadian institutions, shall be based on British ideals and British institutions. These ideals and institutions have been tested and tried, and have proven themselves a fit means to enable a people to live together with a maximum of harmony, and to progress both socially and culturally. It is natural that Canadians should look upon any influx of people which might endanger these ideals and institutions as a menace.

The appropriate method of dealing with this menace is not exclusion, as in the case of the Orientals, but selection and restriction. For some time the policy of selection has been adopted by the Canadian Government with reference to physical, mental and moral characteristics. There has also been a selective policy with regard to certain occupations. There is a growing opinion that the policy of restriction should be applied on a racial basis. The argument for restriction is not based on purely racial grounds, but rather on

the danger that, through the admission of too many people, economic and social assimilation will become impossible.

Economic assimilation is based upon the development of the natural resources of our country, and of our industries generally. This development depends again on the possibility of securing capital and markets. Such development, generally speaking, must be gradual and must be based on the world demand for the commodities produced. The number of people that Canada can absorb in connection with her various economic activities at any time is definitely limited. Too large an influx of immigrants at any time might disturb the economic equilibrium of the country with unfortunate results. This has occurred before. It occurred in Upper Canada (Ontario) in 1847 following the famine in Ireland when thousands fled from that disaster only to encounter another, and, finding that they could not be employed in the new country, were obliged to migrate again to the United States.

There is nothing mysterious about the problem of economic assimilation. There is no reason why there could not be a complete survey made of the possibilities of development of the industries of Canada, of the numbers which they can profitably employ, and of the additional labour required each year. This survey could be kept up to date and an immigration quota struck on the basis of the information thus obtained. The condition of the settlers from the point of view of social assimilation should also be taken into consideration. Thus the quota of immigrants would be based on real conditions both economic and social. The haphazard methods of immigration of the past can never be satisfactory. The disasters which followed in their train are largely responsible for the difficulties Canada is encountering to-day. A study of the history of immigration leads one to become more and more doubtful of the wisdom of the "open door" policy. In fact the ultimate value of immigration in the development of a

country beyond a certain point is questionable. No doubt if a handful of people decides to open up a new continent, as was done in Canada when plans were made for the development of the West, that handful of people must call in outside help by offering generous inducements. But it is open to serious question whether the methods used in the development of the West were economically sound.

One difficulty in connection with the problem is that the national interests and the interests of certain groups do not coincide. It is, for example, to the interest of our railways that we have a large population providing freight and passenger traffic. The character of that population is not of first importance to the railways as long as it provides traffic, although it is probable that immigrants of good character would, even from this point of view, be more valuable. From the national point of view the character of that population is all important. Consequently the immigration policy of Canada should be controlled by the people of Canada and not by any group or combination of groups. National interest and national safety are more important than the dividends of particular organizations. The time has come when immigration into Canada should be controlled and directed by an independent expert commission which would remove the whole question out of the realm of partisan politics, religion, and special economic interests. Until this is done there will be manipulation, economic waste, and national loss.

The problem of social assimilation is equally important. We have seen that there is an increase in the numbers coming to Canada whose language, traditions, history and social background generally is different from ours. The admission of these people in large numbers may make their social assimilation impossible. Here again the problem is made more difficult because a large proportion of these people settle in the Prairie Provinces. It is consequently difficult to impress

on the other provinces the seriousness of the situation. There has been for some time a strong agitation among certain groups on the Prairies for the restriction of Central and Southern European immigration, and for the encouragement of British immigration. The alleged racial inferiority of these peoples is sometimes stressed in a way which is to be deplored. The term "British" is also often used in a rather narrow sense. The problem is not so much that of racial inferiority, or impossibility of assimilation, as of controlling the numbers arriving in such a way as to ensure that the newcomers will have a proper opportunity of understanding our social ideals and institutions. If these people are allowed to come in such numbers that they can form blocks which become social and economic units their social assimilation is postponed indefinitely. It is not possible in many cases to accomplish much with the older generation, but the children should not be hindered in becoming familiar with our language and institutions. We confer the privileges and rights of Canadian citizenship much too easily on the non-English-speaking immigrants. Before acquiring Canadian citizenship the non-English-speaking immigrant should pass a test in the English language, in a knowledge of our political institutions, and in an understanding of the responsibilities of citizenship. If this were done, in addition to strict limitation of immigration, there would be fewer European Islands, somewhat anti-social in character, on our Prairies and elsewhere.

That the situation is serious is shown by the fact that the percentage of the total population of European racial origin, other than British or French, increased from 8.51% of the total in 1901 to 14.51% in 1921. That the percentage is still greater to-day is indicated by the increase in foreign immigrants in recent years. In the year ending March 31st, 1926, 47,427 British immigrants and 47,545 European continentals entered Canada, while in the year ending March 31st, 1927,

British immigration numbered 60,853, and continental immigrants numbered 81,966. Immigrants arriving in 1927 spoke 39 different languages. For the succeeding annual period the arrivals were 50,872 British and 75,718 continentals. This, of course, does not take into account Canadians returning from the United States.

The immigration problem in Canada has been accentuated by the drying up of the stream of immigrants from the British Isles just before the outbreak of the Great War. The number of immigrants from the United Kingdom in 1912 was over 150,000, and the total immigration was over 400,000. The war interrupted the flow of immigration, and the return to peace found Canada faced with a new situation. The large immigration in the years before the war was due largely to the policy of giving free government lands to those who would undertake to live upon them and perform certain residence and development duties, and to the opportunities for all classes of labour employed in railroad and other construction work. From 1901 to 1914 the enormous area of over 70 million acres of fertile land in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and parts of British Columbia, was granted free to settlers as an inducement towards the development of the country.

The first problem following the war was the re-absorption into civil life of the hundreds of thousands of discharged soldiers. Free homesteads within convenient reach of the railroads were no longer available. Too many railroads had already been built, and to construct others to make new territories available for settlement was then out of the question. Thus Canada no longer had free lands as an attraction for immigrants. Consequently immigration activity had to be restricted to those who were in a position to purchase land, or who were prepared to take farm employment, and to domestic workers. The high cost of transportation and the depreciation

of the European currencies likewise tended to reduce immigration.

This led to policies of assisted immigration in which the British and Canadian governments participated jointly. But even this has had comparatively little result in increasing British immigration. This fact led an official of the Canadian government recently in giving evidence before the Immigration Committee of the Canadian House of Commons to state that the British race has lost its pioneering instincts. To my mind that is altogether too facile an explanation. A people does not lose its characteristics so easily or so quickly.

The explanation of the difficulty of securing British immigrants is largely social and economic. In the first place, there has been a levelling up of economic opportunity as between Great Britain and Canada. One of the great attractions of Canada was the possibility of economic liberty through the possession of land. That no longer exists. There is nothing particularly attractive to the British youth in coming to work as a labourer on a western farm. Many of these youths who have come out have had unfortunate experiences and these have been given wide publicity in the British press. Secondly, the opportunities for skilled workers in Canada are strictly limited, and it is questionable whether skilled artisans from the British Isles would be much better off here even if employment could be found for them. Thirdly, the period of depression just prior to the outbreak of the Great War has not been forgotten by many who arrived here during the latter part of 1913 and the early months of 1914. There were thousands who at that time never obtained steady employment. Many of these went overseas with the Canadian forces. Approximately 20,000 received their discharge in the British Isles, and, scattered to every corner of those islands, they became advocates in their various communities against Canada as a place for emigrants. This accounts largely for the

unpopularity of Canada in the British Isles following the war and the greater popularity of Australia. Fourthly—and this is a fact that must not be forgotten—from 1914 to 1918 the young men who would naturally be doing the pioneering now were having full play for their pioneering instincts in France and Flanders, and on other battle-fields. Hundreds of thousands of the best of them still rest there. Energies that might have been used in turning the wilderness into a garden were consumed in the war. Fifthly, there is the fact that in Great Britain social legislation, such as unemployment and sickness insurance, old age pensions, etc., is much farther advanced than in Canada, and the worker has greater protection in his work. In this connection there is the system of National Insurance, commonly known as the “dole.” While this is acting as a protection for the unemployed it is evidently having a somewhat deleterious effect on the ambitions of the youth of the country.

There is no doubt that this situation, serious though it may be, will be dealt with by the British people. A similar situation existed following the Napoleonic Wars; the dole system had been resorted to during the war, not by the national government but by the parishes, in what was known as the Speenhamland system of giving relief in addition to wages. The result of this was the pauperisation and demoralization of the greater part of the labouring population. That situation was dealt with in the Poor Law Act of 1834. British statesmen to-day seem to be quite aware of the situation, and are no longer looking with longing eyes to the days before 1914. Industry is being re-organized; a serious attempt is being made to establish a rational and vigorous system of marketing, and workers are being transferred to those industries in which there is greater employment.

Another feature of the present situation in the British Isles is the local migration problem. The Irish are again

giving trouble—this time to Scotland. The large number migrating from Ireland to Scotland has given rise to a serious fear that Scotland may be overrun both religiously and racially by the Irish. So definite is this fear that the British Government was approached last year by a responsible deputation from Scotland with a view to having a quota system applied to Irish immigration. This situation, although not at the moment so serious, is, according to a recent statement of Mr. Baldwin, still being closely watched in view of the considerable unemployment in Scotland and Northern England.

We are reminded again that a similar situation existed a hundred years ago. Hordes of Irish migrated to England, Scotland and Wales. Their standard of living was lower, and they entered into competition with the British workmen. Various government enquiries were made into the problem, and it was stated that the question was whether the potato-fed population of Ireland was to supplant the grain-fed population of Great Britain. One result of this was the experimental colonies of Irishmen in the district north of Peterborough in Upper Canada, under the direction of Peter Robinson, a brother of Chief Justice Sir John Beverley Robinson, after whom Peterborough was named. It was during and immediately following that period that the foundations of the great British Dominions were laid. The problems that we have to face to-day are not greater than those that have been faced and solved by our forefathers. An encouraging feature is the changing attitude of labour. An evidence of this was the acceptance last year by the railwaymen of a 2½% reduction in wages. Mr. J. H. Thomas, former president of the National Union of Railwaymen, said: "I have signed a document to-day that in my judgment when you and I are dead will live as the most important document signed in British industrial history. For the first time in British history a million men and their wives and families have given an indication to the

world unknown before, have accepted a reduction in wages amounting to nearly £65,000,000, as their contribution towards saving the great railways of the country." The instincts for government, for colonization, for pioneering, have not been lost by the British race, and those forces of brain and brawn and will-power that have solved our difficulties in the past will no doubt overcome them in the future.

CURRENT EVENTS

THE GENERAL ELECTIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN

The British elections have turned out more or less as was expected. The swing of the pendulum has gone decisively against the Baldwin ministry and the Labour party has mostly profited by it, as is shown by the following figures:

	At dissolution	After	Loss or Gain
Conservatives	400	260	—140
Labour	163	289	+ 126
Liberal	46	59	+ 13

The fact remains, however, that this election has been above all a spoiling election. The Liberals by contesting five hundred seats have split the bourgeois vote and put Labour in. The popular vote brings this out strikingly, as we see by the following:

Labour	Conservative	Liberal
8,300,000	8,500,000	5,200,000

The Conservatives, who in the last Parliament had a majority out of all proportion to their popular vote, now are the victims of “the breaks” and while having the largest popular vote are nearly thirty seats behind the Labourites. The Liberals, while totally unsuccessful in their bid for power, have been relatively successful in their spoiling tactics, as Austen Chamberlain rather tartly admitted. The question for them is whether a repetition of these tactics will force or induce one of the other parties to make any sort of a deal with them.

At present both the major parties have adopted a policy of freezing out the inconvenient *tertium quid*. Mr. Baldwin resigned and so prevented Labourites and Liberals from get-

ting together to turn him out. Ramsay MacDonald, thus relieved of the necessity of any kind of a deal with the Liberals, went ahead and formed his government. Mr. Lloyd George, who hurried to London after the elections, seems to have spent some time waiting for a knock at his door which did not come. Consequently he was left to define his attitude at the National Liberal Club, where he said that the Government would meet with no opposition from his party so long as it confined itself to liberal measures, but as soon as it embarked on socialism—meaning probably in this case nationalization of any industry—it would meet with whole-hearted Liberal opposition. Ramsay MacDonald, it may be remarked, has revealed in his recent actions a certain sardonic humour. He has given Liberalism representation in his cabinet by the appointment as ministers of some half-dozen recruits from the Liberal party, and *pour encourager les autres* he has seduced one of the meagre Liberal group—Mr. Jowitt—by the offer of the Attorney-Generalship. This is not exactly what one would call ‘cricket’, but Mr. MacDonald probably plays only golf, a game which has made no more contribution to the language of ethics than the term “stymied.”

The election was certainly unique in this respect, that the horse which was apparently making all the running came in a very poor third. There can be no doubt that the most discussed topic during the campaign was Lloyd George’s scheme to relieve unemployment.¹ Was this an election stunt only or a serious project with some prospect of success? The dramatic (or advertising) manner in which it was put forward—one-half expected to see a “money-back” clause somewhere—suggested the former and this was the line Conservative critics took up. Thus Mr. Baldwin emphasized the fact that specious

¹A programme of public works—chiefly roads—to be financed by a loan which should pay for itself by improvement in business and enhanced land values.

promises were useless and he was far too orthodox a physician to presume to interfere with such great natural forces as unemployment: rest and tranquillity were the only remedies he could prescribe. And yet the Liberal industrial Council who were responsible for the scheme have done some very good work. The principle of the measure as apart from the pledge received the endorsement of sober statesmen like Grey and Simon and had behind it the economic authority of Mr. Keynes.

The Conservatives on the other hand went to the country with a very negative programme. Mr. Baldwin repudiated Protection but apparently intended an increase in safeguarding. The Labour programme was also rather vague and nebulous and was issued only after the Liberal manifesto. So many things were mentioned in it that it is certain that only a fraction of them can be touched. The Labour party in fact are in rather a peculiar position. They claim to be a socialist party, and yet so far they have produced no scheme by which they can lay the foundations of their socialist or collectivist state. The great liberal measures of reform of the nineteenth century were thought out, introduced, debated, recast and eventually became law, opposition having melted away as the result of a process of exposition and accommodation. This was the principle of Parliamentary government in operation and if the present government is the real party of progress, it must get back to it and prove its ability in the framing and exposition of appropriate measures. So far it has not got beyond a recognition of its own limitations in office.

Ramsay MacDonald was very insistent during the campaign in his plea for a clear majority, but he has failed to get it. We may trace the rise of the Labour poll above all to one thing—the attack made by the last government on trades unionism, which after the general strike it professed to regard as revolutionary and communist in intention. Thus we have

seen repeated on a modified scale the gesture which trades unionism made in 1906 after the Taff-Vale judgment and the consequent legislation. *Cet animal est très méchant. Lorsqu'on l'attaque, il se défend.* The examination of the electoral results in the industrial districts is very impressive reading.

London was relatively a Tory stronghold when Liberalism was the opponent. Now the table reads: Labour 36 seats, Conservatives 24, Liberals 2. In the North and Midlands Labour held 79 seats in 1924 and now holds 152. Wales only returns one Conservative, 25 Labourites and 9 Liberals. Conservatism had a majority in Scotland—an unheard of thing in the nineteenth century—but now Labour has 37 seats, Conservatism 20, Liberalism 12.

But of course all these figures betray the indecisive character of a tripartite electorate and are to that extent confusing. It is commonly said that the Liberals hold the balance of power in the new parliament. The question however rather is, after the two years which MacDonald suggests as the period of his régime, which party will make overtures for the three to five million votes which the Liberals seem able to command: for that is where the balance of power lies. The Labour government can hardly afford to pursue its own path exclusively when it only has behind it a third of the electorate. It may argue that if the Liberals put it out they will only be playing the game of the Conservatives. But without going to that length a free lance party can expose a minority government to many vexations and minor discomfitures¹ which may well compel it to come to some kind of terms. The Liberals will probably make a big demonstration for some form of the alternative vote. It has been suggested that the big boroughs

¹It would be quite sufficient to abstain from putting on party whips. An irregular Liberal *cave* of 25 could then make it very awkward for the Government, which would never know when it had a routine majority.

at any rate should be treated as one constituency and the counties or ridings likewise. It is by no means certain that the Labour Government will concede this, but it is equally certain that it is the price at which either party can have the Liberal support in a critical division.

Mr. Thomas again has been made minister of "Unemployment." But on a subject such as this which will entail numerous debates, it is likely that we shall have the spectacle of a 'free parliament' prescribing what shall be done. We may see some suggestion of this in the debate upon the address, which should be lively enough in view of the attitude the Labour government has assumed.

When we turn to the question of the intentions of the new government, they are most promising in the field of external affairs. There more than anywhere else the Conservatives have been tried and found wanting. True, Sir Austen Chamberlain had to his credit the Locarno Treaty, but since then he has seemed afraid to live up to the spirit of that treaty. M. Briand lost credit with his countrymen because he seemed to dance at the heels of Lloyd George. Mr. Chamberlain has been the puppet of Poincaré, unable to resist the mingled blandishments and bullying of the Quai d'Orsay. The naval discussions with the United States were also badly handled, the problem on both sides being left too much in the hands of the experts whose business it was not to find a solution, but to do the best for their own sides—and, be it added, their own prestige.

In both these questions there is every advantage in a change of personnel in the British government. Poincaré very speedily accommodated himself to the new alignment when Ramsay MacDonald was last returned to power and will know how to take into account the new dispositions of British politics. Mr. Hoover also is not bound by the commitments of the Coolidge administration, but his aim is perhaps

rather to give body to the spirit which inspired the Kellogg Treaty. Mr. MacDonald proposes to come to America to thresh this question out in person. His professed intention rather implies that he looks on Mr. Henderson as purely his deputy in foreign affairs and he seems in no way deterred by the omen of President Wilson's trip across the Atlantic. If he return by way of Quebec he may be surprised at the warmth of the encomiums of the French-Canadian press!

He has also made his intentions in European politics very clear in an interview he has given to the *Matin*, which made quite a sensation in Paris. The first point he laid down was "to push vigorously ahead at once to realize a practical policy of disarmament and peace, to accomplish which he will appeal for the general co-operation of Europe," which the *Matin* interviewer—a lady journalist—at once accepted with a reservation—the security of French frontiers. Reservations naturally led Ramsay MacDonald to quote the Kellogg pact which the *Matin* correspondent described as platonic. "But France signed it," Mr. MacDonald retorted promptly. The Premier then went on to indicate that matters had now to be discussed in a new spirit with a new viewpoint, and the *Matin* lady straightway reminded him of the existence of the *Entente*. "It is not a question of ententes," said Mr. MacDonald, "all that is out of date. We wish to inaugurate a new era of European co-operation . . . no more secret diplomacy . . . but air, light, and goodwill between the peoples." From all of which we may infer that the atmosphere of the Assembly of the League of Nations will be materially altered in the next six months, and M. Poincaré has certainly been provided with a text for his next Sunday sermon at Bar-le-duc.

W. M. C.

THE FEDERAL PARLIAMENTARY SESSION.

The third session of the present Federal Parliament came to an end on June 15th and our legislators dispersed to their homes in a distinctly peevish frame of mind because a drive, organized behind the scenes, for increased indemnities came to naught, largely owing to the intelligible disinclination of Ministers to aggravate their burden of troubles by giving ground for the charge that they had permitted a raid upon the public Treasury. There is no real case for an increase of indemnities; the sessions are comparatively short, rarely lasting more than four months, and most members are free to pursue other activities for the balance of the year. Comparison with the indemnities paid to the legislators of the United States is irrelevant, not only because the cost of living at Washington is at least 60% higher than at Ottawa, but because the average American congressman has a constituency of nearly 300,000 people to serve, as compared with the 40,000 who constitute the normal flock of a member of our House of Commons, and he finds his energies taxed to the limit the whole year round by the task. Moreover, it is questionable whether the increase in indemnities decreed at the end of the war has not wrought a deterioration in the quality of parliament's membership; in many constituencies a seat in the House of Commons has become a monetary prize for which persons unsuccessful in other walks of life contend with a zeal that discourages candidates of finer calibre.

On this occasion the public would have given a chilly reception to an increase of indemnities after a session which was one of the dullest of recent record and offered scant evidence of the possession of any generous measure of intellectual capacity or public spirit by our parliamentarians. The record of accomplishment was singularly unimpressive, and, long before prorogation, the country had become frankly wearied of parliamentary news from Ottawa. An excuse for

the feeble listlessness which prevailed throughout most of the session might be found in the fact that during its earlier weeks all parties were waiting for Washington to show its hand in the matter of tariff policies and, when it was disclosed, the Conservatives reached the conclusion that the real scene of action was the country and that parliamentary debates on the fiscal issue would yield no profitable fruits, while the Liberals found themselves in a dilemma about the policy which they should adopt to meet the new situation. A group of protectionist Ministers, led by Mr. Euler, the Minister of National Revenue, were urgent to disprove the charge that the Government was content to acquiesce in American fiscal aggression by reimposing the special duties on fruits and vegetables adopted by Mr. Meighen's short-lived Ministry in 1926 and which the King Government had dropped under pressure from its western supporters. This project, however, was strongly resisted by most of the western Ministers, headed by Mr. Dunning, who argued that the restoration of these duties would weaken the claims of Liberalism to be regarded as the instrument of anti-protectionist sentiment. Consequently the Liberal party was in a divided state of mind and was mightily relieved that the fiscal issue, which has now come to dominate the political scene, was only raised at intermittent intervals in Parliament.

The Government contrived to place upon the statute books most of its modest legislative programme. It has made provision for adequate compensation for the civilian sufferers of the Great War and has achieved some progress with the settlement of the thorny problem of the natural resources of the three prairie provinces by securing authority to transfer to them the management of their own water-powers. The report of the Royal Commission which was charged with the task of devising a financial adjustment between the Dominion and the Province of Manitoba should provide a basis for a

satisfactory settlement with that province and this ancient problem should be completely disposed of within a few years. The spasmodic discussions which took place about the St. Lawrence Waterway were wholly unfruitful, and, although the conference between the Federal Government and the provincial administrations of Ontario and Quebec about their respective rights to water-powers will take place, events at Washington have made the atmosphere wholly unpropitious for any co-operative scheme for the completion of the waterway. The most important legislative measure was the bill amending the Canadian Grain Act, but the real battle over it took place in the agricultural committee and not on the floor of Parliament. The amendments represent a compromise which goes some distance to remedy the grievances of the farmers; the revelation, however, that officials of the wheat pools were unsympathetic to the complete abolition of "mixing," which had been proclaimed as the fundamental source of evil in the present grain marketing system, cooled the ardour of the advocates of this reform, and it is to be banned only in the first three grades of wheat. The personnel of the Grain Commission is to be strengthened and its administrative methods, which had obviously become very lax and inefficient, are to be improved; the right of the farmer to designate the terminal elevator to which his wheat shall be consigned has been definitely conceded.

There were some piquant debates over the bill which proposed to equip Ontario with a divorce court and relieve our harassed Senators from some of their surviving responsibilities as arbiters of marital strife, and, although the moral conservatism of the Roman Catholic and Anglican elements in the House of Commons compassed the defeat of the bill after it had passed the Senate, the supporters of the measure gave such a convincing display of their obstructionist capacities in connection with the parliamentary divorce bills that the

Government has virtually admitted that the problem must be dealt with next year. The issues raised by the prohibition laws of the United States and the efforts of our bootlegging fraternity to slake the thirst of American nonconformists to the Volstead Act forced themselves on several occasions upon the attention of Parliament but Mr. Euler resolutely resisted the pressure of "dry" enthusiasts who wanted him to help the bewildered prohibition officials of the United States by placing a ban upon clearance certificates for export liquor cargoes.

Parliament showed itself responsive to the current sentiment of optimism about our economic future which demands spacious schemes of development, and, in addition to sanctioning extensive branch line programmes for both the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Railways, voted funds for a large new terminal for the C.N.R. at Montreal and substantial harbour improvements at Vancouver and other ports. Our parliamentarians still fight shy of discussing imperial and international problems, probably through their meagre acquaintance with their realities, and, although their implications for Canada grow increasingly important each year, they received even less attention than usual during the session. Conservative sniping at the nationalist proclivities of the Government carried little conviction, but the fervour of the professions of zeal for the Empire in which certain Ministers indulged also conveyed the impression that they were anxious to placate Imperialist sentiment. The *Manitoba Free Press* still continues its crusade for a clearance of constitutional debris which will round off the work of the last Imperial Conference and give Canada full control of her own constitution, but the Government has made no responsive move beyond announcing that it will appoint Canadian representatives to the committee of experts which will attempt to reconcile the resolutions of the Conference with such archaic

and awkward badges of political subordination as the Colonial Laws Validity Act.

But the most significant event in the political world in recent months has been the provincial election in Saskatchewan. Most intelligent observers of the local situation were prepared for a substantial erosion of the Liberal majority but nobody anticipated an overturn of votes which virtually assures the expulsion of the Gardiner administration from office and the termination of twenty-four years of Liberal domination at Regina. Premier Gardiner seems to be the possessor of unfortunate qualities which generate personal unpopularity and, if rumour does not lie, he was continually at loggerheads with Mr. Dunning, the Ulysses whose bow he obviously cannot bend. Anti-Catholic sentiment, aroused by the supposed partiality of the Gardiner government towards the claims of the Roman Catholic church, was effectively mobilized for the election and the slump in grain prices had produced a spirit of agrarian discontent which on the prairies invariably operates against the party in power. But, apparently over and above these factors, there were at work undercurrents of general dissatisfaction with the Liberal party and the result is that the Conservatives have received the first real encouragement which they have garnered on the prairies for many years and are in a measure compensated for the unfortunate fiasco which their chieftains in Manitoba staged over the Seven Sisters lease. If a predominantly rural province like Saskatchewan, which has since its organization been a rock-ribbed fortress of Liberalism, shows a disposition to move from its ancient political moorings, then the general outlook for the Liberal party assumes a somewhat sombre aspect.

It may be premature, as some Conservative prophets do, to hail the result in Saskatchewan as the sure portent of an inundation which will sweep the Liberal party out of office at Ottawa next year, but events of the past six months have

certainly combined to work a remarkable metamorphosis in the spirits of the Conservative party. They feel that the clouds which have overhung their fortunes since 1926 have now broken and that time and tide are on their side. Mr. Bennett intends to spend the summer months driving home the advantages which he has gained by a speech-making tour in Ontario and British Columbia, and to all appearances he will preach a full-blooded protectionist gospel, spiced with a project for a great imperial economic conference which will discuss ways and means of consolidating the economic activities of the British Commonwealth and of developing its resources. The atmosphere, for the time being, is exceedingly propitious for a protectionist campaign but the problem of reconciling its implications with plans for Imperial economic co-operation will present grave difficulties. Indeed, the cards are becoming so stacked against the King Government that what Mr. Bennett needs more than any definite policy is a better parliamentary personnel for his party. It is many a year since either of the two historic parties has enjoyed that first rate management which plans ahead, finds constituencies for promising recruits, and weeds out obvious weaklings from its parliamentary ranks; since the war, the Liberals, thanks largely to the astuteness of Senator Haydon, have a distinct advantage in this respect. The Conservative party has been drifting aimlessly without plan or purpose in its organization and it remains to be seen whether General A. D. McRae of Vancouver, who has undertaken the management of its fortunes, can apply to politics the gifts of organization which he has displayed in other spheres. The real difficulty lies in the local party associations whose powers of appraisal of character and ability are often meagre; they have never been brought to understand that a constituency can often serve both its own and the larger interests of the party best by selecting a candidate of real ability who might lack strong

local connections, in preference to some garrulous worthy who has made himself a "good fellow" in the community. For instance, one of the safest Conservative seats in Ontario is now vacant and yet it is being blithely handed over to a local party hero who can contribute no serious reinforcement to the strength of Mr. Bennett's parliamentary following. Once Mr. Bennett is able to present to the country the picture of an alternative Ministry which will command general confidence by reason of its aggregate character and ability, the doors of office will soon open to him; when the policies of parties attain such an identity as now prevails at Ottawa, the attractions of superior personalities will always win the day.

Still, Conservative fortunes are on the upgrade and it is the Liberals who are now worrying most about their future. A year ago the omens seemed favourable for another Liberal triumph at a general election and another spell of office, but the feeling of comfortable assurance which then prevailed has now gone where the woodbine twineth and it is quite clear that Liberalism will have to fight and fight hard for another mandate. The Ministry, like all Ministries, has now reached the stage when it shows obvious signs of the strain and stress of office. Within its ranks some sharp personal antipathies have developed, and during the last session some roses fell from the chaplets of both Mr. Robb and Colonel Ralston who were the two most widely trusted members of the Ministry.

There has on the surface been no setback in the prosperity which the country has enjoyed for the last five years, but it is not uniform and too large a number of Canadians find a living hard to come by. The lowness of grain prices and the difficulties of the newsprint industry, as well as the curtailment of export business which will be produced by the new American tariff, are all factors which may within a year cause some recession of prosperity and, if it should occur, the Government will have to shoulder a major portion of the

blame, undeserved though it may be. Even now it is definitely on the defensive and is seeking ways and means to buttress its position. Inspired press despatches from Ottawa and the *obiter dicta* of Ministers indicate that they are inclining to a bold move in the direction of a closer trade *rapprochement* with Great Britain, through an increase in the British preference. Such a move offers distinct possibilities for the betterment of Liberal fortunes in certain quarters; it would be a very neat reply to the new American tariff, as it would probably strip Amercian exporters of many million dollars of trade and have a chastening effect at Washington; it would also undermine the claim of Conservatism that it possessed a Canadian monopoly of interest in the future of the British Commonwealth of Nations. But its evolution will not be unattended with grave problems and difficulties and will present an interesting spectacle. It would certainly offer a prospect of a substantial recovery of support for Liberalism in the West but its reception in Quebec may be less comforting. The manufacturers of Quebec are more exposed to British competition than their brethren in Ontario and the West and therefore dislike it more; they would fain see the British preference abolished and the dark view which they will take of any suggested increase will certainly find expression among the French-Canadian Liberals at Ottawa, many of whom, as befits good nationalists, are also staunch domestic protectionists. And this very session M. Henri Bourassa, who is still a dread figure to the Liberals of Quebec, indulged in a bitter denunciation of the British preference as unfair to Canada and an unhappy obstacle to the advancement of international free trade. What is he going to say to an extension of the hated principle? He would be a formidable ally for Mr. Bennett in a fight against such a Liberal policy but Mr. Bennett is too convinced an Imperialist and has burnt his bridges too completely on the subject of Imperial co-operation

to descend to the sort of protectionist-nationalist campaign which would be a logical outcome of the projected policy of our present Ministers. What we are therefore apparently destined to witness is an interesting competition in Imperialist zeal between the two historic parties, but it would make for a healthier condition of public life if they would abandon their tendency to timid imitation and draw farther apart in their creeds and policies. The further question will also arise whether close economic co-operation is really possible without a degree of political co-operation which would horrify the *Manitoba Free Press* and *Toronto Star*, but this aspect has probably received little consideration in either camp.

J. A. S.

THE SASKATCHEWAN ELECTION.

Twenty-four years of Liberal rule in Saskatchewan are coming to an end. While at the moment this is written the government of Premier J. G. Gardiner has not formally resigned, and indeed may meet the House, it is inevitable, as far as can be seen now, that it will be replaced by a government headed by Dr. J. T. M. Anderson, who has led the Conservative party in the province for the past two or three years.

There are 63 seats in the legislature of Saskatchewan, although only 61 of these have been filled as a result of the voting on June 6th. Two others in the north of the province, namely, Ile à la Crosse and Cumberland, owing to the nature of the wide flung north country, poll at a later date. The 61 seats have been filled by 26 Liberals, 25 Conservatives, 6 "Independents" and 4 Progressives. All of the candidates in the groups other than Liberal ran in opposition to government candidates and have signified their intention of acting together to replace the present administration. Dr. Anderson has

announced his resignation as leader of the Conservative party and has been chosen as the leader of the allied groups. A great deal of interest will be taken in the two deferred elections. Both of these ridings have been consistently Liberal and if the government decides to make a test of strength in the legislature rather than resign immediately, as seems to be Mr. Gardiner's intention, they may still adhere to the Liberal column and the position of Dr. Anderson will be thereby less comfortable. Pioneer ridings, however, have a habit of voting with majorities.

From figures available at the moment it appears that, due to the interest in the campaign and the exceptionally fine weather on polling day, the total vote in the province was some 30 per cent over that of 1925, when the Liberals won 51 of the 63 seats. The turnover in the popular vote, however, is much less than the actual results in the legislature would indicate. Probably not more than seven or eight per cent of the people changed their politics, if such it can be called, and in a large number of the ridings the majorities are very small, some being in the twenties and thirties. The cities, it is true, went Conservative with increased majorities for previous members and several changes in other cases.

It will probably not do to assume that the defeat of the government means a vote for Conservatism as such, however, and it by no means follows that in the next federal election, even giving the Conservative party the benefit of the prestige of a provincial administration, Saskatchewan will return many Conservative members to Ottawa.

The election just passed turned very largely on two issues. The first of these was the growing conviction that the Liberal administration had about reached the end of its usefulness, a fact which, in a measure, was evidenced by the defensive character of Premier Gardiner's campaign. Secondly, the Ku Klux Klan and its assistants, who have been preaching

ceaselessly against the alleged domination of the Roman Catholic church and tirading against the teaching by nuns in one or two of the public schools and against the presence of crucifixes on some public school walls, had the effect of unsettling the minds of a number of people and causing them to turn from their former Liberal allegiance.

Coupled with the religious issue was the problem of immigration. There is a growing feeling in the cities that this province cannot absorb even as many people as have been coming in lately. Labour has been somewhat vehement on this subject and there has been rather more seasonable unemployment this spring than usual. Again, the campaign put up by Bishop Lloyd of the Anglican diocese of Prince Albert against the influx of "nasty garlic-smelling, unpreferred continentals", as his lordship termed them, and a suggestion from the people who attacked the school administration that there was a move, sponsored by the federal government, to bring about Catholic domination of this province had some bearing also. The charges against the administration referred mainly to the use of the civil service for political ends and, in one or two instances, to the administration of justice in the province. The failure to proceed against one Bronfman, mentioned in the customs investigation as attempting to bribe officers, was also dwelt upon at length in some quarters. All of these had a cumulative effect. It is, however, quite on the cards that a number of Liberals voted against the administration on the ground that a strong opposition was desirable. And they are possibly quite shocked to find that, while there will be a strong opposition, it is likely to be of the Liberal party.

To Dr. Anderson himself a good deal of the credit for the victory is due. He has travelled Saskatchewan with untiring energy for the last eighteen months, preaching his views in the face of an apparently hopeless task. The fact that the Conservatives were able to put candidates in about forty of the

seats and had a hand in the nomination of all the successful so-called Independents is very largely a tribute to Dr. Anderson's personal activities. This had the effect, moreover, of providing rallying points for those who were dissatisfied with the administration of Premier Gardiner and his cabinet. It is probable that dissatisfaction with certain phases of the Liberal administration has been growing for some years but until this year there was never a chance of electing any group with a sufficient number of seats to defeat the government and rather than support sporadic uprisings with local leaders, unknown frequently outside their constituencies, the people of the province preferred to keep the Liberal party in power and perhaps hope for the best.

It will be very interesting to observe whether the assorted elements elected in opposition to the government will be able to present a harmonious front and remain in power for the normal life of the legislature. There is nothing in common, except opposition to the present administration, between the straight Conservative candidates and the Progressives. It is true that the Progressives, as a price of their support of Dr. Anderson, have asked and received certain undertakings. Among these are: reform of the civil service; retention of the identity of each group; freedom in the matter of federal politics, and a declaration that the government will resign only on a direct vote of want of confidence. It seems possible, however, that Mr. Gardiner in opposition may sponsor legislation or resolutions which will appeal to the Progressives and not be at all acceptable to the Conservatives. If the Progressives will vote for the government in face of these, it will be assumed that they have, to all intents and purposes, become Conservatives and possibly in subsequent elections will be opposed by candidates from the ranks of the farmers who are pledged to an independent cause.

Indeed, the future holds out interesting possibilities.

There is ground for the belief that the inevitable effect of the vote last month will be to cause the United Farmers of Saskatchewan to take political action. They have no love for Conservatism as such. They have refrained from entering politics hitherto, possibly on the ground that such action might result in a Conservative victory. With this accomplished, and with the Liberal party apparently due for an eclipse in a greater or less degree, it is highly probable that the convention next February will witness a decision to run a "farmer" candidate in every rural riding. Whether this will bring about a condition such as obtains in Alberta or even in Manitoba is not a matter on which a pronouncement can profitably be made at the moment. On the whole, then, Dr. Anderson may be able to hold office for the normal term, but, in any event, when he decides or is forced to go to the country an even more interesting campaign may develop.

J. S. WOODWARD.

BOOK REVIEWS

RECENT WORKS IN CANADIAN HISTORY

A History of Canada. By Carl Wittke. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1928. Pp. 397.

The Rise and Fall of New France. By George M. Wrong. Two vols. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1928. Pp. 925.

The Eighth Earl of Elgin. By J. L. Morison D.Litt. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1928. Pp. 318.

Canada in the Commonwealth: From Conflict to Co-operation. By the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Borden. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1929. Pp. xv, 144.

Empire and Commonwealth: in Governance and Self-Government in Canada. By Chester Martin. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1929. Pp. xxi, 385.

Sir Charles Bagot in Canada: A Study in British Colonial Government. By G. P. de T. Glazebrook. Oxford University Press. 1929. Pp. xi, 160.

The writing of a general history of Canada by Professor Carl Wittke of the Ohio State University is significant in indicating an increase of interest on the part of the United States in their northern neighbour. In point of fact, the North American continent has developed largely as a unit; there has been a constant interchange of influences between the southern and northern portions. The Great War has unquestionably drawn the United States into the vortex of world affairs, despite an inherent desire to maintain a position of isolation. Their relations with the British Empire have become of

greatest importance. Renewed interest has become manifest in the development of the British Empire and in the growth of the imperial relationships. Canada provides an excellent laboratory for the study of these significant historical phenomena. For this reason doubtless and because of the increasing importance of the relations between the two countries this wider interest in Canada is being reflected in the universities of the United States. It is to meet this situation that Professor Wittke's book has been produced.

It is an excellent piece of work, based on authoritative special treatises. The main course of development is traced faithfully; more than half of the book is devoted to the period subsequent to Confederation. The matter of proportion always presents difficulties to the craftsman; in this instance, our French-Canadian friends may not be satisfied with the allotment of forty pages in nearly four hundred to the French Régime, and, in our view, the West has not received adequate attention.

Professor Wittke deserves credit for giving proper attention to economic forces in the determination of the course of Canadian development. This has not been done in the general histories which have appeared in the past. His treatment of the relations between Canada and the United States is wholly impartial. The work displays many advantages gained by detachment from the Canadian scene, although, on the other hand, a penalty is paid in several minor slips indicating a lack of familiarity with such persons, for instance, as Gibbon Wakefield, A. N. Morin, and Sir John Rose.

Professor Wrong's two volumes are devoted to the period of the French Régime. They are based, as the author indicates, on printed sources, and are designed to present to the general public interested in Canadian history an attractive and faithful

record of the development of New France up to the time of the cession to Britain.

This work is written in the thoroughly pleasing style of which Professor Wrong is an accomplished master. Attention is directed throughout to the more romantic and colourful aspects of the history of the period which lend themselves favourably to descriptive treatment. The story of early exploration and of the unrolling of the map of the interior of the continent and the account of the several military campaigns are particularly well done. The author has leaned heavily on the *Jesuit Relations*, one of the most valuable sources for the period, and has made excellent use of this material.

Were one to venture a criticism, it would question the wisdom of such extensive reliance on printed sources when there exists a wealth of unpublished materials which must, in some significant respects, modify the interpretations given by earlier historians. One fails to find an adequate description of the commercial life and interests of the colony, of the influence, for instance, of the fur-trade—which, incidentally, is not even mentioned in the index—on the domestic politics and on the external relations of the colony. Omissions such as these may impair the permanent value of the book. Until we have the results of more intensive research in special fields within this period, however, Professor Wrong's work will remain as one of the most readable accounts of the French Régime.

Turning to the special studies, Professor Morison's *Elgin* is entitled to a most cordial welcome. This volume is the first of a series of biographies to be issued by the Canadian History Society of England. If succeeding volumes maintain the high standard set by the author of *Elgin*, the Society will have amply justified its existence.

Professor Morison had already in his *British Supremacy and Canadian Self-Government* dealt with the most significant

incidents in the development of Canada during those most important years, 1839-54. The present work includes a consideration of Elgin's career both prior and subsequent to his Canadian mission. He is presented as 'a great public servant of the Queen, facing, in both West and East, some of the acutest difficulties ever presented by Imperial administration, and giving literally all his maturer years, and his life itself, to their solution.'

The first chapter discusses the character of the Imperial problems as presented at the end of the first half of the eighteenth century, while the second surveys Elgin's administrative career in Jamaica. The third and fourth chapters, comprising nearly 120 pages, are devoted to a consideration of his activities in Canada. The concluding sections deal with the Chinese missions and with Elgin's brief connection with India.

The third chapter opens with an excellent description of the problems confronting Elgin in Canada and of the personalities of the foremost Canadian statesmen. Hincks, with 'more than a trace both of Irish brightness, and of Irish uncertainty,' is described as 'the natural product of a period when trade and money were beginning to count more than mere politics—just a little touched with the business politician's lack of delicacy on subtle points of political honour.' The author passes over the Rebellion Losses Bill rather hurriedly, assuming familiarity with the episode, and proceeds to a discussion of the constructive work of the next five years—'the creation of a Liberal-Conservative party and cabinet, which would free the country from its old factiousness, and unite all sound men in carrying on a moderate administration.' He follows the course of the Hincks-Morin administration through the discussions regarding the secularization of the Clergy Reserves to the defeat of the ministry and to the formation of the new

coalition which through the genius of John A. Macdonald became the Liberal-Conservative party.

The succeeding chapter follows the rather intricate course of negotiations leading to the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. The author concludes this chapter with an apt quotation from a letter written by Lord Elgin to Lady Elgin in October, 1854, on the eve of his departure from Canada—"Notwithstanding the atrocities of the press, it is impossible for me to go through the country without feeling that I have a strong hold on the people of the country; that I occupy a place here which no one ever filled before."

The book provides delightful reading. The author justly regards Elgin as a hero and has represented with sympathetic understanding and fidelity those qualities of mind and heart which made him one of the greatest and most unselfish public servants of Canada and one of the founders of the British Commonwealth that is to-day.

Canada in the Commonwealth is the title of a volume issued by the Clarendon Press containing the first series of the Rhodes Memorial Lectures delivered by Sir Robert Borden at Oxford in the summer of 1927. As Sir Robert states, the purpose of the lectures 'was not to attempt an outline of so vast a subject as the history of Canada, but rather to portray such leading features and dramatic incidents as might perhaps awaken, not only in Great Britain but in my own country, an interest in its history which is invested with a significance not limited to this Dominion nor even to the British Commonwealth.'

The earlier chapters trace in a most interesting manner the significant incidents in the course of Canadian development to the granting of responsible government in 1848. Throughout this survey special attention is paid to the changes

in the government of the colony. An excellent summary is then given of the various stages in the extension of self-government to the Dominion up to the outbreak of the Great War.

Most significant, however, are the four concluding chapters of the book which discuss the constitutional developments growing out of Canada's participation in the war and in the negotiation of the peace treaty. These chapters are peculiarly authoritative because Sir Robert examines movements which he himself did much to direct. Of special interest is the account of the admission of the Dominions to representation on the British Empire Delegation at Versailles which was secured only through the 'complete sympathy and unwavering support' of the British Prime Minister and his colleagues. Sir Robert discusses the arrangement of Canadian representation at Washington. It will be recalled that in the original scheme the Canadian Minister was authorized to take charge of the British Embassy in the absence of the British Ambassador. This feature was later dropped, in Sir Robert's opinion, without adequate reason. "At Paris (1919) as Canadian Prime Minister, and at Washington (1921-2) as Canadian Delegate, I did not refuse the duty of presiding on occasion over a British Empire Delegation engaged in the determination of extremely important questions. It does not appear," says Sir Robert, "that any detriment ever arose or could have arisen therefrom."

Sir Robert then discusses the negotiations at Versailles and, in particular, the part played by the British Empire Delegation. He reproduces the text of the significant memorandum in which Clemenceau, Wilson and Lloyd George express their opinion that representatives of the Dominions may be selected as members of the Council of the League of Nations. The procedure and discussions at the Washington Conference, where Sir Robert represented Canada, are next examined. The volume closes with a consideration of the

British and American Commonwealths and of the Imperial Conference of 1926.

After surveying the material progress of the century, Sir Robert concludes that 'all this material development is of less significance than the system of liberty and self-government that had its beginnings within her borders, arose from the insistence of her sons and determined the present organization of the British Commonwealth. . . . To pretend that material considerations do not influence the nations of the Commonwealth would be idle; but the impalpable ties that unite them have a deeper significance and a surer permanence. Their freedom within their unity is an earnest of what may yet be accomplished in an even wider sphere. The League of the Commonwealth may serve as an exemplar to the League of Nations.'

Professor Martin's *Empire and Commonwealth* and Mr. Glazebrook's *Sir Charles Bagot in Canada* are most valuable studies in significant special fields in Canadian history. The earlier chapters of Professor Martin's book define the attitude of the mother-country to problems of government in the British North American colonies prior to the emerging of the struggle for self-government. The fourth chapter, which deals with the evolution of parliamentary responsibility in government in Nova Scotia is quite the best treatment of this subject that has yet appeared. Following this, the author traces the course of government in the Canadas from the Sydenham administration to Elgin's 'Great Experiment,' indicating in a thoroughly adequate manner the various steps in the transition from government by an irresponsible executive council to control by a cabinet responsible to parliament. The concluding section presents a most valuable discussion of more recent constitutional developments and emphasizes the signi-

ficance of custom and convention in the modern imperial relationships.

Mr. Glazebrook's study represents admirably the type of historical monograph which should be encouraged at the present stage in the progress of Canadian historical scholarship. It selects a limited field of investigation and deals exhaustively with that field. Mr. Glazebrook skilfully constructs the stage, complete with settings, on which his hero is to appear for a tragically brief period. He then presents the significant incidents of the Bagot régime with clear understanding and sound judgment. It is only within recent years that the importance of Sir Charles Bagot's contribution to the evolution of Canadian autonomy has been recognized. Professor Martin's and Mr. Glazebrook's studies will do much to place Bagot where he rightfully belongs.

One cannot refrain from adding a well-merited word of praise for the publishers of all these books. In form and appearance they are wholly admirable. Recent years have witnessed a distinct improvement, not only in the type, but in the general 'make-up' and particularly in the binding of books.

D. McA.

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Ateliers: Études sur vingt-deux peintres et sculpteurs canadiens. Illustrées de reproductions d'œuvres. Par Jean Chauvin. Louis Carrier & Cie, Montreal and New York, 1928.

From the days of Bartlett's *Canadian Scenery* (1841) enterprising publishers have sponsored portfolios of Canadian art. The most recent, as well as the most important of these, have been the two series made by Rous and Mann of Toronto, the splendid publications of the Commission of Historic Monuments of Quebec, *Vieux Manoirs*, *Vieilles Maisons*, and *L'Ile d'Orléans*, and the series of reproductions of historical

paintings by C. W. Jefferys (Nelson). As for the history and criticism of Canadian art, there are two books in English which supplement each other, *The Fine Arts in Canada*, by Newton McTavish, and *A Canadian Art Movement, the Story of the Group of Seven*, by F. B. Housser. The French are somewhat better off. Louis Carrier & Co. of Montreal have projected a series on Canadian Artists, and if the first volume, *Horatio Walker*, may be taken as a standard, the venture will be of lasting importance. The same firm has just published the beautiful book, *Ateliers*, by Jean Chauvin, a study of twenty-two French-Canadian painters and sculptors, produced in sumptuous format, and profusely illustrated. This book fills out the lacunae in McTavish's work. M. Chauvin makes little attempt at criticism, certainly nothing formal, and with no idea of establishing an artistic hierarchy. His method is objective. He strolls leisurely through the studios of his artists, notes the lighting effects, the divans, draperies, and samovars, and talks entertainingly of their work. Some of the chapters are very slight, Adrien Hébert for example. When he comes to the great names, Walker, Suzor-Coté, Cullen Dyonnet, and others, he warms up to his subject. While commending Holgate's robust and independent work, he is lacking in appreciation of the pioneer work among similar rebels in Ontario. After all, Holgate, Pilot, Jongers and their kind in Quebec, the Group of Seven, Jefferys and those of like spirit in the west, are contributing most to the expression of the national spirit in Canadian art. M. Chauvin has succeeded in making these French artists better known. A little more biographical data would have been an advantage. He has included excellent lists of historical and critical material on Canadian art, collections of reproductions, and important books illustrated by Canadian artists. Jefferys' drawings for the Canadian History Readings should probably have been mentioned as they are the first and only complete pictorial

history of Canada, east and west, and from the earliest times to the present.

L. P.

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Frankness in Religion, by Robert J. Hutcheon. New York: Macmillans. 1929. Pp. 307.

In times of great theological ferment like ours, those who have intelligence enough to feel the problems but not enough courage to think them through and take the consequences are tempted to fall back "into the capacious arms of authority." This book is an invitation to the perplexed reader to take the difficult but open road of "thinking things through." It is the work of a man who has given much thought to these high themes and has endeavoured to keep abreast of the scholarship of his own age. It is marked by courage, sincerity and clearness of thought; it breathes a fine spirit of appreciation of all that is noblest and best in literature and life.

Each chapter opens up a great subject and invites detailed discussion. Some would call it "rationalism" but it is not of the dry, severely logical kind; Mr. Hutcheon prefers to call it "liberalism" and points out that it is fighting against both "the dogmatists" and "the sceptics, rationalists and positivists" in order "to save the essential moral and spiritual values of religious faith." We can therefore recommend the book to ministers who may, in many respects, hold different theological views for there is much in it that is suggestive and tends to quicken thought. We may be told that religion is "man made" and we feel like supplementing that by suggesting that this is not the caprice of an individual but a movement of humanity behind which there is God. Then we turn a few pages and read, "The inspired person never feels that he is speaking for himself alone as the philosopher and scientist are apt to feel. An older, more racial, more passionate, more authoritative mind speaks through him. And the experience

is so overwhelming and the results of it are often so much beyond the subject's normal ability that he is apt to ascribe it to a personified Nature or Muse or the Spirit of the race," etc.

From this we must turn to the explanation of what is meant by "God" and find hope that there is something real and divine behind the great cosmic and human movement. Taking the poets rather than the theologians as our guide, we may learn that: "By such intense spirituality, sensitive open-mindedness and bold but critical postulation and experimentation, humanity may yet achieve a vision of a Greater God who shall take up into Himself all our great meanings and values and by so doing unify all nations" (p. 263). Thus if Mr. Hutcheon has discarded much of the "old theological lumber" which was a burden rather than a help, he has maintained a full, free Christian spirit. It is evident that this is not a popular discussion but an attempt to survey the whole field of recent theological controversy, hence detailed criticism is out of the question; the attitude, however, which lays more stress on the movement of God towards man, is not wholly superseded.

W. G. J.

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

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FRENCH INFLUENCE ON BRITISH POLICY

BY GEORGE GLASGOW

THE story of Anglo-French relations, as evolved since the war, illustrates how important may be French influence on British policy and on British interests. The effect is constant and cannot be ignored. The geographical nearness of France to England is in itself a factor in British diplomacy; for four-fifths of the food consumed in the British Isles come from overseas, and it is estimated that at any given moment the forty million inhabitants of these islands are within a fortnight of starvation. The German blockade of Great Britain during the war came near to cutting her off from the outside world. If it had succeeded in that object the war would have been over in a fortnight. Similarly a French naval blockade of Great Britain is of potentially comparable importance, a circumstance which lends point to the consistent French naval policy, as pursued since the war, of maintaining a large submarine fleet. It is distasteful to right-minded

people to dwell on diplomatic potentialities in terms of potential war; it is still more distasteful when the hypothesis contains the somewhat cynical element of war between recent allies and friends. Such unpleasant material, however, does unfortunately go to the making of diplomatic technique.

There seems little doubt, as the facts here quoted will perhaps suggest, that French diplomacy since the war for one reason or another has worked from an anti-British motive. It has had a somewhat controversial effect on British interests, and in particular on British relations with the United States. Subconsciously, no doubt, French minds have been influenced by a certain uneasiness due to the fear that the British diplomatic principle traditionally known as the balance of power in Europe has continued to operate. There appears to be some justification for such a feeling. When Germany was powerful, and when a German menace threatened Europe, or was thought to threaten Europe, the Anglo-French Entente passed unchallenged in the minds of British men of affairs. When after the war Germany was subdued, British policy tended to help Germany in her recovery and to react against the French policy of *vae victis*. France, on the other hand, has traditionally regarded Germany as her enemy, and since the war has exploited to the full the opportunity of keeping Germany down. She has regarded Great Britain favourably or unfavourably according as the prevailing Foreign Secretary in Great Britain has lent himself to, or dissociated himself from, that supreme French objective.

It seems necessary to bear in mind that broad axiom of French diplomacy if one is to understand the recent effect of France on Great Britain. It is true that French opinion has to some small extent been divided. Post-war France has been torn between two conflicting political forces, one of which has been identified with M. Poincaré (the more powerful force), the other with M. Briand. If one tried to diagnose in a sen-

tence the difference between the two, one would say that M. Poincaré has been exclusively actuated by fear of Germany, whereas M. Briand's humour, irony, and gentle tolerance have saved him from a too vivid memory of the past and given him a more far-sighted judgment of what is expedient for the future. M. Briand has shown that a little easy tolerance may do good in Europe, whereas M. Poincaré's sincerity, unillumined by vision, has done harm, especially to Great Britain.

When before the war M. Poincaré introduced the Three Years Military Service Law, cultivated the Entente Cordiale with England, made a Naval Agreement with Russia, he had an eye consistently on Germany. One does not forget his provocation by a Germany which was unintelligent enough to annex Alsace-Lorraine; but two blacks do not make a white. After the war he was obsessed with the notion of perpetuating a strong France against a weak Germany, but as fear makes men produce the results they fear, so M. Poincaré, by undermining the general security of Europe, undermined the particular security of France. To Great Britain, whose devastated provinces were the provinces of her pre-war export trade, the hand of M. Poincaré was unwelcome. For four years he fought against both Mr. Lloyd George and M. Briand, always coveting what he called a *mainmise* over Germany as a means of making Germany pay and of making her incapable of paying at one and the same time. In August, 1922, Mr. Lloyd George was at last driven to open disagreement with him. At the end of the same year Mr. Bonar Law found it impossible to divert him to constructive ends. He returned from Paris to London with the knowledge that M. Poincaré was about to "occupy" the Ruhr, and thus to postpone for an indefinite time the process of economic recovery on which Great Britain vitally depended.

M. Poincaré's destructive purpose led him into obstructive

tactics whenever schemes were afoot for European reconciliation. After displacing M. Briand in the Prime Ministership during the Cannes Conference (January, 1922) he first fought against the holding of the Genoa Conference and then refused himself to attend the conference when it was held. He sent instead a puppet, M. Barthou, who was kept at the end of the Paris telephone from the beginning to the end of the conference. Similarly M. Poincaré single handed prevented the meeting of the Young reparation experts for five months, September 1928 to February 1929, by tactics which it would take too long here to recall. Instances could be multiplied to show that he has adopted a positive front only to enterprises which have had for their object either the formation of military alliances with France or the extraction of increased payments from Germany to France. In all other matters, including the payment of French debts, he has exploited difficulties and fomented controversy.

The resultant problem for Great Britain has produced two schools of thought. There are those in this country who think that France should be given her head, others who take the opposite view; but there is only one estimate of the extent to which the problem of France protrudes in several fields of British policy, economic, financial, diplomatic.

Sir Austen Chamberlain's conception of what is expedient in this matter has differed from that of every other post-war British statesman who has come into contact with the Quai d'Orsay. Lord Curzon, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Bonar Law, all agreed in refusing to yield ground to France. Mr. MacDonald in 1924 attempted without yielding ground to humour France. Helped at the outset of his enterprise by the supersession of M. Poincaré by M. Herriot, he achieved some measure of success, but did not hold office long enough for his tactic to be tested. Sir Austen Chamberlain's five years of office gave us the consistent and apparently deliberate

spectacle of a British Foreign Secretary who took France for granted, and who adjusted his policies not in Europe only, but in the United States, to suit the postulate of the Quai d'Orsay.

The effect of France on British policy during the last five years has cut deep. In China, to quote an exception that proves the rule, Sir Austen Chamberlain's diplomacy was uniformly successful. There is perhaps something to be gained from an examination of the different results produced by recent British diplomacy in China, where French influence has been dormant, and in Europe and the United States, where French influence has been active. It is one of Sir Austen Chamberlain's marked qualities, and by the same token one of his marked defects, that once he has set out on a certain course of policy he pursues it with a straightness and determination that does not deviate. That quality was the secret of his success in 1925, when for nine months, in the face of widespread opposition, cynicism and distrust, he maintained his own faith and enthusiasm in the Locarno ideal, and by the sheer force of his steadfastness contributed an important factor to the success of that diplomatic enterprise. Similarly his policy towards China has pursued a course which has never deviated. In 1925 he showed himself to be in advance of every other European statesman interested in China by advocating the immediate abrogation of the extra-territorial judicial system, the granting of full tariff autonomy to China, and the restitution to China of the territorial "concessions." Throughout 1927, when the acute phase of the Kuomintang xenophobia spent itself illogically and almost exclusively against Great Britain, he doggedly maintained the same progressive attitude to which he had earlier committed himself. No sooner did the Kuomintang party establish its ascendancy in 1928 on a formal basis by promulgating a new constitution, than Sir Austen Chamberlain carried his policy into practice by

concluding a treaty of which the effect was to restore complete customs autonomy to China.

It is a matter of general agreement among British commentators that the policy of the Baldwin Government towards China was a success. If one analyses the principles on which that success was built, and if one applies those principles as a test to Sir Austen Chamberlain's policy in Europe, the failure in the latter field begins to explain itself. It seems clear that the main reason why British policy in China justified itself was that it was steadily based on a full and frank recognition of the legitimate aspirations of the Chinese people combined with a firm insistence on British rights. It was recognized, for instance, that it was impossible for the Treaty Powers to maintain their arbitrary control of Chinese customs. The mere fact that an organized public opinion in China resented and opposed such foreign control was wisely regarded by the British Foreign Office as a sufficient indication that that control could no longer be maintained. China, in short, was treated as a nation of human beings, actuated by commonplace feelings of patriotism, which naturally had a Chinese motive and none other. Sir Austen Chamberlain quickly decided, and remained true to his opinion, that the Chinese demand for effective sovereignty over China could not and should not be resisted. British "concessions" were evacuated, extra-territorial privileges were surrendered, tariff autonomy was conceded. The result was a contented China ready to collaborate financially and industrially with Great Britain to their mutual benefit.

It is true that the European problem is in some ways more difficult, and that up to a point any effective move towards reconciliation in Europe presupposes the co-operation of France. It was the exaggerated deference to France that produced the lopsidedness of British policy in Europe. British troops continued to occupy German territory in spite of the

fact that official British spokesmen never tired of protesting their desire to evacuate that territory. The exclusively judicial aspect of the Treaty of Versailles is not an important consideration either in British official policy or in British public opinion. The fact that the territory of one member of the League of Nations was occupied by the armies of other European members of the League of Nations might reasonably be regarded as a violation of the spirit, if not of the letter, of the Covenant of the League of Nations; and it was a palpable travesty of the Locarno principle. At any rate, there was a gross disparity in the fact that on the one hand Great Britain was restoring to China her territorial sovereignty and, on the other hand, maintaining her troops in occupation of German territory. Yet Sir Austen, having set himself upon the path of collaboration with France, right or wrong, persisted in that course till the end of his term of office. His weakness towards France became a real tragedy, for it had the effect of mocking even his cherished Locarno treaties. He remained in office for three and a half years after the treaties were signed. Their purpose was to restore the status of friendly equality between Germany and her former enemies; yet he handed back his seals to the King before he had withdrawn his troops from German territory. France tolerated Locarno because of the British military guarantee. When, having obtained that guarantee, France refused to honour the other side of the bargain, Sir Austen weakly, blindly, obstinately acquiesced. The recurrent expression of his "desire" to see the Rhineland evacuated only shed a light on his failure to have them evacuated. He danced to the tunes of the Quai d'Orsay, and in the course thereof alienated both Germany and the United States.

Perhaps the worst manifestation of the French sabotage of British interests has been seen in the field of Anglo-American relations. It has been a consistent and subtle

tendency on the part of French officials and French commentators, on the one hand, to give first consideration to the interests of the United States as against the interests of Great Britain, and, on the other hand, to suggest reasons why British opinion should be on its guard against the designs of American diplomacy. French finesse is a highly delicate instrument. It does not lend itself to tangible analysis in the recital of incontrovertible fact; and it is understood only by those who have been brought closely into contact with the Quai d'Orsay. There are simple-minded people in Great Britain who have proved easy victims, and who have had their minds to some extent poisoned against the United States. The process has also led to definite diplomatic results. In the summer of 1928, for instance, the Quai d'Orsay induced the Foreign Office to associate itself with the now notorious Anglo-French proposal for a naval "compromise". The plot was stage-managed with such exquisite precision that it came to a head at the very moment when the Kellogg Pact was signed in Paris. French opinion had been anxious in 1927 to secure from the United States a bilateral pact, of which the practical effect would be to engage the United States never to make war on France; but when in 1928 Mr. Kellogg transformed M. Briand's original proposal into a multilateral pact against war, French enthusiasm was rapidly deflated and French finesse bent itself in covert ways to the task of belittling, and if possible of destroying, the effect of Mr. Kellogg's proposal. The Anglo-French naval compromise was a master stroke of French diplomatic strategy, and a monument to the dull-wittedness of the British diplomatists who were ensnared. The French approach was correct enough in its judicial aspect. The Preparatory Commission of the League of Nations Disarmament Conference had reached a deadlock. The Tripartite Naval Conference of 1927 had failed. What could be more desirable than that France and Great Britain should attempt

to restart the negotiations? The French press maintained a complete silence about the matter until Mr. Kellogg had actually sailed for Europe to sign the Kellogg Pact. While he was actually on board ship the French press suddenly disclosed the alleged fact that a new Anglo-French Entente had been concluded of far greater potential significance than any Kellogg Pact. The popular enthusiasm that in many countries had been trained on the impending ceremony of the signature of the Pact was dissipated and replaced by confusion and doubt. The Quai d'Orsay had triumphed.

It next remained for the British Government, having sown the wind, to reap the whirlwind. Sir Austen Chamberlain had in effect accepted at the hands of M. Briand a suggestion (1) that France should agree to support the British naval contention as against the American naval contention which had broken up the Three Power Conference; (2) that in return for that friendly gesture Great Britain should give to France a free hand in her European policy in land armament and should drop the objections formerly entertained against that policy as enunciated by France in the discussions of the Preparatory Committee of the League's Disarmament Conference. The outcry that arose in Great Britain when that disclosure was made was such that the Anglo-French compromise was hotly dropped; but we were then left to discover piecemeal that the two parts of the Anglo-French scheme had not after all been correlated as the two parts of a bargain, and that the British Government in agreeing no longer to oppose the French thesis about land armaments had done so on the separate merits of that question by itself. The British Government, in its simplicity, argued that France could impose her will in the long run, and London therefore agreed that in the computation of land effectives account should be taken only of men under arms, and not of trained reserves. The result was that France would be given a clear

field to perpetuate trained reserves to any extent she liked, a circumstance which reduced all talk of European land disarmament to rubbish. The net result of the whole episode was that the naval sop to Great Britain was valueless; France retained what she had gained in the matter of armaments on land; the moral capital of the Kellogg Pact was depleted, and Anglo-American relations were embittered. It was hard to believe that British diplomacy could ever have hoped to produce international harmony by so frail a stratagem as the submission to the United States of a Franco-British rehash of a British proposal already rejected by the United States, especially as the stratagem was conceived and carried out in a manner and at a time calculated to arouse the maximum of resentment in the United States. There has appeared, however, no evidence to show that the British Government acted from any other motive than that of a genuine desire to remove a Geneva deadlock. The British Foreign Office, if one may describe a crude event in a crude metaphor, had had its leg pulled by the Quai d'Orsay.

The documentary evidence in which that event is enshrined, "Papers Regarding the Limitation of Naval Armaments (Miscellaneous No. 6, 1928, Cmd. 3211)" does not detract from but rather adds to the gloom that the event itself had produced. In a dispatch of August 10, 1928, to the British Embassy in Washington, Lord Cushendun, acting on behalf of Sir Austen Chamberlain (who was ill), made this perplexing reflection: "It is not believed that any American interest can be prejudiced by the withdrawal of His Majesty's Government's opposition on the military reservist question. An agreement on land disarmament, even if it is in our view not entirely satisfactory in the matter of military reservists, would represent an important stage in the general progress of disarmament, and would be far better than no agreement at all. Moreover, an acceptance of the French Government's thesis

on the reservists question will have the important effect of winning the French Government over to the British and American side in the matter of the classification to be adopted as a basis for naval limitation."

To quote that passage at this day seems almost unkind to its author; but can it really be true that those who were charged with British diplomacy in August, 1928, took such a view, namely, that in discussing "disarmament," an agreement with France allowing to France the maximum military armament would not only be "far better than no agreement at all," but "would represent an important stage in the general progress of disarmament"? If a man were to discuss with his conscience the problem of smoking less or drinking less, and found that he could agree with his conscience only on the basis of smoking more and drinking more, could he fairly represent such an agreement as "far better than no agreement at all"? Indulgent people might sympathize with him in his condition; but if he were to argue, further, that such an agreement "would represent an important stage in the general progress towards" non-smoking and non-drinking, indulgence would stiffen into irritation, for the argument would amount to a trifling with words and with facts. Yet that would be a precise analogy to Lord Cushendun's argument above quoted. One might expect to find such reasoning in *The Hunting of the Snark*, but not in Miscellaneous No. 6 (1928).

A different sort of light was shed on the nature of Anglo-French relations when in the winter of 1928-1929 an old propaganda was revived (no doubt at the instigation of certain cement manufacturers) about the merits of a submarine tunnel between England and France. The propagandists on the British side sought to counter the stock argument of the old-fashioned people, to the effect that such a tunnel would deprive Great Britain of her insularity, by the rejoinder that this island lost its insularity when the first aeroplane flew the

Channel, and that, moreover, a tunnel would in times of war (assuming France to be an ally) defeat the enemy's submarines and save this island from starvation more effectively than ever could the British Navy. The interesting thing, however, was that the argument was confined to strategic considerations, whereby was illustrated the extent to which fear still rules the minds of those whose fate it is to live in Europe. The only interesting diplomatic speculation that was produced was the question whether a Channel tunnel would still further expose Great Britain to the diplomatic blackmail of France. The word blackmail would never be breathed, even if it might be thought, by professional diplomatists, but the strategic argument about the value of the proposed tunnel as a food-purveyor presupposes France as a friend. The circumstance that France holds the strategic balance between Great Britain and the Continent and the fact that most French diplomatists fully appreciate that circumstance explain much of the French bias in British policy and the total lack of a British bias in French policy. Would the existence of a Channel tunnel increase or lessen the French diplomatic lever? In practice it would probably have no effect if France were a belligerent enemy, for it could be blown up or flooded from either side; and if France were an ally, it would probably be valuable for war purposes.

What is interesting is that such questions are raised by a simple project for easier, quicker and more voluminous communication between France and Great Britain. In diplomatic theory those two countries are friends; yet the mere suggestion that they should be the better able to get at each other shakes the foundations of a certain type of British patriot and excites the enthusiasm of a certain type of French patriot.

France has a financial as well as a diplomatic approach in her transactions with Great Britain. She owes a debt to

Great Britain. M. Briand, whose sense of humour is normally genuine, but sometimes unconscious, solemnly stated in the French Chamber some three years ago that France intended to be "punctual" in the payment of the debt (the debt being then some eleven years overdue); and M. Poincaré, whose humour is normally unconscious, has more recently stated that a Treasury Bill is payable at sight (by which argument the French Treasury Bills representing the French debt to Great Britain were payable at sight in 1916; but they were not paid either at sight in 1916 or at a distance of thirteen years in 1929). It was not till the end of July, 1929, that the Churchill-Caillaux agreement was ratified by France: and by that agreement five-sixths of the bills were cancelled. To French minds the importance of the French debt has been tactical, and the debt has been consistently used as a means of pressure on London for the extraction of British support in French schemes of military security in Europe. Mr. Bonar Law and Lord Curzon, and, in a smaller degree, Mr. Lloyd George, roundly frustrated that French conception, but Mr. Baldwin and Sir Austen Chamberlain, the former from a certain easy-going complacency, the latter from a deliberate principle of diplomacy, equally played the part assigned to them in the philosophy of French diplomacy.

The recurrent attempt on the part of the French diplomats to recreate the Anglo-French Entente (that highly contentious phenomenon of the pre-war period) has been a stock instrument of French post-war diplomacy. The attempt made in 1928, of which some detail is given above, had been preceded by a somewhat comparable attempt five years earlier. The analogy holds good, because in both instances the Quai d'Orsay appeared to be actuated by a somewhat realistic motive designed to serve the interests of France with little reference to the interests of Great Britain. It was at the beginning of 1923 that M. Poincaré sent his troops into the

Ruhr. Mr. Bonar Law, who on New Year's Day, 1923, had tried and had failed to engage M. Poincaré's help in reaching a decent settlement of the German reparation problem, pointedly dissociated himself from the bull-in-a-china-shop enterprise of the French army in the Ruhr. As the British disapproval constituted a practical embarrassment to the French scheme, M. Poincaré set himself with keen pertinacity to recapture the "Entente." When Mr. Baldwin succeeded Mr. Bonar Law, M. Poincaré's tenacity was rewarded. He took advantage in 1923 of the Corfu crisis to bombard Mr. Baldwin with requests for a personal meeting. Mr. Baldwin passed through Paris on September 19, 1923, held his famous after-luncheon interview with M. Poincaré, and hot from the oven, as it were, an official *communiqué* was issued after the meeting which took London by surprise. It asserted that "on no question is there any difference of purpose or divergence of principles which could impair the co-operation of the two countries." Mr. Baldwin had been innocently trapped into creating a second Entente Cordiale. He was acclaimed in Paris, amid the lyrical chorus of the French press, as a second Edward VII. The second Edward VII duly returned to London, and relapsed into a silence as sepulchral as the Entente Cordiale itself, while General Degoutte "mopped up" (to use an ugly, but fairly descriptive, military expression) the remnants of passive resistance in the Ruhr. As might have been expected, French policy after the famous meeting ran on exactly the same line as before; Great Britain stood politely aside, and Germany crashed.

In all such attempts to hitch the British flag to French crusades, the Quai d'Orsay has relied on the axiom that Great Britain by her position is potentially at the mercy of France. There are two opinions about the accuracy of that axiom; but if French finesse had been as clever on the long view, as it undoubtedly is on the short, there no doubt would have been

introduced some modification of the extremist French principle of making use of London on the one hand and of ignoring London's interests on the other. It would give the most lively pleasure to British students of French policy if they could discover even one post-war instance where French diplomacy or French finance has helped Great Britain. In the Near East, in Western Europe, in naval problems, French diplomacy or French submarines have discouraged or embarrassed or actively thwarted British diplomacy, even though British diplomacy has been unwaveringly loyal to France. In finance the effect of France has been especially ungracious and even harmful. Not only has France not repaid her debt, but has till now delayed the funding of the partial repayment recommended by Mr. Churchill and M. Caillaux in August, 1925. Moreover, on two well-marked occasions French policy has shown a clear disregard for the other financial interests of Great Britain. M. Loucheur in the autumn of 1921 reached a certain agreement at Wiesbaden with Herr Rathenau (even Herr Rathenau) for the purpose of accelerating German payments to France during fourteen years ahead. It was left for Lord (then Sir John) Bradbury in the Reparation Commission to kill the Wiesbaden Agreement by pointing out that France could not reasonably expect by direct negotiation with Germany to assign to herself additional reparation benefits at the expense of her "allies." The conception itself had been a little surprising and a little unnecessary. Again, in September, 1926, M. Briand met Herr Stresemann at Thoiry and obtained his tentative agreement to a scheme for the mobilization of capital for France by the sale of Dawes railway bonds. Under that scheme the bonds would have to be sold at a heavy discount—they were 5% bonds, and the German 7% loan abroad could be bought at par—and the only possible markets would be London and New York. M. Briand's idea therefore amounted to this, that London and

New York should be asked to realize bonds at a loss to themselves in order that 52% of the proceeds should go to Paris; that in short the halfpennies should go to Paris and the kicks elsewhere. It was an unpromising scheme from the outset, and was promptly rejected by the bankers of Berlin, London and New York; but the story and its moral are not pleasant to remember.

Those people who take a serious view of the problem of Europe, of the fears and vendettas which are the curse of Europe, recognize that France is an indispensable party to any attempt at constructive progress. It is not from any hasty or ill-considered sense of grievance against France that British opinion is inclined to be critical of France. The most serious people in Great Britain try to understand the condition of nervous fear, fear of Germany, which is largely responsible for the reactionary trend of French diplomatic thought. That is one reason why Sir Austen Chamberlain was so enthusiastically supported by imaginative British opinion when he gave to France the military guarantee embodied in the Locarno Treaties. The King knighted him for that work, and therein interpreted the unreserved view of British public opinion. There can be no peace in Europe until the triangle—Germany, France, and Great Britain—is amicably composed. French fear of Germany, however, is not yet allayed, in spite of the League of Nations Covenant, the Permanent Court of International Justice, the Locarno Treaty, the Kellogg Pact. The best hope for the future appears to lie in the effective vindication of the Kellogg Pact, helped as it undoubtedly will be by the now probable event of the United States becoming a member of the World Court.

BALZAC THE MAN

BY FRANCIS GRIBBLE

ABOUT Balzac, the author, there is really little to be said beyond what has been said, often enough, already: that in ninety-six novels and novelettes, presenting more than two thousand characters, he built the bridge which links romantic with realistic fiction and so prepared the way for Flaubert, Maupassant and Zola. About Balzac, the man, new discoveries are constantly being made; and the study of his life, interesting in itself, is important because it shows us how and why he came to build that bridge.

Born in 1799, he belonged to the romantic generation, being just a few years the senior of Hugo, Dumas, Sainte-Beuve, Alfred de Musset, and George Sand. By temperament he was as romantic as any of them, and more romantic than most of them. In a letter which he wrote to his sister in his early twenties, he defined his romantic ambition: "to be famous and to be loved." But the struggle for life was hard, and the romantic opportunities were slow in offering themselves. He was brought to realism by close contact with uncomfortable realities as a man of business and a bankrupt; but even while writing realistically he lived romantically—far more romantically than the accredited leaders of the romantic school—and his realism was coloured, to the last, by his romantic outlook. It is claimed for him that he depicted men and women—more particularly women—as they really were; but he was also a man who, throughout his life, saw visions and dreamed dreams.

"Money talks" in his novels for the first time in fiction; and it talks quite differently from the way in which it talks

in "Monte Cristo." It talks seriously and it talks sense. It talks in his novels because it had talked in his life. He had learnt the value of money by losing it. His losses had loaded him with a burden of debt which he never succeeded in shaking off; and the greater part of his career, financially regarded, was that of a bankrupt in perpetual pursuit of a "get-rich-quick scheme"; but even in the accounts of these projects which have come down to us we find realism and romanticism joining hands.

It is hard to say whether Balzac took himself seriously as a financier or not. His dominant idea seems to have been that just as a man of genius—and he never had any doubts about his genius—could describe any scene which he could imagine, so he could, at all events in this department of endeavour, perform any feat which he could describe. But that was his mistake.

His plans were grandiose and fantastic. He pictured himself amassing wealth beyond the dreams of avarice in various enterprises; as a newspaper proprietor, a mining engineer, a manure merchant, a market-gardener growing pineapples in a Paris suburb, and an importer of timber from the Ukraine to be sold as railway sleepers and pit-props in France. His exposition of the prospects of these undertakings always reads as persuasively as the prospectus of a bubble company; but there was always a 'snag' in them somewhere. In the case, for instance, of the Ukraine timber, Balzac quite forgot, until a civil engineer pointed it out to him, that the cost of the freight would exceed the market price of the commodity; and some similar oversight vitiated every one of his schemes.

It must be added, however, that these 'get-rich-quick schemes' were never ends in themselves. All of them alike were means to an end; and that end was always romantic or sentimental. Wealth in itself was nothing to Balzac. He

desired it only as an aid to the pursuit of fame and success in love; and though his original conception of happiness in love was what he called "good fortunes," it eventually came to mean the bringing to a triumphant close of the one love affair in which he was satisfied that he could find sentimental finality. And he sought to achieve his desire with an indefatigable energy which tempts one to speak of him, as people spoke of Dumas, as "one of the forces of nature."

Women—not merely the particular women who loved him, but women in general—preferred him to the romantics. His realism, it seemed to them, made his romanticism more romantic. It indicated that he took them more seriously than the romantics did, regarding them as worthy of study as well as admiration and worship, loving them in spite of their faults instead of pretending that they had none, and not losing his interest in them after the first flush of youth had passed. They felt that they owed him a special debt of gratitude for discovering the charms of the woman of forty; and they showed their gratitude by acclaiming him as "the man who understood women."

Their acclamation gave him a unique position among novelists. They made him their sentimental Pontiff—their Father-Confessor, whose obvious function it was to supply Answers to Correspondents on sentimental subjects. They wrote to him, not as to an author whom they admired from a distance, but as to a man whom they trusted, and of whose sympathy they felt assured. He is said to have received, in the course of his life, twelve thousand letters from women, personally unknown to him, who sought his advice and offered him their confidences.

He cannot have answered very many of the letters—he was too busy. He often worked eighteen, and sometimes twenty, hours a day, going to bed immediately after dinner, rising at midnight to sit down at his desk, doping himself with

coffee, and writing until it was almost dinner time again—often too busy, as he more than once told a correspondent, to take a bath or shave. But he did sometimes answer; and the answer was sometimes the beginning of a love affair; and the love affairs thus launched constitute the story of his life.

But all this happened very quietly, and made no noise in an age in which the love affairs of men of letters were the favourite topic of conversation in literary circles.

Balzac, like so many other people, had his Secret Orchard to which he retired, when he had time, to live his sentimental life; and his Secret Orchard was really a secret orchard, not, like Dumas's, a World's Fair, or, like Victor Hugo's, a park thrown open to excursionists. His pilgrimage of love, too—to pursue the comparison—was an obstacle race, and not, like Dumas's, a cake-walk, or, like Victor Hugo's, a public spectacle recalling the triumph of a Roman general with captives in his car. His early biographers knew next to nothing about it all—always excepting his sister, who did not choose to tell what she knew. Their theme was almost exclusively the eccentricity of Balzac's genius. It was not until much later that the material for picturing Balzac as he really was became available.

Who knows, for instance, that Balzac was the nephew of a murderer? The fact is not mentioned in any of the biographies; but it is none the less a fact. His uncle Louis was guillotined at Albi for murdering a servant-girl. The full story was told, for the first time, only the other day, from the archives of the Albi law courts, in the *Revue Universelle*; and the details there given—the very sordid details of a very vulgar crime—show us from what a humble origin Balzac, who somewhere speaks of the guillotine as “the buttress of society,” had risen to become the idol of the women of France and the director of their sentimental education.

He came from a family of peasants, most of whom were

contented to remain peasants. His father, alone of them all, emerged from the ruck, but only to become a functionary during the Directorate and the First Empire and to marry a woman of means, rather late in life. He had no sympathy with literature, but took the view—which his wife took even more strongly than he did—that every respectable person ought to spend the whole of his working life in an office of some sort. The son who differed from him was for him—and more particularly for his wife—the Ugly Duckling of the family.

The Ugly Duckling, however, insisted, and got his way. His literary life and his sentimental life began simultaneously; and his sentimental career—of which his literary work was to be so largely the reflection—passed through three phases.

First we see him as the amorous youth, mothered by a mistress more than twice his age—the prototype of his “woman of forty”—who spoke of him as a beautiful flower which she had found growing on a dunghill. Secondly, success having begun to smile sufficiently to provide him with ready money though not to enable him to pay his debts, we see him as the dandy and the man of fashion, pursuing those “good fortunes” which he had announced as his objective. Thirdly and lastly, we see him as the devout pilgrim of love, faithful (sentimentally if not always physically) to the woman whom he firmly and fondly believed to be the one woman in the world for him. And it is characteristic of his connection with the Romantic Movement that, though he writes of all his attachments as pure and divinely directed sentiments, all the women whom he thus loved were the wives of other men.

Madame de Berny—the woman of forty—came first. Balzac was her son’s tutor; and the story goes that he declared his passion by kissing her beautiful back one day when she was *decolletée*. It may be a true story, or it may not. As a rule, in such cases, it is the woman of forty who makes the first

advances. Whether she did so or not, the part which she played in Balzac's life was an important one from both the material and the sentimental points of view. It was she whose financial help started him in the printing and type-founding business which hung a millstone of debt round his neck; but it was also she who formed him, gave him his sentimental education, and taught him how people talked and behaved in the social circles which he was presently to enter as a popular man of letters.

She cannot possibly have financed him in the cold-blooded belief that she was making a profitable investment. Women of forty-eight make no such mistakes about the capacity of callow youths of twenty-six unless they are in love with them; nor do they watch the loss of their money by the callow youths without remonstrance or reproach; nor do they come to see them every day. And Madame de Berny did all these things.

She established Balzac in a dark and narrow street in Paris. His printing-office was on the ground floor. He lived above it in an apartment furnished like a boudoir, with decorative hangings and a discreet alcove. In that boudoir, and in that alcove, he received Madame de Berny's daily visits. "She came every day," he has written, "and put all my anxieties to sleep"; and it is commonly supposed that it was in that boudoir, and in that alcove, that he found his first opportunity of discussing the delicate questions subsequently treated with such precocious effrontery in *La physiologie du mariage*.

And then, of course, the inevitable happened. The business failed. The passion, on Balzac's side, at all events, wore itself out; and he summed the matter up in this lamentation:

Ever since I have been capable of thinking and feeling, love has been my main interest; and the first woman whom I came to know was an accomplished heroine with the heart of an angel, the keenest intelligence, and a perfect manner. *But*

. . . diabolical nature had interposed its fatal *but*. But she was twenty-two years older than I was, and consequently, though all my ideals were morally surpassed, there were, on the material side, which counts for a good deal, certain insuperable limitations. So this boundless passion of my soul did not meet with all that it sought for. A half of what I sought was lacking.

That was the end of that; Madame de Berny accepted the situation. Having been to Balzac all that Madame de Warens was to Rousseau, she bowed herself out of his life, making room for younger rivals. He never ceased to be grateful to her; he never ceased to love her as a mother; but he had other sentimental interests. Success had thrown the salons open to him. His heart did not go back—the heart never does. It went on, as is its habit. The period of “good fortunes” was inaugurated; and it remains to be seen how the pursuit of a good fortune, proving to be the pursuit of a will-o’-the-wisp, led Balzac, almost by accident—and certainly, in the first instance, as the result of pique—to that long pilgrimage of love which, turning out to be an obstacle race, was thenceforward to monopolize his sentimental life.

He became a dandy, and tried to cut a dash. He dressed in the height of the fashion, and frequented the opera. He carried a magnificent walking-stick with a jewelled head. He wore a white waistcoat with coral buttons. He kept a ‘tilbury’ and a groom. He dreamt of a political career, and sought the acquaintance of titled aristocrats; and when a great lady belonging to that circle—the Marquise de Castries, daughter of the Duc de Saint James,—a grass widow, estranged from her husband,—expressed her admiration and invited him to call, he had no doubt whatever that the fairy tales were coming true.

But they were not; and we cannot sum the story up better than by saying that Balzac, at this period of his career, was a

snob of the first water, and that Madame de Castries treated him as Lady Clara Vere de Vere treated her "country clown".

He accepted her invitation to join her at Aix, where she was taking the waters. Once—but only once—she let him kiss her. There was talk of his accompanying her and her father on a trip to Italy. He wrote exultant letters about his social and sentimental prospects: "I shall find myself admitted everywhere into the most aristocratic circles. Such an opportunity may never occur again."

But that projected trip did not take place. Balzac accompanied Madame de Castries as far as Geneva, and then precipitately turned back. Exactly what happened there neither he nor she has told us. He told his sister that he had interrupted his journey because he found that, after all, he could not afford it; but that is nonsense. The explanation is not pecuniary, but sentimental. He became too ardent, and she "changed her manner." The nearest thing which we get to a report of the incident is contained in a suppressed passage of *Le Médecin de Campagne*, found among Balzac's papers and printed, for the first time, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in July, 1914:

A few months of delight, and then nothing more. Why did she make such a fuss with me? Why did she call me her lover for a few days if she meant to deprive me of the title—the only title which the heart values? . . .

You will want to know how this frightful catastrophe overtook me. It happened quite simply. One evening I was everything to her, and the next morning I was nothing. In the evening her voice was gentle and harmonious, and her eyes were full of enchantment; on the morrow her voice was hard, her look was cold, her manner was indifferent. In the course of the night a woman—the woman whom I had loved—had died.

How and why? I do not know. For several hours the devil of jealousy tempted me. I wanted to make the world hate her by exhibiting her to its gaze on a gibbet of infamy.

We must make what we can of that—a true analogue, most readers will agree, of the story of the “country clown” whose heart Lady Clara Vere de Vere tried to break for pastime. But Balzac did not react as the country clown reacted. His hymn of hate did not resolve itself into a sermon. He said nothing about the attitude of the gardener Adam and his wife towards the claims of long descent; nor did he exhort Madame de Castries to teach the orphan boy to read and the orphan girl to sew. What he did was to pillory her in a novel—*La Duchesse de Langeais*—and, at the same time, to give her a rival.

That rival was Madame Hanska, whom he eventually married. His letters to her fill two large volumes; and they show us the Don Juan in quest of “good fortunes” suddenly and permanently transformed into the pilgrim of love for whom there was, in very truth, to be no rest but the grave.

Even in this case the quest for “good fortunes” seems to have been the original motive. When Madame Hanska, like Madame de Castries, began writing to him, he first ignored her letters, and then asked another lady to reply to them on his behalf. Madame de Castries, at that time, blocked the road. It was not until the latter “changed her manner” that he decided to meet Madame Hanska half way. He travelled, by arrangement, to Neuchatel, to make her acquaintance, and contrived a second meeting, a few months later, at Geneva. She caught his heart on the rebound. “I am happy,” he wrote to his sister, “as supremely happy as a child”; and he remained faithful to Madame Hanska till his death, eighteen years afterwards.

Not absolutely faithful, perhaps. There are stories of lapses from strict fidelity—not to be wondered at, seeing that he met Madame Hanska only three times while waiting nine years for her husband to die. There was an ‘affair’ with Madame Marbouty, who travelled with him in Italy, in the

costume of a page. There was an 'affair' with Madame Guidoboni-Visconti—an Englishwoman whose maiden name was Sarah Lovell—of one of whose children he is believed to have been the father. There were one or two other 'affairs', references to which "appear in the correspondence." But all these were unimportant intreludes. Balzac, like Cynara's lover, was faithful in his fashion. Sentimentally, that is to say, he never swerved from his allegiance. His love for Hanska remained until the end—for eighteen years—the one unifying influence of his life, a fact which entitles us to say that the writer whom the critics class as the first of the realists was as a man the most romantic of the romantics.

The story is a long one—too long to be told here in full detail. Cross-purposes played their part in it; and it is a question whether Madame Hanska ever, except at the very beginning, loved Balzac quite as he loved her; whether he ever understood her quite as well as she understood him; whether the ideal mistress whom he believed himself to have found in her was not a figment of his exuberant imagination. For it is a fact that "the man who understands women" often finds the one woman who has succeeded in infatuating him bafflingly enigmatic.

Vows had been exchanged at Geneva. A motto had been agreed upon: *Adoremus in aeternum*. Madame Hanska had promised to marry Balzac if and when her husband died. She had shown herself quite as jealous as a wife or a *fiancée*. Her lover had been obliged to fill his letters to her with assurances that she need not be jealous of Madame de Berny, because she was too old to be loved; or of Madame de Castries, because he had definitely broken with her; that George Sand did not attract him; and that there was no truth in the absurd report that he was engaged to Fanny Elssler, the dancer. Her jealousy, it had seemed to him, was a proof of her devotion; and he had taken it for granted that she, like himself, regarded

marriage as the crown and climax of romance and would beckon him to her side as soon as her husband's death set her free to do so.

But she did not. Her announcement of Hanska's death fell upon Balzac like a cold douche. He had wished, he told her, that her letter had contained "two words for myself—two words for the man who, since he has had the view of the landscape in which you live before his eyes, has never done ten minutes' work without looking at it." He had searched her letter for those two words, and had failed to find them there.

That was the beginning of the game of cross purposes which was to be played for eight years. It drew from Balzac the bitter cry: "Dear Eva, I love you too much, but you certainly do not love me with the blind devotion which causes everything else to be forgotten." Her jealousies—for these also continued while she was making excuses for not allowing him to come and see her—drew from him a defence which might not unfairly be called a counter-attack:

I do not deny that some women have become enamoured of an imaginary M. de Balzac and have made the acquaintance of the chubby-cheeked warrior who has the honour to reply to your question. But all women—the greatest like the least, the Duchess like the grisette—insist that a man shall think of nothing but them. They cannot suffer a man to devote ten days to the most important matters without complaining. That is why all women love fools. The fool devotes his whole time to them, and proves that he loves them by never thinking of anything else. A man of genius may give them his heart and his fortune; but the noblest of them will not believe that he is in love with her unless he also devotes the whole of his time to her.

He exclaimed in another letter which shows how his love, though it had complicated his life, had simplified his ideals:

I don't want fashionable society; I detest it. Celebrity is a burden and a nuisance. What I want is a home—a little

place of my own. I thirst for long draughts of the life which a man and a woman share with each other. . . Everything else is a vain dream.

His ideal, in short, had come to be love in a cottage, with Madame Hanska to make his coffee and look after him while he completed that *Human Comedy* which he confidently expected to win him immortal fame. But that was not Madame Hanska's ideal. She made excuse after excuse for delaying the fulfilment of her promise to marry Balzac. Business affairs, she said, required her attention. She could not marry until she had found a husband for her daughter, and until she had taught her daughter and her son-in-law how to manage their estates. In the meantime she would come to see Balzac in Paris, or he might travel with her and her party in Italy, but that was all. At last Balzac broke out indignantly:

Madame de Girardin has told me that she has heard from some one who knew you very well indeed that you found my homage extremely flattering, that your vanity and your pride made you drag me after you wherever you went, that you thought yourself very fortunate to have a man of genius for your courier, but that your social position was too exalted to allow of my ever aspiring to any better position. And when she had told me that, she laughed ironically, adding that I was wasting my time in running after ladies only to fail with them.

There was something in that. Madame Hanska belonged to a social circle which refuses to accept genius as an excuse for humble birth. Balzac, for her aristocratic relatives, was only "a foreign scribbler." To marry him would be to marry beneath her. There was no harm in his living with her in her lordly pleasure house in the Ukraine. No one would think the worse of her if he lived there as her lover; but her dignity would be compromised if she came to live in Paris as his wife. Those, it seems, were the considerations which she was

revolving in her mind, while he, in the midst of the second of two long visits to her at Wierzchownia, was writing to his sister:

My heart, my mind and my ambition are concentrated upon the object which I have pursued for sixteen years. If I miss this happiness, I shall need and desire nothing else. Don't imagine that I care for luxury. What I want is the luxury of the Rue Fortunée, together with everything that is to go with it—a beautiful wife of good family, well-connected, living in comfort with me. But I am not in love with luxury for its own sake, and the establishment in the Rue Fortunée was made by her and for her. All that I am looking forward to hinges upon this difficult success against which everything is conspiring. If I am not great as the creator of the "Human Comedy," I shall be great in virtue of this triumph—supposing that I attain it.

He pictured also the social triumph which Madame Hanska would help him to win:

Come, Laure. It is something, in Paris, to be able to throw open one's salon when one likes and assemble in it the pick of Society which will meet there a polished woman, as imposing as a queen, of illustrious birth, related to the best people, clever, highly educated and beautiful. That sort of thing gives one power. An establishment on that footing has to be reckoned with, and will arouse the envy of persons of the highest rank, especially when your dear brother brings to it nothing except his renown and his correct manners.

Such and so wide was the difference between his point of view and hers. Why, then, having made so many excuses for not marrying him, did she, at last, allow herself to be persuaded to do so?

It is a hard question to answer. Women marry for so many reasons, of which love may be one—the most frequent when they are young, but by no means the most frequent when they are middle-aged. One often sees them marrying then for reasons with which love has very little to do—for

money, for position and dignity, from some haunting dread of loneliness, or, as the French so scornfully and cynically put it, *pour faire une fin*. The one story told on the subject suggests that Madame Hanska's motive was pity.

It was in February, 1850. Balzac, whose health has been failing for years, was now very ill. He had had malaria, and seems also to have been suffering from fatty degeneration of the heart. Madame Hanska was nursing him, and sat by his bedside. His long visit was nearing its close. He was to start as soon as he was fit to travel, and he spoke feebly of his plans. He had been so happy, he said, at Wierzchownia. It would be such a grief to him to leave. It was doubtful whether he would ever be well enough to return. And Madame Hanska listened, and listened, and then suddenly exclaimed:

"You shall not go alone. I shall go with you—as your wife."

It is the sort of story which delights sentimental people, but will be read by cynics as a proof that Madame Hanska accepted Balzac as husband only for fear of losing him as a lover. He, as usual, though he always took a cynical view of other people's affairs, took the romantic view of his own, seeing himself as the pilgrim of love who had, at long last, reached the goal of his pilgrimage, winning his race for happiness, after clearing the last obstacle, by a neck at the post.

He was not so famous as he would have liked to be, but was satisfied that he was loved; and he told himself—and also told all those in whom he confided—that there was more happiness to be found in love than in celebrity. His one fear was that he had gained his triumph too late to enjoy the fruits of victory: a fear foreshadowed in more than one of his later novels:

Who has not, at some time in the course of his life, listened to a certain kind of Italian opera? . . . Those who have cannot fail to have noticed the musical abuse of the *félichitta* lavished by the librettist and the chorus just when the audience are

leaving their boxes and their stalls. . . What a ghastly image of our lives! We are condemned to leave at the moment when the *félichitta* is heard.

So he wrote in *Les petites misères de la vie conjugale*, and in *Albert Savarus* we find this similar passage:

To reach one's goal when one is dying, like the Greek runner! To see good fortune and death meeting on the threshold! To win the woman one loves at the hour when her love is becoming extinct! To find that one has lost one's capacity for enjoyment when one has conquered the right to live happily! How many men there are whose fate can be thus summed up!

Both passages are significant; but especially the second. It reaches further. It indicates a deeper pessimism, suggesting a doubt whether the happiness attained so late will not prove illusory. And it seems that his ampler and sadder prophecy was the nearer to the truth.

Balzac married Madame Hanska at Berdicheff, in the Ukraine, on March 14, 1850, and then came home to die.

Years had been devoted to the preparation of a lordly pleasure house, worthy of a bride who came from a palace to be the queen of a great literary salon in Paris. She had contributed a good deal towards the cost; but Balzac, on his part, had stinted himself for years in order to be able to pay his share. And now that he had brought his bride to it, he could only lie there helpless and wait for death.

He was anxious, above all things, to live to complete his *Human Comedy*: his "monument more enduring than brass and surpassing the lofty grandeur of the pyramids." He asked his old friend, Dr. Nacquart, who had so often warned him that a candle burnt at both ends would not burn very long, whether he could keep him going for the six months needed for that purpose. Nacquart's answer was that he had better make his will that very day; and then, realizing the bitter truth, he fell back and lay comatose until the end.

And Madame Hanska, now Eve de Balzac, was not with

him. Victor Hugo, who came to see him, noted that she was absent, and that there watched by the bedside only a nurse, a man-servant, and his mother. That picture—so grim and, as the French say, *macabre*—is drawn in *Choses vues*; and there is another story, told by Octave Mirbeau in a newspaper, suppressed at the urgent entreaty of Eve de Balzac's daughter, but now confirmed in a book by that eminent Balzacian, M. Charles Léger, which introduces another name—that of Jean Gigoux, a wealthy portrait painter whom Balzac had known in the days of the Romantic Movement, and who was popular in Polish circles in Paris. Here is M. Léger's summary of the story:

When Balzac's last moment was approaching, there was a violent noise of knocking at the door of the room in which Gigoux was keeping the scared Eve company on this night of August 18, 1850, and the wooden shoes of the nurse clattered away down the passage. At the third summons, Madame de Balzac, partially dressed, with tumbled hair, took her way to the dead man's room, while Gigoux, "lying on his back on the bed, . . . his hands clasped behind his head, thinking of nothing, unaffected by what was happening, stared at his toes which waggled about with the disorderly gestures of marionettes".

One can imagine no more tragically realistic ending to a romantic life; and though the narration may, and probably does, owe something to Octave Mirbeau's mordant pen, it has been substantially corroborated from other sources.

Mirbeau, M. Léger tells us, heard the story from Rodin, in 1889, when he was working at his bust, Rodin stating that Gigoux himself was his authority. Mirbeau then called on Gigoux, to see what he could find out about it; and M. Léger vouches for the fact that "this drama of Balzac's last moments was described by Mirbeau, in his own apartment, on his return from his visit to Gigoux, in the presence of Rodin, who was waiting there to hear what had come of the interview."

THE OUTBREAK OF THE WORLD WAR

BY FREDERIC H. SOWARD

The Origins of the World War. By Sidney Bradshaw Fay. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, Limited. 1928.

The Immediate Origins of the World War. By Pierre Renouvin. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1928.

Lord Grey and the World War. By Herman Lutz. New York: Knopf. 1928.

British Foreign Policy Under Sir Edward Grey. By Count Max Montgelas. New York: Knopf. 1928.

Memorandum on Resignation. By John Viscount Morley. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1928.

BY 1914 the European situation was distinctly critical from whatever angle it might be viewed. Though Britain and Germany had liquidated the most serious of their differences over the ultimate destiny of the Portuguese colonies and the development of the Bagdad railway, they had failed to reach any agreement over naval competition and the attempts made by Lord Haldane to secure a friendly understanding with Germany had come to naught through the evil influence of Tirpitz and the obvious fears of the French Cabinet that the links of the Entente with Britain might be dangerously weakened. Colonel House during his visit to Europe in May, 1914, to promote better relations between Germany, the United States, and Great Britain, had been profoundly disturbed by the restless activities of the militarist groups. "The situation is extraordinary. It is militarism run stark mad" he reported. "The whole of Germany is charged with electricity. Everybody's nerves are tense. It only needs a spark to set the whole thing off." In Paris the Belgian minister wrote to his government of "the danger of a too nationalist

orientation of French policy" and was worried by the chauvinist tones of the music hall songs, always a valuable revelation of public feeling. From Vienna M. Dumaine wrote home to Paris at the close of 1913 that "the feeling that the nations are moving towards a conflict urged by an irresistible force grows from day to day." A St. Petersburg paper published early in 1914 an article, secretly written by the Minister of War, which bore the ominous title "Russia is ready, France must be ready too."

The growth of military and naval armaments in 1913 and 1914 is a valuable barometer of the bellicose atmosphere. Between 1912 and 1913 Germany passed a new naval bill, increased her armed effectiveness and raised a special capital levy for defence purposes. She was seriously alarmed at the superior strength of the combined French and Russian armies and more and more convinced that she was being encircled by a ring of bayonets and battleships. Austria-Hungary raised the number of her recruits to 200,000, four-fifths of the French quota, while her bellicose chief of staff, Conrad von Hötzendorf, preached incessantly the vicious doctrine of a preventive war. France revived the Three Years Law in 1913, even before she heard of the proposed German increases, and without native troops possessed a larger standing army than Germany. Russia, with the help of French loans, had been working vigorously after her rebuff in 1908, and in 1914 raised the number of annual enlistments to 580,000 and lengthened the period of service by six months. In Britain, as Mr. Asquith has told us, the Imperial Defence Committee had completed its war book while the restless genius of Churchill had been at top pitch in preparing the navy. During May, 1914, the British and Russian governments discussed an Anglo-Russian naval convention to supplement the Anglo-French naval convention of 1912. Rumours of this agreement trickled through to Germany and were not allayed by the

evasive denials of Sir Edward Grey. At St. Petersburg a grand Council was held in 1914 to discuss the age-long dream of securing the Straits; while postponing immediate seizure of the Dardanelles as inexpedient, it contemplated a general European war as highly probable, if not immediately imminent. The feverish excitement caused by the military mission of the German General, Liman von Sanders, to the Turkish capital was indicative of the eagerness of each side to prevent the other from gaining any strategic advantage.

Diplomatically the scene presented a sharp contrast to the Bismarckian era. The Triple Entente was more firmly united than ever, had Serbia in close support and was fairly sure that Italy would be neutral in a war, if not on the side of the Entente. The Central Powers were conscious of the unreliable friendship of Italy, and worried at the changing attitude of Rumania and the increased internal weakness of Austria-Hungary. The remark of an Austrian diplomat, "Better a fearful end than endless fears," is an illuminating commentary upon the jangled nerves of the Ballplatz. Even before the assassination of the Archduke the Austrian Foreign Minister Berchtold had prepared a memorandum for the consideration of the Wilhelmstrasse which urged a vigorous diplomatic offensive to gain Bulgarian support, to strengthen the waning attachment of Rumania and to abate the rising power of Serbia.

As usual the most inflammable area was the Balkans where, as Professor Fay has remarked, "the problems were most nearly incapable of a peaceful solution." Serbia had made considerable progress territorially as a consequence of the Balkan wars, but had failed to reach the Adriatic largely because of the Austrian veto and was only watching her chance for a fresh offensive. Her Prime Minister, Pashitch, visited the Tsar in 1914, and told him that Serbia could put 500,000 troops in the field well clothed and armed and that six million

Serbs and Croats in the Austrian empire "now comprehended that salvation could come to them only from Russia or Serbia and that they could scarcely wait to see their desires fulfilled." He added, "I told him that for every rifle we receive we should have a soldier from these countries to carry it." The Tsar concluded the interview by saying, "For Serbia we shall do everything. Greet the King for me in Russian and tell him 'For Serbia we shall do all.' " In Rumania, the opportunist group of politicians were watching which way the cat would jump, but a growing number were looking towards their brothers in Transylvania ruled by Hungary and were coming under the influence of Russia, despite the strong German sentiment of the King. Bulgaria was in a mood of bitter resentment at her failures in 1913 and was ready to grasp at any prospect of success to atone for her failure to receive Macedonia which had been divided by Greece and Serbia. Turkey was drifting under the misrule of the Young Turks to the German side and was in the grip of the rash adventurer, Enver Bey. It is not the writer's opinion that war was inevitable in 1914. No war is of that category. But the passions were rising, the alliances were tightening, the guns were almost ready to explode of themselves and, most serious of all, there was no organization to combat what Lowes Dickinson has well described as the International Anarchy in which the sovereign state might, like Samson, pull down the pillars of the temple of peace and bring itself and the rest of the world in ruins.

It was during this period of stress and strain that the Austrian Archduke, Franz Ferdinand, was murdered on June 28, 1914, in Sarajevo, the capital of the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, peopled by Serbs and Croats but administered by Austria-Hungary since 1878. There are still several obscure details of the murder plot which have not been revealed but a surprising amount has come to light through

some indiscretions of Serbian leaders and the patient research of Austrian and German scholars. We now know that the assassins were under the influence of a secret nationalist society in Serbia, the Black Hand. Its head was chief of the Intelligence section of the Serbian general staff, who had taken part in the murder of the pro-Austrian Serb King and Queen in 1903 and was recognized as a daring and unscrupulous nationalist agitator. He was subsequently shot in rather mysterious circumstances by the Serb government in 1917. He and his assistants, armed and coached the young murderers who came originally from Bosnia and smuggled them across the frontier. The plot was known to some members of the Serb Cabinet, including the Prime Minister, either in May or early in June but they made no attempt to warn the Austrian government. The only warning it received came, it seems, from the Serb minister in Vienna probably on his own initiative and it was couched in such vague terms that it was not taken seriously. Some writers have charged the Russian military attaché in Belgrade, Artmanov, with complicity but the verdict still stands "Not Proven." The Serb government has never since the war satisfactorily explained these grave facts; hence our war time admiration of "Gallant Little Serbia" now needs marked modification as far as its statesmen and extreme nationalists are concerned. The Austro-Hungarian government was not aware in 1914 of these facts, although after careful investigation it did have a strong suspicion that Serbia was implicated in this affair.

As the preamble of the British Blue Book said in 1914, "no crime has ever aroused deeper or more general horror throughout Europe." For the time being Austria-Hungary possessed the genuine sympathy of all European states. In Vienna the aged Emperor remarked sadly, "Everyone dies. I alone cannot die." The Austrian ministers did not shed any tears over the death of Franz Ferdinand who had been far

from popular, but they realized that the murder offered a favorable occasion to strengthen the Austrian position. On June 29 Berchtold, the Foreign Minister, declared "his intention of taking advantage of the crime at Sarajevo to square the account with Serbia." The chief of staff was eager for immediate mobilization since "the Monarchy has been seized by the throat and had to choose between allowing itself to be strangled and making a last effort to prevent its destruction." Berchtold was ready for a local war with Serbia, but wanted to be sure of German support in case of European complications and had to win the consent of the Emperor and of Tisza, the Hungarian Prime Minister. The Emperor was not ready for war but was too old to stand firm against the sea of arguments; Tisza was made of sterner stuff and was not readily convinced that the time was ripe for desperate measures. Meanwhile the German Ambassador in Vienna twice advised against rash action lest Rumania and Italy be alienated, while from Berlin the Austrian ambassador telegraphed that the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs "would recommend the greatest caution and advise that no humiliating demands be made upon Serbia."

In consequence Berchtold sent a special envoy to Berlin with an autograph letter from the Emperor and a memorandum, part of which had been prepared before the murder and of which mention has already been made. The Emperor's letter said that "The efforts of my government must in future be directed towards the isolation and diminution of Serbia," and declared that the murder made it vital for the Monarchy "to destroy with a determined hand the net which its enemies are attempting to throw about its head."

The Kaiser, with his mystical belief in the Divine right of monarchs, had been greatly moved by the murder of a close friend whom he had visited but a few weeks before and had been displeased with the caution of his ambassador. On the

margin of a despatch the Kaiser scribbled "Let Tschirschky be good enough to drop this nonsense. The Serbs must be disposed of soon—and that right soon." He was thus in a receptive mood for the Austrian envoy who interviewed him at Potsdam on July 5. He promised the envoy "Wholehearted support," advised prompt action against Serbia and was prepared to back his Ally, in the event, as he thought improbable, of Russia coming to the rescue of Serbia. The Chancellor was a little more restrained, but both left the impression with the Austrian envoy that "Austria must judge what is to be done to clear up her relation to Serbia; whatever Austria's decision may turn out to be, Austria can count with certainty upon it that Germany will stand behind her as an ally and friend." Thus originated the famous and fatal blank cheque which Germany gave to Berchtold and which that gentleman proceeded to use with such dire results. To quote Professor Fay again: "The Kaiser and his advisers on July 5 and 6 were not criminals planning the World War; they were simpletons 'putting a noose about their necks' and handing the other end of the rope to a stupid and clumsy adventurer who now felt free to go as far as he liked." After granting the blank cheque the Kaiser made plans for his annual northern cruise in the belief that the chance of a war was remote and in the desire not to play into war makers' hands by a failure to take his usual holiday. Before his departure he saw junior army and naval officials in the absence of their chiefs on vacation, told them what had occurred and advised them not to make any war preparations as in the words of one of them "he did not believe there would be any serious complications as a result of the Sarajevo crime." He also interviewed Falkenhayn, the Prussian minister of war, and repeated his remarks. That minister seemed likewise to fear no complications and was absent from Berlin between July 8 and July 25.

Meanwhile Berchtold was cashing his cheque. Directly

after the return of his envoy he held a Crown Council on July 7 at which all the members favoured war with Serbia as soon as possible except Tisza, who held out for a diplomatic humiliation in view of the danger of a European war. Berchtold replied that "a purely diplomatic victory even if it ended with a striking humiliation of Serbia would be useless." It was not until July 14 that Tisza capitulated and agreed to an ultimatum with a brief time-limit which Serbia could never accept. He surrendered, reassured by the German promise and in the belief, as he told his niece, that "already the noose had been thrown round our necks with which they would have strangled us at a favourable moment unless we cut it now. We could not do otherwise but it agonized me that we had to do as we did." Berchtold then set his staff to work to draft an ultimatum to be presented to the Ministerial Council on July 19. To avoid suspicion the Minister of War and Chief of Staff left Vienna and the Foreign Office and Cabinet maintained a benignant silence. This manoeuvre was not entirely successful as the British, French and Italian ambassadors all sent warnings of drastic action to their respective governments. On July 19 the decisive Council was held at which it was agreed to despatch the ultimatum to Serbia to be presented at five p.m. July 23 with a time limit of 48 hours.¹ Lip service was paid to Tisza's desire for no annexation of Serb territory but it was agreed to make strategical rectifications of the frontier, a concession which might mean anything. In his haste Berchtold despatched the note on July 20 to the Austrian embassies even before it had secured the formal approval of the Emperor who did not see it until July 21.

Before turning to the second Act of the tragedy, it may be well to sketch the attitude of the various governments. From July 7 till July 14 Berchtold kept in close touch with

¹Later it was arranged to present it an hour late to make sure Poincaré would be on the high seas at the time of presentation.

the German ambassador and gave him to understand that the note to Serbia would be a drastic one. He promised to show him the note in full directly after the Council of July 19. Berlin was beginning to feel uneasy at the ominous silence in Vienna, and Jagow, the Foreign Minister, wrote on July 17 to inquire what would happen to Serbia. "It would be well for us to have some idea as to where the path is leading." He was also disturbed at Berchtold's indifference to Italy and urged concessions to hold the third member of the Triple Alliance. But it was not until the evening of July 22 that the German Foreign Minister actually read the full ultimatum, a breach of faith on the part of Berchtold which is one of the many damning bits of evidence against him during this fateful period. Though Jagow already knew the general tenor of the note he was struck by its harshness and promptly told the Austrian ambassador it was "too sharp." The German Chancellor shared this opinion, while the Kaiser got his first hint of the ultimatum through a newspaper agency. The German ministers decided it was too late to secure any alteration in phraseology and that their best plan was to support Austria energetically and thus "localize" the conflict.

The third important storm centre of these anxious days is St. Petersburg where the Pan-Slav party was strong, the Tsar weak and democratic government almost entirely lacking. There, in spite of German attempts to appeal to monarchical solidarity, the absence of any sympathy for the Austrian government was noticeable. As early as July 6 the Russian Foreign Minister, Sazonov, warned the Austrian attaché of Russian dislike of the Vienna violence in attacking Serbia, while the German ambassador reported that Sazonov was blinded by "a hatred which is absolutely clouding more and more all judgment here." By July 18 Sazonov was distinctly 'jumpy' and warned the Austrian envoy that Russian policy was pacific but not passive. Two days later President Poin-

caré of France arrived on a visit planned months before. His three days' visit was more than a round of ceremonial banquets and undoubtedly strengthened the bonds of the Franco-Russian Alliance. When the French ambassador Paléologue presented him to the other resident ambassadors the doughty Lorrainer went out of his way to warn the Austrian Minister that "Serbia has very warm friends in the Russian people. And Russia has an ally, France. What complications are to be feared there?" Struck by the stiff reserve of the Austrian, Poincaré remarked to Paléologue after the interview, "Sazonov must be firm and we must support him." There is the crux of the visit and it did not pass unnoticed. The war party headed by the Grand Dukes was encouraged; the Montenegrin wife of one of the Grand Dukes is reported to have said to Paléologue at the state dinner of July 22, "War is going to break out. Nothing will be left of Austria. You will get back Alsace-Lorraine. Our armies will meet in Berlin. Germany will be annihilated."

We may dismiss Rome and Paris from our survey, Rome because throughout she played a distinctly minor rôle and Paris because her Cabinet remained largely immobile with the departure of Poincaré. In London the Cabinet was pre-occupied with the Irish situation and until the publication of the ultimatum, foreign policy was left to the Foreign Minister. Sir Edward Grey was well served by his minister in Vienna, Sir Maurice de Bunsen, and by July 16 knew that Austria contemplated strong measures. He warned Sir George Buchanan as early as July 20 that he might suggest direct conversations between Austria and Russia, if things became more difficult. This proposal President Poincaré characterized as "very dangerous at the present moment," and the plan was dropped by Buchanan. To Prince Lichnowsky, the German ambassador in London, Grey spoke of the urgent need for moderation on Austria's part since the idea

that any of the Great Powers "should be dragged into a war by Serbia would be detestable." When Count Mensdorff, the Austrian envoy, interviewed him on the afternoon of July 23 to prepare him for the coming ultimatum, Sir Edward spoke gravely of the terrible consequences of a European war and warned him that any influence he might use to restrain Russia "would depend upon how reasonable were the Austrian demands and how strong the justification that Austria might have discovered for making her demands."

The publication of the Austrian ultimatum was as the setting of a match to the European powder magazine. Sir Edward Grey said he had never seen one state address to the other a document of so formidable a character, while Sazonov declared more tersely "*C'est la guerre européenne.*" Simultaneously with the publication of the note, German Ambassadors presented notes to the Great Powers describing the Austrian demands as "moderate and proper." The German government declared that it "urgently desired localization of the conflict since intervention and the tangle of alliances might bring about inestimable consequences."

From that moment we have the majority of statesmen feverishly trying to evolve formulae which might preserve the honour and prestige of their respective groups of states and the peace of Europe, while behind their backs extreme chauvinists and militarist experts embarrassed their efforts. Among the Entente Powers the first impulse was to evolve a solution before the fateful period of 48 hours expired. Suggestions were made that the time limit be extended and that an international investigation supersede the proposed Austro-Serb inquiry. Sir Edward Grey ignored localization and proposed to Lichnowsky the mediation when necessary of France, Italy, Germany and Britain between Austria and Russia. This Germany favoured but Russia was cold and France evasive. Sazonov was very much disturbed and bluntly told the Aus-

trian envoy "the fact is you want war and have burned your bridges." The Russian chief of staff hastened to discuss mobilization measures with his assistant, while Sazonov interviewed the French and British ambassadors to plead for a united front against the common danger. Buchanan refused to commit Britain to a united front and thought public opinion in Britain would never sanction a war on behalf of Serbia. He promised to telegraph Grey for instructions. Two Russian councils were held on July 24 and 25 at which it was decided to advise Serbia to avoid armed resistance but also, as a means of frightening Austria, to proclaim Russian partial mobilization, at the discretion of Sazonov. Behind partial mobilization "Measures Preparatory To War" did take place which would be valuable if a general mobilization were necessary. In consequence of these precipitate measures Russian officers began to feel, as Dobrorolski tells us, that "war was already a settled matter." Already the reins of power were passing into the war party's hands.

At six o'clock of July 5 the Serbian government handed the Austrian minister a very cleverly composed reply which accepted on the surface almost all the demands of the ultimatum. But it did not accept them in their entirety and the Serbs were so sure it would be rejected that the orders to mobilize the army were issued before the reply was presented. At 6.30 p.m. the Austrian minister left Belgrade and the tragic farce of the ultimatum was over.

This rupture of relations led to a renewed activity in peace-making and renewed testing of alliances. Serbia had distinctly scored by her tactics. Sir Eyre Crowe of the British Foreign Office wrote on a minute that the answer was reasonable and if Austria demanded absolute compliance it could only mean she wanted war. The Kaiser thought it a brilliant performance; "with it every reason for war drops away." But Austria thought differently and two hours after he heard the

Serb reply, Berchtold had wrested from his master an order for partial mobilization to take effect July 28.

Meanwhile the various peace proposals were being prepared. On July 26 Sir Edward Grey led off by the plan for a conference between Britain, France, Germany and Italy on the lines of the Ambassadors' Conference of 1912-1913, which had mediated in the Balkan wars. Russia approved this scheme but Germany rejected it because she would be outvoted three to one in the meeting and because "we would not be able to summon Austria before a European court in her case with Russia." The German Chancellor favoured a direct understanding between St. Petersburg and Vienna. The German refusal to aid in such a conference was a grave mistake which left a bad impression upon Sir Edward Grey and made him doubt the good faith of the later sincere and desperate efforts of Germany to avert a world war. It also covered up the similar though more tactful lack of enthusiasm in St. Petersburg and Paris for this conference *à quatre*.

The second important peace plan was the revival of the Grey suggestion for direct conversations between St. Petersburg and Vienna. For this the credit is largely due to Count Pourtalès, German ambassador in the Russian capital. He interviewed separately early on the 26th Sazonov and the Austrian minister and induced them to talk over the situation that afternoon. Both men talked frankly and calmly and Sazonov advised "take back your ultimatum; modify its form; and I will guarantee you results." The bright prospect of direct discussion between Russia and Austria was ruined by the blind perversity of Berchtold bent on war with Serbia. To ward off the danger of conciliation he hurried on to a declaration of war.

The third important proposal of this period and perhaps the most valuable was made by the Italian government. It suggested on July 27 that Serbia accept the Austrian demands

as if coming from Europe and the Great Powers, and then work out with Austria the means of fulfilling the ultimatum. This plan, in the worry and haste of these fateful days, never received full consideration and, like the others, was swept into the discard by the declaration of war on Serbia. Some revisionist writers have accused Grey of deliberately turning a blind eye to the scheme, but this seems far-fetched if not ridiculous. Thus the peace schemes of the most hopeful period for mediation failed and the tension increased. Of the Great Powers only Italy and Britain had been ready with really effective peace proposals, while the remaining nations were more anxious to be sure of their Allies than to avoid disaster. It is little wonder that Lichnowsky wrote from London: "The impression is constantly gaining ground here that the whole Serbian question has devolved into a test of strength between the Triple Alliance and Triple Entente."

On the evening of July 27 German confidence in the wisdom of the policy hitherto pursued weakened visibly. Alarming telegrams were pouring in from Lichnowsky, from Pourtalès and from Flotow in Rome. The long delayed Serb reply was even more moderate than had been expected. Most serious of all Vienna notified Germany that it intended to declare war the next day or the day after at the very latest "to cut the ground from every attempt at intervention." Bethmann for the first time "pressed the button," forwarding the warning telegram from Lichnowsky and adding "By refusing every proposal for mediation we should be held responsible for the conflagration of the whole world and be set forth as the original instigators of the war."

There has been much discussion as to whether Bethmann was sincere in so reversing his attitude in view of a contrary opinion expressed by the Austrian ambassador the same evening in a wire to his government, but the latest commentary of Professor Fay in a searching analysis credits Bethmann with

good faith. Before the German ambassador could present the note, however, Berchtold had won the Emperor to a declaration of war by the argument that Serb troops had already fired on Austrian outposts and that delay might allow the Entente Powers to offer more mediation schemes. When Tschirschky arrived he was told it was too late. "Prestige of the Dual Monarchy was now engaged and nothing could prevent conflict."

Once the declaration of war became known Sazonov abandoned his conciliatory manner and only Germany and Britain continued to offer plans of mediation. The Kaiser was the author of the first, devised even before he knew of war, and usually called the "Halt in Belgrade Plan" by which Austria was to stop with the capture of Belgrade and mediation might again be attempted. Bethmann despatched a telegram containing this scheme but, in keeping with his character, it was not harsh enough to convince Berchtold that his ally was strongly adverse to his plans. Berchtold deliberately evaded giving any answer for sixty hours and then answered in the negative. Secondly, Bethmann had the Kaiser try a direct telegram to the Tsar, his cousin, telling him he was exerting his utmost influence on Austria and begging his co-operation. This crossed a telegram from the Tsar saying, "I foresee that very soon I shall be overwhelmed by the pressure brought upon me and be forced to take extreme measures which will lead to war", and begging for help. To this appeal the Kaiser replied in a friendly manner pressing for the renewal of direct conversations with Vienna but warning the Tsar that Russian military measures would jeopardize mediation. These telegrams influenced the Tsar strongly but further telegrams were useless when the Kaiser learned of Russian military preparations.

On July 29th Bethmann sent no less than three telegrams to Vienna begging for word regarding the "Halt on Belgrade

Plan" and criticizing Austrian policy more and more harshly. Thus one telegram ended "We are ready to fulfil our obligations as an ally but must refuse to be drawn into a world conflagration frivolously and in disregard of our advice. Please say this to Count Berchtold at once with all emphasis and with great seriousness." But all efforts were dashed on the rock of Berchtold's obstinacy and when Berlin heard of Russian mobilization the initiative passed into military hands.

During this period Sir Edward Grey continued to cast about for any possible plan to avert war and, while never fully trusting them, seconded German efforts to maintain peace. To Russian and French attempts to secure definite commitments he returned a tactful evasion against the advice, in the main, of his Under-Secretaries, Sir Eyre Crowe and Sir Arthur Nicholson, who felt that war was inevitable and that Britain could not afford to stand aside. It was Sir Edward's idea, as Churchill expressed it, that "we had to let the Germans know we were a force to reckon with without letting the French and Russians know they had us safely in their pockets." The 'City' was strongly averse to war as was most of the Liberal Press, while in the Cabinet there was a strong peace party including Morley, Harcourt, Burns, Beauchamp, Simon, Lloyd George, and Masterman. On July 9, Morley tells us, Burns pressed his arm after the Cabinet and said with vehement emphasis, "Now mind, we look to you to stand firm."

The event which made peace finally impossible was the Russian general mobilization. Sazonov had preparatory military measures under way since July 25 but had agreed to direct conversations with Vienna. In keeping with his volatile nature, he plunged from good humour into black pessimism when he heard on the afternoon of July 28 that Austria had declared war on Serbia. Previous to this bad news he had held a series of interviews with the various ambassadors and received, according to his story, a declaration from Paléologue "of the

complete readiness of France to fulfil her obligations as an ally in case of necessity." Paléologue has never confirmed this French "blank cheque" and we have to wait for confirmation on the French documents, but it was recorded in the Russian foreign office diary and acknowledgment of the pledge was sent to France the next day. The news of war led Sazonov to cancel his offer of direct conversations with Vienna and to tell his ambassadors abroad that Russia had decided to plan partial mobilization. It was after this development that the Tsar sent his pathetic telegram to the Kaiser warning him of the pressure being exerted upon him.

The Russian military leaders felt that partial mobilization was a blunder strategically and held a meeting late on the evening of the 28th in which they decided to press the Tsar for general mobilization. To this they gained the Tsar's consent on the morning of July 29. By evening the necessary signatures had been secured from three ministers when the news came that the Tsar had cancelled the order for general mobilization and had substituted for it partial mobilization. This was contrary to the wishes of all his entourage, including Sazonov who was enraged at the news of the bombardment of Belgrade and at the warnings from Germany that "further continuance of Russian mobilization would force us to mobilize and in that case a European war could scarcely be prevented." The Tsar had been moved to moderation by the telegrams from the Kaiser; his action was the despair of the military men but they had to submit, and on July 29 at midnight the order for partial mobilization only was sent over the wires. On the morning of the 30th they failed in an attempt to influence the Tsar by telephone and in the afternoon Sazonov saw the Tsar. At this interview the Tsar was highly excited and said, "Think of the responsibility you are asking me to take. Think of the thousands and thousands of men who will be sent to their death." For an hour the two men wrestled and then the Tsar,

like Louis XVI, unable to resist the last minister he heard, succumbed. Sazonov telephoned the news to the chief of staff and added, "Now you can smash your telephone. Give your orders, General, and disappear for the rest of the day." At a few minutes after six in the Central Telegraph Office all the instruments began at once to click. This, says Dobrorolsky, who gave the order, "was the beginning of the moment of the great epoch." The decision was known to Buchanan who telegraphed Grey at once and probably to Paléologue who acted disingenuously in tardily informing his government.

That the Russian general mobilization meant war is indicated by the Tsar's remarks during his debate with Sazonov and the repeated agreements of the experts since 1892. Dobrorolsky says of the 1914 measure, for example, that "once the moment has been fixed, everything is settled; there is no going back; it determines mechanically the beginning of war." It released "the military time-table" of all the Great Powers, and one by one the governments fell into line.

The second country to order general mobilization was Austria which already had partially mobilized against Serbia. Her chief of staff, Conrad von Hötzendorf, pressed for action as soon as he learned that Russia would mobilize partially when Austria crossed the Serb frontier. On July 30 he obtained the Emperor's consent for general mobilization on August 1, but this did not satisfy him and he advanced it to July 31, notifying Moltke in Berlin that the orders would be posted then. Moltke had already telegraphed urging mobilization, so Conrad was fortified in his policy. The mobilization orders were posted on July 31 at 12.33 p.m., 18 hours after the Russian, though arranged before the news of the Russian act had reached Vienna. Meanwhile Berlin had also succumbed.

On the afternoon and evening of July 29 in a long Council meeting the military men pressed for action but Bethmann

was able to withstand their assaults by pleading for time to get an answer to the numerous warnings sent Vienna. Yet Bethmann realized the imminence of danger and after the Council interviewed the British ambassador and tried to sound him as to the prospect of British neutrality in the event of war. This was another gross error which inevitably increased British suspicions of German good faith. Grey tells us it caused in his mind "a feeling of despair . . . like a searchlight lighting up an aspect of the situation which had not yet been looked at." It was this which prompted Grey on July 31 to inquire of both France and Germany concerning their attitude towards Belgian neutrality. A second grave German measure was the despatch to Brussels of a sealed envelope containing the ultimatum regarding invasion which was to be opened on orders from Berlin. At the same time as these serious steps were being taken Bethmann was pouring forth a stream of telegrams for mediation to London, Vienna, and St. Petersburg.

On July 30 Moltke became more restless. In the morning he had telegraphed Vienna that Russia's mobilization was not yet a cause for German mobilization; but in the afternoon and evening, following the receipt of reports regarding Russian preparations, he found it difficult to wait longer. At 7 a.m. July 31 Moltke received definite word from a staff officer on the border of the Russian mobilization which had been ordered the previous evening at 6 p.m. At 11.40 a.m. that statement was confirmed by a telegram from the German ambassador in St. Petersburg. From that moment Bethmann could not hope for a breathing space to attempt further mediation. The Kaiser met Bethmann, Moltke and other officials and it was decided to proclaim "Threatening Danger of War," a measure much like the Russian Preparatory Period and usually followed by mobilization in 48 hours. Bethmann now gave up hope. He told the Prussian Council in the afternoon, "The declaration of Threatening Danger of War

means mobilization and thus under our conditions—mobilization towards both sides—means war.” It was further decided to send ultimatums to Russia and France, the first demanding that within 12 hours Russia suspend all war efforts and the second demanding from France in 18 hours a declaration of neutrality. As was expected, both France and Russia refused these demands and war was under way from August 1 so far as Russia and Germany were concerned.

In Paris the French government did not know definitely until the evening of July 31, thanks to Paléologue, that Russia had prepared general mobilization. They had been making various military preparations since July 26 and from July 30 had been pressing Britain vigorously for information regarding the course she would take. The ten kilometre withdrawal from the frontier was ordered the same day to influence British public opinion. As soon as Joffre heard of the Russian mobilization and of German preparations, of which word came about the same time, he demanded mobilization. The Russian attaché telegraphed his government at 1 a.m. August 1 that “in a tone of hearty enthusiasm” the French minister informed him of the “firm decision for war,” but it was not till 3.45 p.m. August 1, that the mobilization order was actually issued.

In London Winston Churchill had been active in naval preparations since July 27 but the Cabinet was wavering in the balance. The shock of the German query about Belgium had stirred Grey to ask the intentions of France and Germany, and his doubts were increased by the evasive reply of Germany. Still the Cabinet wavered and Cambon and Poincaré were kept in agonized suspense by its refusal to commit itself. It was not until Sunday, August 2, that the British Cabinet came around to decisive measures. Fortified by written assurances of support from the Conservative leaders, the ministers decided to protect the north coast of France, as arranged in the naval convention of 1912, subject of course

to the approval of Parliament. Lord Morley and John Burns resigned from the Cabinet and the French began to breathe more freely.

On August 3 word came of the German plan of invading Belgium and of the Belgian appeal, just in time to aid Grey in his famous speech in the House of Commons. The Commons gave him hearty support and the way was now clear. On August 4 the British ultimatum was dispatched to Germany and at midnight Big Ben tolled out the end of peace. The World War had begun.

To the more fervid believers in the scientific nature of historiography the treatment of the causes of the World War by historians must be a grievous disappointment. Yet, the universality of the conflict, the agony of the war, the disappointment of the Peace and the ill-timed "war-guilt" clause of the Treaty of Versailles could not but instil a bias in the mind of any historian, however much he might strive for scientific objectivity. The sharply divergent views on the significance of the Russian mobilization held by two such scholars as Fay and Renouvin are symptomatic of this difficulty. It is, however, becoming easier each year to reach a wider basis of agreement.

Virtually all agree to-day that no one Power can be charged with the sole responsibility for the outbreak of the war. All accept the dictum of Lowes Dickinson that the men of 1914 were insignificant marionettes whose actions were of minor concern, "little puppets, knocking away with lilliputian hammers the last stays that restrained the launch of the great death ship, War." The fascination of human personality and the temptation to search for a villain or a scape-goat has been too much for the students of pre-war diplomatic history. In turn the accusers have arraigned the Kaiser, Berchtold, Izvolsky, Poincaré, and Sir Edward Grey, to name only the most prominent. But this craze for a victim is also

waning as the stream of time carries us away from the scene of the tragedy.

The most persistent trend of criticism has been in the direction of assessing the relative degree of responsibility of the Powers concerned. In doing this it must be remembered that the onus of responsibility shifts from day to day during the weeks of June, July and August. At the outset, the Serbian government must face a serious charge from which, despite the pleas of her friends, she has so far failed to clear herself. Why did her government fail to warn the government of Austria-Hungary of the murder-plot when it was known to at least some of the Cabinet at the end of May or early in June? In the second place, the policy of Berchtold and his colleagues in Vienna during the rest of the crisis comes under fire. From early in July the Viennese statesmen, Tisza excepted, insisted upon a war with Serbia, accepting deliberately the chance of a Russian participation; hence the wording of the ultimatum, the evasion of peaceful interventions and the blind refusal to listen to German warnings at the eleventh hour. As a sovereign state Austria-Hungary demanded the right to go to war when and where she pleased and she reaped her reward.

Germany can never be acquitted of blame for having offered Vienna a blank cheque early in July which could be honoured in either a local or a European war, though the latter was thought improbable. She obstructed peace negotiations until too near the abyss and then the frantic efforts of the well-meaning Bethmann were to come to naught. She committed a final fatal blunder in precipitately presenting Russia and France with curt ultimatums before Europe fully appreciated the significance of the Russian general mobilization. For this act her General Staff were most to blame, obsessed as they were by the idea of promoting German interests by military conquests.

Of the Allies, Russia bears the heaviest burden of blame

By issuing the first orders for a general mobilization, when efforts for peace were still proceeding, Russia made the war all but inevitable. Her Tsar, supremely ill-fitted for such a crisis, may or may not have known that mobilization meant war although his military advisers admittedly did. It is difficult to balance evenly in the scales of justice the determination of Russia to maintain her prestige in the Balkans and the panic of the ramshackle Austrian Empire, beset with internal nationalist agitations and surrounded by nations looking eagerly towards their countrymen groaning under the yoke of Austrian subjection. The rôle of France in 1914 still remains enigmatic. She played, as Dr. Gooch has remarked, "a strangely passive part" throughout the crisis. Her ambassador in St. Petersburg has much to explain and M. Poincaré has not convinced us completely by the conscious rectitude of his Memoirs. We must still suspend judgment until we read the complete French documents of the period which should appear within the next eighteen months.

British statesmen emerge with the fewest blots on their scutcheons. None strove harder than Sir Edward Grey to keep the peace of Europe. Yet it is as great a temptation for the historian to-day to reproach Sir Edward with not speaking out sooner as it was for the German ambassador in London, the Russian Foreign Minister and the French President in 1914. But we must never forget the picture, drawn by various Ministers in their Memoirs, of a Cabinet of which in July, 1914, "almost three-quarters were overwhelmingly pacific, were determined not to be drawn into a European quarrel unless Great Britain were herself attacked," nor should we overlook how large Ireland bulked in British eyes in 1914. Otherwise it is hard to trace the path which led Sir Edward Grey to Armageddon. Like every other Power, Great Britain entered the war primarily in defence of her own interests but no other Power did so with greater reluctance and to none did the call of Belgium appeal with greater force.

THE PEACE TREATIES OF 1919-20.

BY G. DE T. GLAZEBOOK

MORE than ten years have passed since the Allied and Associated Powers met in Paris early in January, 1919, to decide on the terms of peace which they would present to the representatives of the enemy states. Paris, which had been the military centre of the Allies during the greatest war of history, now became the scene of peace negotiations of an importance that had never previously been approached. From twenty-seven states, great and small, came delegations. In addition to the plenipotentiaries were secretaries, advisers, and experts on the numerous and diverse subjects that were to come under discussion.

Selfish and unselfish hopes without number were directed toward the work of the peace-makers. The peoples of the world took a keen interest in the proceedings in view of the widespread effects of the war and of the declarations of statesmen concerning the peace. There were three dominant ideas in Allied countries about the nature of the peace; punishment of those guilty of causing the war, and payment by them of its cost; prevention of further war; and territorial changes on a basis of justice. How far these objects could be achieved was more doubtful. The idealism that gave birth to the phrase, "the war that will end all war" found its counterpart in the sarcastic opinion of one of the most experienced of European statesmen that "we shall make the peace that will end all peace".

Whatever the merits of the succession of treaties that emerged from the great machine at Paris, it will not be disputed that they have had and continue to have untold effects

on the world. The events which followed have tended to obscure the importance of the treaties, but it must not be forgotten that on the treaties is based the post-war era; and an adequate understanding of that era must be based on a knowledge of the treaties.

The treaties have not fully lived up to expectations. Indeed they could not possibly have done so, partly because the objects to be attained were often conflicting, and partly because the hopes of the world had been set too high for any treaties to fulfill. The treaties have, therefore, from the first been subject to criticism, and properly so, since they contain many mistakes that could have been avoided. Criticisms should be made, however, only when the historical background is taken into consideration. It is easy to see defects after the experience of ten years of practice. But could these defects have been foreseen or avoided at the time? The reparations chapter in the Treaty of Versailles was known from the first to be unworkable. The reasons for the incorporation in the Treaty of an arrangement, which from the economic point of view may be regarded as inadequate, are to be found chiefly in political considerations. While admitting that a degree of foresight may reasonably be expected from statesmen, it is well to remember that few men can escape the influence of temporary forces. Numerous factors affected the settlement of peace in 1919. The idea that the three or four allied statesmen chiefly responsible were free to make peace and settle the world according only to the dictates of their own consciences is as mistaken as the war-time belief that the Kaiser was in complete control of Germany in 1914. The statesmen at Paris were in reality free to act only within a very circumscribed area. Without suggesting that they did not make mistakes even within that area, it is the object of this article to indicate some of the factors that prevented the settlement of peace exclusively on the principles of wisdom and justice.

Theoretically, at least, two courses of action could have been followed in making peace. The Great Powers might have taken the whole matter into their own hands and made the quickest possible settlement according to their own interests through a series of compromises. The other alternative—treaties based on a number of accepted principles—was in reality the only one that could have been followed since it had been agreed between the two groups of belligerents that peace should be made on the basis of the Allied principles as defined by President Wilson. Instead, therefore, of a small group of diplomatists, the peacemakers were the leading statesmen of each country with whom was associated an army of experts. Gradually, however, it became apparent that decisions—as distinct from inquiry and recommendations—would have to be made by the leading plenipotentiaries of the most powerful allied states. The burden of responsibility was then increasingly thrown on Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Woodrow Wilson. In the meetings of the Council of Four (three after the departure of Orlando) grave questions affecting the future were settled. Clemenceau's chief concern was almost inevitably the future security of France. Having twice seen France invaded by German armies he had little pity for Germany defeated, and fought against making the concessions asked for by the "delirious swine" who came as delegates to Paris, "draped in brutish insolence".¹ Lloyd George's attitude in the election of 1918 was quite different from that which he took at Paris, and he was constantly being reproached by Clemenceau for his desire for moderate terms. In the midst of the conference he retired to Fontainebleau (March 25) and wrote his famous memorandum, "Some considerations for the Peace Conference before they finally draft their terms". It was a plea for moderation: ". . . to achieve

1. André Tardieu, *The Truth about the Treaty*, Indianapolis, (1921), introduction.

redress our terms may be severe, they may be stern and even ruthless, but at the same time they can be so just that the country on which they are imposed will feel in its heart that it has no right to complain. But injustice, arrogance, displayed in the hour of triumph, will never be forgotten or forgiven." In particular, Lloyd George proposed that the minimum of German territory should change hands, that reparations should disappear with the generation which made the war, that the peace terms should be such that a government could accept, and that Germany should be admitted to the League of Nations.²

Wilson, the third member of the triumvirate, represented a still different policy. As the president of a non-European country his views were inevitably less influenced by military considerations than were those of Clemenceau, while freedom from the more pressing complications of European affairs made possible the insistence on that idealism which was natural to him. Mr. Churchill has already shown the absurdity of R. S. Baker's picture of Wilson and the American delegates going to Europe to overthrow evil and to install good in its place.³ Yet there is no doubt that Wilson regarded himself as somewhat of a crusader. Dr. Bowman's notes of remarks made by the President in discussing the coming conference while on the *George Washington* give a convincing impression of his attitude: ". . . the President remarked that *we would be the only disinterested people at the Peace Conference, and that the men whom we were about to deal with did not represent their own people . . .* The President pointed out that this was *the first conference in which decisions depended upon the opinion of mankind*, not upon the previous determinations and diplomatic schemes of the assembled

2. The memorandum is printed in Winston S. Churchill, *The Aftermath*, New York, 1929, p. 198.

3. Churchill, *op. cit.*, pp. 117 *et seq.*; R. S. Baker, *Woodrow Wilson and world settlement*, New York, 1922, vol. i, part 1.

representatives. . . . We must *tell* the United States *the truth* about diplomacy, the Peace Conference, the world he finished his reference to the frank conditions under which the Conference had to work and the necessity for getting the truth to the people by saying that *if the Conference did not settle things* on such a basis the Peace Treaty would not work, and 'if it doesn't work right *the world will raise Hell*'."⁴

Clemenceau was chiefly concerned with the future of Franco-German relations; Lloyd George sought primarily a peace that would be real; while Wilson's interest in the conference was dominated by the idea of a League of Nations, for which he had made himself spokesman. The daily discussions between the three men, so different in character and aims, inevitably stir the imagination, and have been described with varying accuracy by different writers. André Tardieu, who was in close touch with the inner workings of the conference, gives his impression:

"President Wilson discussed like a college professor criticizing a thesis, sitting bolt upright in his armchair, inclining his head at times towards his advisers, developing his views with the abundant clearness of a didactic logician. Mr. Lloyd George argued like a sharpshooter, with sudden bursts of cordial approval and equally frequent gusts of anger, with a wealth of brilliant imagination and copious historical reminiscences; clasping his knee in his hands, he sat near the fireplace, wrapped in the utmost indifference to technical arguments, irresistibly attracted to unlooked-for solutions, but dazzling with eloquence and wit, moved only by higher appeals to permanent bonds of friendship, and ever fearful of parliamentary consequences. As for M. Clemenceau, his part in the discussion was thoroughly typical and in very many instances his views prevailed. His arguments instead of being presented

4. Charles Seymour, *The intimate papers of Colonel House*, Boston, 1928, vol. iv, p. 280. The italics are as in the original.

by deductive reasoning like those of Mr. Wilson or of exploding incidentally like those of Mr. Lloyd George—proceeded by assertions weighty, rough-hewn and insistent, but clothed with gentle words that did him credit and refulgent with emotion which at times was overpowering.”⁵

The principal figures at the conference as well as many of the minor actors were men of great ability. Had the prime ministers been granted a more perfect mixture of Napoleonic mind and Christian principles the treaties would have correspondingly benefited. But they were not supermen, and two at least had already borne the overwhelming burden of years of war. It is not wise, however, to attribute too much to the human factor. Much of what may at first seem to be personal belief was in reality the expression of national policy. Above all it must be remembered that the war had made changes so sweeping that the peace-makers were faced with a new world. Many of the principal decisions at Paris were but the acceptance of *faits accomplis*.

The destruction caused by the war was staggering. Over eight million men of military age had been killed (a number almost equal to the total population of Canada at the time). The expenditure incurred by the belligerents was estimated in round figures at \$200,000,000,000—an entirely unprecedented cost which led to widespread financial dislocation. The fictitious prosperity that existed concealed an unsound economic condition, which was in general due to the transfer of energy from productive to unproductive activities. Military operations had made a desert of parts of northern France, Serbia and other areas. Large sections of Europe were either starving or on the verge of starvation. Social and political ferment aggravated economic disorder. Bolshevism, a force of unknown power, alarmed those who were trying to restore

5. Tardieu, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

order to Europe. The virtual disappearance of governments released political factions and offered new opportunities of independence or aggrandisement to parties or states.

It was impossible to make territorial changes according to given principles if the parties concerned were allowed to anticipate the treaties by *force majeure*. But, treaties apart, the principal Powers at Paris were also the Great Nations of Europe and of the world, and were obliged—whether from self-interest or altruism—to supply food to the starving and to restrain the unruly. Thus, while they were actually framing the treaties, the Council of Four had also to govern Europe. For this purpose some special machinery was created, notably the Supreme Economic Council; but the responsibility rested with the chief statesmen of the Great Powers and increased a burden that was already too heavy. Weeks and even months before the conference met astonishing changes had taken place in the map of Europe and in the governments of many of the states. To turn back the clock to 1914 was neither possible nor desirable. Great Britain, France and the United States neither could nor would supply the large armies that would have been needed for such a task. Moreover the territorial changes were not to be made on such simple principles as legitimacy and the *status quo*.

The Russia of autocracy, legitimacy, and the Dual Alliance had ceased to exist. In the place of the Tsars appeared a new kind of socialist government, whose future was uncertain, and the effect of whose doctrines was generally dreaded. Instead of wishing to set up a holy alliance in the family of European nations, the new régime in Russia sought a kind of socialist internationalism on the Marxian model. In the spread of Bolshevism France and England saw a danger that was more difficult to combat than Russia's policy of expansion eastward. The old question of intervention came up again to worry the Powers as it had a century before.

There were parties both in France and England that wished to assist actively in counter-revolutionary movements, but in February 1919 Lloyd George assured Colonel House that assistance would be given only to governments in territories which did not favour Bolshevism. Wilson was more wholeheartedly opposed to military intervention.⁶

The fall of Tsardom removed a great conservative state, threatened to destroy the social fabric elsewhere, and led to important political developments on the borders of Russia. The comparative weakness of the Soviet government combined with the prevalent doctrine of self-determination encouraged separatist movements amongst national groups which had been held subject to St. Petersburg. Finland, with the help of German troops, secured a virtual independence in 1918, which was for a time recognized by France even before the armistice. Esthonia declared her independence in November 1917, and Latvia took similar action in January 1918. The Esthonian National Council was recognized *de facto* by Great Britain in May 1918, and the Lettish Council in November 1918. In September 1917 a National Council of Lithuania was called together and demanded independence. In all these Baltic states there had existed for varying periods before the meeting of the conference a complicated conflict between local ambitions for independence, interference by the Soviet government, and German attempts to obtain control. By the time that the conference met it was apparent that these Baltic states could no longer be regarded as Russian politically, any more than they were ethnologically.

The events of the war period set the stage for new attempts to assert Polish independence. The retirement of Russia from the war, the defeat of Austria-Hungary, and finally the defeat of Germany weakened at once the three Powers of the partitions. The Poles quickly grasped this

6. Seymour, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

unique opportunity, in which they were assisted by the Allies; France welcomed Poland as a buffer state between Germany and Russia; and Wilson had brought Polish nationality explicitly within his doctrine of self-determination. For these reasons there was no doubt that the conference would establish Poland once more, but the frontiers were less certain, and over the inclusion of non-Polish peoples arose a serious disagreement amongst the Allies.

The two monarchies of Germany and Austro-Hungary were swept away by forces which came to a head during the latter part of the war. In the case of the former the change proved to be constitutional, and resulted after a struggle with extremists in the formation of the German Republic, modelled in general on the ideas of 1848. It was this republican government that represented Germany at Paris, and which was saddled with the burden of German defeat and its consequences. The stability of the new republic was an uncertain factor, and its fall might mean either a continuance of the war or a successful Bolshevist movement. This danger was particularly appreciated by Lloyd George and led him to oppose the French policy of *revanche*.

The most striking territorial changes after the war came in southern Europe. Yet the successor states to Austria-Hungary were not in reality the creation of the peace conference. The dual monarchy of 1867 could not survive the strain of the war, and before the conferences met Austria-Hungary had ceased to exist. The racial struggle that had so much to do with the outbreak of the war continued through its course, and the subject nationalities took the opportunity of asserting their independence. Allied encouragement of disruptive movements within the enemy state helped to bring into existence the two new states of the Balkans. The curious and confusing result was that both the Serb-Croat-Slovene State and Czecho-Slovakia took part in the treaty negotiations

as allied powers. It will readily be seen how this complicated the settlement with Austria and Hungary.

Beyond Europe also territorial changes had taken place. All the German colonies had fallen into other hands, and it was one of the difficult problems of the conference to decide their future status. One of Wilson's Fourteen Points demanded "a free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined." In Dr. Bowman's memorandum of Wilson's views as expressed on the *George Washington* on December 10 can be seen a further development of the President's policy:

"He thought that the *German colonies* should be declared the common property of the *League of Nations* and administered by small nations. The resources of each colony should be available to all members of the *League*, and in this and other matters involving international relations or German colonies or resources or territorial arrangements, the world would be intolerable if only arrangement ensues; that this is a peace conference in which arrangements cannot be made in the old style."

Great Britain at once accepted the mandatory principle as applied to captured German or Turkish territory, but there remained the conquests made by the Dominions.

"We could not . . . speak for the self-governing Dominions . . . Accordingly, on January 23, Mr. Lloyd George introduced to the Council of Ten the Prime Ministers of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. . . .

7. Seymour, op. cit., p. 281.

A jagged debate ensued. Australia, New Zealand and South Africa said that they meant to keep the colonies they had taken from the Germans; and Canada said she stood with them. 'And do you mean, Mr. Hughes', said the President, 'that in certain circumstances Australia would place herself in opposition to the opinion of the whole civilized world?' Mr. Hughes, who was very deaf, had an instrument like a machine gun emplaced upon the table by which he heard all he wanted; and to this challenge he replied dryly, 'That's about it, Mr. President.' The statesmanship of Borden and of Botha behind the scenes eventually led the Dominion leaders to veil their sovereignty under the name at any rate of Mandate; and this Mr. Wilson was willing to accept.

This discussion had been very gratifying to M. Clemenceau; and for the first time he had heard the feelings of his heart expressed with unbridled candour. He beamed on Mr. Hughes, and punctuated his every sentence with unconcealable delight. 'Bring your savages with you,' he said to Mr. Lloyd George beforehand; and to the Australian, 'Mr. 'Ughes, I have 'eard that in early life you were a cannibal.' 'Believe me, Mr. President,' said the Commonwealth Prime Minister, 'that has been greatly exaggerated.'⁸

The above episode shows at once the kind of conflict that arose between principle and established fact, and the place given to the British Dominions. Canada was only one of the representatives of the American continent. The entrance of the United States into the war introduced new factors into the Allied councils, and had well known effects on the settlement of peace. The American representation was further increased by some of the South American republics. Another important extra-European interest was that of Japan. At the conference Japan insisted that the German rights in Shantung should be handed over to her, and for a time sug-

8. Churchill, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

gested that Japanese interests in the Far East should be recognized in the Covenant as were United States interests in the Americas.

The influence of the past on the treaties is well illustrated by reference to the secret agreements made between the Allies during the war. Then the achievement of victory was the supreme consideration, and to that end the future had to be mortgaged politically as well as economically. It would have been easier to draw up satisfactory terms of peace if no such commitments had been made: their cancellation, in fact, was seriously suggested. Amongst other points, the French plan for the conference which was sent to Washington included "suspension of all previous special agreements arrived at by some of the Allies only"⁹, but this way out of the difficulty seems not to have been considered by the United States or the other Allies. When these agreements were made the problems of the war not unnaturally seemed more urgent than those of the peace, and Allied diplomacy was primarily directed towards easing the military strain. Some of these agreements were made between Allies and states then neutral, and were concerned with the entrance of these states into the war. Most important was the Treaty of London, made with Italy in April 1915. During the early months of the war Italy hovered between the Central Powers and the Entente, both of which sought her support by attractive offers. The Treaty of London ensured large gains for Italy: the Trentino, the Southern Tyrol, Trieste, the Istrian peninsula, and Turkish rights in Libya. The effect of this treaty on the settlement of the boundaries of Italy (and consequently of her neighbours) is immediately obvious. In consequence of a similar treaty (August 18, 1916), Rumania entered the war with the promise of Transylvania.

Other agreements were made between the Allies, "to keep

9. *ibid.*, p. 111.

themselves in good temper with each other" as Mr. Churchill says. The "Constantinople Agreement" (March 18, 1915) would have given Constantinople to Russia had it not been later renounced by the revolutionary government. Russia also renounced the Sykes-Picot Agreement (May 16, 1916), by which the British, French and Russian governments arranged for "zones of influence and territorial acquisitions in Asiatic Turkey". Italy, which had not been included in this division, was provided for by the St. Jean de Maurienne Agreement (April 17, 1917). Great Britain agreed (February 16, 1917) to "support Japan's claims to the disposal of Germany's rights in Shantung and possessions in islands north of the equator on the occasion of the Peace Conference, it being understood that the Japanese Government will, in the eventual peace settlement, treat in the same spirit Great Britain's claims to German islands south of the equator."¹⁰

Whether these secret agreements were justifiable is a matter of opinion. But it is important to remember that they had nothing to do with the causes of the war. They arose out of the course of the war from various motives. Their influence on the treaties of peace was inevitably great, though they were not always carried out to the letter. The present boundaries of Italy and Rumania, and the existence of the independent Arab state—the Hedjaz—bear witness to the reality of the agreements.

Another factor which limited the freedom of action of the allied representatives in drawing up the terms of peace was the fact that Germany was never completely defeated and did not surrender unconditionally. On November 5 the allied governments agreed to make peace "on the terms of peace

10. Memorandum from the British Ambassador to the Japanese Foreign Minister, February 16, 1917, Baker, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 61. For other material on the secret agreements see, *inter alia*, H. W. V. Temperley, *History of the peace conference of Paris*, London, 1920, 6 vols. This work is a careful study of the whole conference.

laid down in the President's Address to Congress of January 8, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent Addresses." This was subject to two reservations: interpretation of freedom of the seas, and a definition of compensation to be made by Germany. Now Wilson's terms included both general principles and particular changes, e.g., all territorial changes were to be made in the interests of the people concerned; but in particular Alsace-Lorraine was to be restored to France, and access to the sea given to Serbia. It is true that Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria surrendered unconditionally. On the other hand some of the points in these speeches of the President's applied to these Powers as well as to Germany. Thus the allied representatives were bound to consider—in addition to secret treaties arranged amongst themselves—open agreements which affected the enemy Powers. That they broke away from these in parts of the treaty is indisputable; but that the agreements guided their actions to some extent is equally clear.

One of the Fourteen Points in particular influenced deeply all the treaties of peace: "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike." There is no need to enter here on the disputed ground of the origin of the idea of the League of Nations. It was accepted by the Allies—with varying degrees of enthusiasm and scepticism—and made an integral part of each treaty. It has been said that the time spent on the drafting of the Covenant of Paris interfered with a speedy restoration of peace. Others have maintained that work on the covenant ran parallel with that on other parts of the peace settlement, and that the two did not conflict. Be that as it may, it cannot be denied that the establishment of a new system of international relations complicated the task of the peacemakers. The League of Nations

ran counter to many of the accepted customs of international relations, and threatened to affect adversely the interests of the Powers. For these reasons the covenant could not be completed in a short time. Each of the treaties begins with "The Covenant of the League of Nations", and this prominent position gives an indication of the relative importance that it was agreed to attach to the League. But in addition to this, other parts of the treaties depend for their realization on the existence of the League; the Labour chapter, the government of the Saar, for example, and other sections assume a permanent League.

The whole of Wilson's attitude toward the peace settlement was founded on a genuine desire to purify the world by making it more democratic. It was to get rid of "secret diplomacy" that he urged the necessity of the League, and of "open covenants of peace, openly arrived at". He wanted to make the world safe for democracy, but it was the rule of an imaginary people; in Churchill's phrase, he "created world democracy in his own image". Instead of the influence of public opinion operating toward a just and sane peace it may be argued that it had the opposite effect. Necessity of state had led to extreme and effective propaganda in all the belligerent countries, with the result that the populations of the allied countries were in no mood for taking judicial attitudes. Their ideas of justice in 1919 were in accord with the examples of stern retribution to be found in the Old Testament. The belief that Germany and her allies were solely responsible for the war was still general, and found its way intact into the treaties. The demands for trying the Kaiser and other war criminals, and making Germany pay were but natural results of the state of opinion at the time. Public opinion had been stirred to a high pitch of bitterness, and it is utterly unreasonable to expect that it should have calmed down immediately. The leading statesmen saw more clearly than the public, and

it is natural to feel that they should have warned their people against the current extremes. It is to their credit that they did not altogether follow the line of popularity by shouting loudly for "justice", but it is regrettable that they did not, or could not, stand out more consistently for the sane, if unpopular, views. There were cases where they committed the indiscretion of actually pandering to this dangerous demand for revenge. Lloyd George's sincere desire for moderation at Paris was made more difficult of accomplishment because of the reputation as an apostle of revenge that he had gained in the British election. The drawbacks of democratic government are all too visible in the light of the conference period. To assure his parliamentary position Lloyd George had made promises that he must have known could not be fulfilled and that were opposed to the ends which he really wished to attain. Wilson, on the other hand, failed to protect his policy against destruction at home, and by that failure aimed a deadly blow at the world democracy that he so sincerely wished to serve.

By the end of the war the allies had increased in number to twenty-seven, and each state brought its own ideas and interests to the conference. The domination of the conference by France, Great Britain and the United States did subdue an incalculable sum of arguments and differences, but what remained was great indeed. There was an element of idealism at the conference, but it was too much to be expected that all national differences and ambitions should be cancelled at a word. France could not forget all the years of active or passive conflict with Germany, and the aim of protection in the future was never absent from Clemenceau's mind. Protection being in his opinion and in that of most Frenchmen the vital need, it was natural that he should have been prepared to sacrifice other causes which he regarded as relatively less important. Rather than sacrifice their own peculiar interests the United States delegates endangered the Covenant and

the tranquility of the conference by insisting on the recognition of the Monroe Doctrine. Italy's hope from the treaties was the completion of her national unity, and Orlando was willing to leave Paris over the question of Fiume rather than put the selfish interests of his country in the background. The same principle applies to all the other Powers represented. Great Britain was watchful of her world-wide interests and of questions of sea power. In spite of the Fourteen Points Wilson did not raise the question of freedom of the seas at the conference, thus avoiding what might have been a most difficult issue. "Grateful for this, Mr. Lloyd George was none the less anxious to receive a more positive endorsement of Great Britain's special maritime position, perhaps a guarantee that the United States would not push naval competition to a point where they would threaten the supremacy of the British on the seas. Evidently the British naval experts were troubled by the prospect of American strength that would result from the programme of 1916. Long conversations took place between the British and American naval experts, which may be regarded as the genesis of the Washington Conference of 1921."¹¹ This important matter was discussed in letters between Colonel House and Lord Robert Cecil. "I think you will believe me," wrote Cecil, "when I say that I am passionately desirous of Anglo-American friendship, and a convinced believer in its existence and durability, but I must freely admit that if I were British Minister of the Navy and I saw that British naval safety was being threatened, even by America, I should have to recommend to my fellow countrymen to spend their last shilling in bringing our fleet up to the point which I was advised was necessary for their safety."¹² It is not necessary to follow this thread through to the Washington Conference. This discussion of naval competition illustrates,

11. Seymour, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

12. Cecil to House, April 8, 1919, Seymour, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

however, how the vital interests of the Powers were affected by questions arising out of the conference, and the impossibility of the plenipotentiaries settling the problems of the treaties on their own merits.

To treat fully of the points raised here would be to write a history of the peace conference, but enough has perhaps been said to show to what an extent the makers of peace were restricted in their work by factors over which they had no control. The new Europe that emerged in 1919 is as much a result of the war as of the peace. Great changes were indeed made by the treaties; but the treaties should be read first from an historical point of view, for in this way only can they be understood. There are, of course, faults in the treaties that must be attributed to the representatives of the Powers. But no simple test may be applied to a settlement with such an involved background. The reparations chapters, for example, may be ridiculous from the point of view of the economist; but behind these chapters lies a complex mass of national aims and popular demands that must be disentangled first. Had the plenipotentiaries been thinking only of the good of the world, had they acted only in the light of pure reason, they would have been no longer true to the democracies they represented. There was a measure of idealism and foresight at the conference that is all the more admirable because it made the work less simple. Though admitting that there are in the treaties grave errors that could have been avoided, it is only fair to remember the almost superhuman task with which their makers were faced. The men at Paris were concerned with the past, the present and the future. In seeking to work for future generations they were constantly faced with complications issuing from the past. While trying to reconcile the past with the future they could never escape from the pressing claims of the present.

TWO SONNETS

BY EDEN PHILLPOTTS

NOVEMBER NIGHT

November sunset weaves her cloudy sleight,
With violet dim and dusky amber dyed,
Around the lonely uplands like a tide,
About one goblin grove upon a height,
Still islanded above the waves of night;
While murky coombs and glens and valleys wide
Through purple mystery flash beads of light,
Where scattered homesteads gleam and motors glide.
Above the drowsy dewfall, still and deep,
Beading on auburn sere and withered green
Of weald and wold and scarp and falling steep,
Hoot vesper owls, and hid in dell and dene.
The furry children of the gloaming creep
Upon their just occasions all unseen.

THEATRE

Where stars for ever set, for ever rise,
Traditions crumbling down from age to age,
Their ancient craft the brotherhood still wage
And many a steadfast artist daily plies;
But now the lights are out, the darkened stage
All still and dead and naked—floor to flies;
Ended the show's pretence and mockeries
Of phantom fun and joy, or grief and rage.
The curtain's rolled away; each rank and tier,
Whence we beheld the traffic and the strife,
Yawns tenantless; yet are there mummers here,
And dramas, unrehearsed, of humble life
Proceed, albeit never hand applauds,
The mice, who nightly hop these classic boards.

BLISS CARMAN'S BEGINNINGS

BY JAMES CAPPON

CARMAN'S exceptional distinction amongst Canadian poets is very generally recognized now. There is an individuality in his voice which reaches the ear clearly amongst all contemporary strains, and he represents better than any other of our Canadian singers the effort of modern poetry in the nineties to break through into new poetic horizons. He had, even in his earliest period, a circle of devoted admirers who were fascinated by the mystical wildness of his first songs, and since the publication of his *Songs from Vagabondia* in collaboration with the American poet Richard Hovey, professional critics and reviewers in the States do not forget him in their historical reviews. In Canada he has been getting more general attention of late years. A recent history of Canadian literature recognizes him in rather exclusive terms as really "great", and some years ago an association of Canadian authors acclaimed him in a more or less formal way as Canada's poet laureate or at least its chief singer, much in the same way as gatherings of Parisian poets and writers, mostly the younger ones, bestowed on Verlaine and Mallarmé the title of prince of the poets, and as they did quite recently on Paul Fort. The Parisian event in these cases had a special significance as the crowning of a champion of new and revolutionary methods of a new *Ars Poetica*, which had at least won its place in literary history; it did not necessarily establish an uncontested primacy, but was rather the younger generation's challenge to established codes, a challenge often recanted or silently dropped in their later years.

There was, indeed, something new to Canadian poetry in

Carman's technique and treatment, and highly individual, but it was not a revolt against the old literary tradition and its standards so much as a new development of them; it is, except for some lighter Vagabondia songs, the late highly refined development of great historic schools, chiefly of Victorian romanticism in the lyric and of the half mystical transcendental vision of life and nature you find in the great New Englanders, Emerson and Thoreau. He carries that form of vision into new fields and gives it novelty of aspect. His search for a new handling of themes, for new illustrations and variations, shows a wide range of experimentation; and, though the moulds of his art are the established or traditional forms, his retouch is genial and creative; there are no raw tones, the style and the music are rich with the memories of art, yet fresh and tartly flavoured in a new Canadian atmosphere.

Yet there does not seem to be any clear or definite appreciation of Carman's work as a whole in the public, even amongst persons whose reading has a fair range and includes most of what is talked of and discussed in the critical reviews. There is little idea of what he has tried to do. And it is no great wonder a good deal of his poetry is somewhat mystical, almost esoteric; his typical treatment of a subject is transcendental even if there are brilliant descriptive passages in it and glimpses of the actual. His volumes are filled with metaphysical symbolism and allegory and transcendental interpretations of nature. His cosmic vision embraces with equal sympathy Christian and Pagan legend, the revelations of Patmos and the message of Buddha, the Emersonian Oversoul, the symbolism of Pan and the Mediaeval visions of St. Bernard, finding a transcendental identity in them all. The mysticism of the East is mingled with modern theories of evolution. Darwin supplements Wordsworth in his nature poetry and blends with Rossetti in a love lyric. There is a transcendental truth in it all, but there is, on the surface at least, a heterogeneity, an

over-saturation of his poetry with diverse symbols, which many readers may find disconcerting.

In his nature poetry, however, the reader is more likely to feel an underlying harmony in his treatment. It is at times a mystical cult with various forms of symbolism and cosmic philosophy inspiring it, and often merely fanciful, but often also it blends happily the aesthetic and cosmic aspects of nature and gives a new depth, a new and fresh charm, to his poetic vision of nature. His description is full of fine touches and has the native Canadian enjoyment of wild nature, of flowers and forests, the songs of birds, air and sunshine and free horizons. There are new readings of nature in that poetry, especially impressionistic flashes and mystical illuminations of his cosmic idea.

One need not wonder then that the estimate of Carman is vaguer and more hesitant in many quarters than it need be. All the same there is always a certain depth in such popular recognitions as that which Carman received from the Montreal assembly, where the political game does not come into the piece. Besides the delicate grace of his style, "magic of phrase, melodious versification," which professional critics have always recognized, and the original turn of fancy which gives piquancy and temperament to his verse, I imagine there was a general sense of spiritual distinction in a life devoted entirely to the unprofitable business of verse-making and content with the riches it could create for itself in the world of poetic reverie. Carman has lived his poetry and got out of it apparently what his temperament chiefly demanded of life.

One must of course look in the soil from which Carman came for much that determined the character of his poetic work. His family was of the old Puritan stock of New England, having transferred itself to Canada when the American colonies separated themselves from Britain. He was born at Fredericton, then a small town in New Brunswick, half rural

with its gardens and surrounding woods, but of some importance as the capital of the province and the seat of a small university. It was a busy place, too, some months of the year, with the small shipping of those days, for though it was some sixty miles from the sea, it was situated on a navigable river, the St. John, which gave Fredericton some stimulating contact with the great commercial world. But on the whole life there was in a quiet idyllic atmosphere very favourable to the spiritual traditions of New England Puritanism in homes like those of the Carmans and their cousins of the Roberts family, in which literature was a kind of daily bread. Books were the great resource in the evenings of a long winter. In poetry Longfellow and Whittier, Cowper and Wordsworth were still the classics in such homes; you can see the lyrical tone of Longfellow often haunts the ear of Carman and occasionally that of Roberts, but the young generation had also begun to recognize new deities in Keats and Shelley and to regard Emerson and Thoreau with their transcendental cult of nature and the simple life as their spiritual guides. Their message came as a natural thing to the young Canadians with the wild nature around them, so free of access to every one, and the brilliant Canadian summer with its clear sky and sunshine taking all Canadian poets as boys to the woods and streams for their recreations. In those days camping and canoeing had no rival in the golf course or the modern country club.

Carman's schooling also was a kind that developed his tendencies toward literature. The headmaster at the Fredericton Academy, Dr. George Parkin, was a man of exceptional personality and energy; he was perhaps more of the practical, administrative than of the contemplative or scholarly type; he became widely known in later life as a platform speaker on behalf of Imperial interests and as Secretary for the Rhodes Foundation at Oxford, but he had the old Victorian respect for literary culture and he was one to do with enthusi-

asm whatever he took in hand. We have stories of the energy with which he drilled Carman and Roberts in the poets, often reciting Tennyson and Rossetti to them when he took them for a walk. Carman also did well at the small university of his native town, taking a distinguished place in classics and mathematics.

It became clear enough in time that nature had given him a contemplative habit of mind and the kind of faculty which realizes itself best in literature, but that is not the kind of gift which indicates very precisely the path by which it is to be realized and made good in the world. Carman himself at this time does not seem to have been conscious of any call to a career, nor even to have had any definite ideas about what he should eventually do with himself. That he went at this time to Edinburgh university for a postgraduate course looks as if he had at least some half-formed thoughts of qualifying for an academic position. He admitted something of the kind to me, but dubiously. The opportunities in that direction were by no means so plentiful then as they are now. In any case he does not seem to have made much headway at Edinburgh or to have brought back much of anything from that quarter; he was not quite the type of academic scholar, he had fine perceptions and intuitions in the field of the humanities certainly, but after a close acquaintance with his published volumes I cannot fancy him as great in systematic preparation or in work which was not sustained chiefly by imagination and reverie. I can understand as far as the old Scottish seat of learning itself is concerned that he was not much attracted by Campbell Fraser's lectures on Berkeley or even by Masson's analysis of Milton's blank verse. Perhaps there is also something characteristic in the fact that he did not, by his own account, have any quickening contact with the new currents that were beginning to stir literary circles in the old country. The literary fermentation which ended in the outflare of the nineties

was already seeking an outlet, chiefly in aesthetic cults. The Ballade school was reviving old forms of French verse as a vehicle for modern wit and pathos, and William Sharpe's biography of Rossetti, with its prophecies of a great future for what he called the new aesthetic movement in poetry, appeared in 1882 while Carman was still in Edinburgh.

About the same time F. W. H. Myers was writing enthusiastic articles on the "Religion of Beauty" in the new poetry; Pater in his critical essays was promulgating a very refined aesthetic gospel, and Oscar Wilde was taking over to America his paradoxical audacities in aesthetics and his theory of a new Renaissance in art,—Carman indeed met him at the Roberts house in Fredericton. It was a kind of secondary aesthetic outgrowth from Ruskin and Pre-Raphaelitism cut off from its original moral roots. Something of that aesthetic movement began to influence him later, but it does not seem to have had any awakening impulse for him at this time. Perhaps it was too meagre a gospel for a young Canadian with his traditions; the Neo-Celtic school with its mystical tendencies and the Symbolistic school in France with its vague delicacy of impression and reverie were more likely in some ways to satisfy one of his temperament but it was only later that they could come into his ken. For a philosophic poet Carman owes little to foreign culture or to what one may call world-culture, outside the Greek and Roman classics. Ibsens, Strindbergs, Verhaerens and Hauptmanns, even Tolstois, had hardly begun yet to influence the literature of the English-speaking world, but at no time is there any trace of such new distracting influences in his writings. As for the old gods, like Goethe and Schiller, they had receded into the remote serenity of a Valhalla, as far as the younger generation was concerned, and had taken with them, it would seem, their wonderful finished structure of art and literary criticism. Perhaps the thinker and the critic need that world-culture more than the poet;

anyway the awakening impulse in Carman's case was to come from nearer home.

So it was that he returned to Canada in 1883 still unsettled as to his future course and at a loss what to do with himself. For a time he tried various things, chiefly to satisfy his parents, Roberts said to me; taught school for a while, then gave up that to study law, then left law to work as a civil engineer. But it was evidently all against the grain, and, after three years of this abortive experimenting, he returned to academic study, this time at Harvard University. It was a sound instinct that made this young man, twenty-five years of age he was now and still very much in the vague about himself, take to Harvard as a preparation for some kind of intellectual or journalistic work in the new field of the United States with the stimulating scale of its activities. University culture is conservative as it ought to be, a kind of rational counterpoise to the exaggerations of the passing day and the narrowness of spirit that is hardly alive to anything beyond its local horizon. The University gets many kicks therefore from a reckless or thoughtless class of critics. I can remember the wild hootings of Marinetti and the Italian Futurists twenty years ago, and in America one hears still a good deal of disparagement from reviewers who would have the public believe that Sandburg's *Chicago* or Amy Lowell's *Thompson's Lunch Counter* are summits of poetic art. But for all that, or because of all that, it is just in the States that one has to go to the university to get real freedom of outlook and reach larger horizons. Carman at any rate seems to have got what he wanted at Harvard—the awakening impulse. He made good friends like Richard Hovey and others of an intellectual or artistic type, full of youthful enthusiasm to do something great and helping each other to assimilate the best and highest within their reach in the American culture of that day.

It was not perhaps the most invigorating phase of

American culture. The old native transcendentalism of the New England writers was still the finest element in it but from the mere force of age and repetition it was not the new inspiring thing it had been twenty years before; it needed renewal, some development that would give it the charm and force of originality. Whitman had already sought to do this in his way, but his way was one which coarsened the high lessons of Emerson by delivering them in the language of an inspired hobo and with a hobo's contempt for discipline of any kind. Emerson's high doctrine of ecstatic utterance was turned into a reckless principle of saying anything that came into one's head, his independence of thought into a defiance of all the culture of the past, his faith in the future of his country into an extravagant Chauvinism, his recommendation of contemplative solitude into the gorgeous kind of loafing which was common in Walt's own life. Yet in the bold naturalism of Whitman's early Chants there is an honest attempt to get the full breadth of human nature, even with its lower levels, into a philosophy of life. Emerson and Whitman, these two still chiefly represented the intellectual and spiritual problems of the time for young literary aspirants. You can see elements from both mingled in the Vagabondia songs of Carman and Hovey.

It was at Harvard also that Carman acquired the technical culture in philosophy which gave him most help in systematizing his ideas about life. His academic studies there do not seem to have won him any specific distinction, but they brought him into contact with Professor Royce, then the leading light in philosophy at Harvard. Royce taught a form of Spinozistic idealism which could serve very well as a philosophic substructure for the mystical contemplation and reverie characteristic of Carman's poetry. The conception it gives of the infinite and its manifestations is the groundwork of his thinking; even its formal logic comes to the surface in

his poetry. In short, it was in the Harvard environment that his thoughts of a career began to take more definite direction. For the first time he now began to think of poetry as possibly his vocation and to print single poems occasionally in broad-sheet for private circulation among his friends.

The vision as interpretation of life is of course the first thing, the fundamental impulse in poetry and in all higher art, but the question of style or form is the thing that challenges the poet first, and, it may be, most menacingly, when he begins to write. The first essays of a young poet are likely to be full of borrowed elements, tones, turns of phrase and fancy, and especially a plane of imagination or of thought which is recognizably that of a well-known school or of a great predecessor. Carman's borrowings are always very obvious. Among the early influences you can find in his poetry, that of Edgar Allan Poe is very distinct. There was a certain affinity between Carman's mood of transcendental reverie and the dream-like fantasy in Poe's poetry. Poe was a great American tradition, too, though one which had lain rather neglected in the shade of New England Puritanism. The rapid melodious flow of his verse and the weird Platonian gleam of his fancy carrying you to some distant mysterious shore or unknown Aidenn in the Land of Heart's Desire were amongst the rare things of poetic art. His prose, too, with its imaginative vigour of invention and the extraordinary logical precision and force of its style was as unique as his poetry. Only de Quincey's could rival it in conveying certain effects. It might not be always quite sound in its wonderful ratiocinative constructions; there was often a morbid or paradoxical twist in the inexorable logic and a sombre diabolism in the fancy which discredited him a little with the austere generation of his time. But these were just the qualities which were coming into vogue towards the end of the century. In France Poe's writings had attracted the attention of Baudelaire and

of the French Decadents and Symbolists, who were now proclaiming him as the only original genius in American poetry. Both Baudelaire and Mallarmé occupied themselves with translations of him and this French reaction in favour of Poe may have been one of the suggestive hints or emanations, you could hardly call them more, which Carman received from that quarter, probably through Hovey who had spent some time in the haunts of Parisian artists and poets and knew the talk there.

Among the early poems of Carman *Pulvis et Umbra* is a striking example both of Poe's influence on his imagination at this time and of the way in which he makes what he borrows his own by additions and transformations. The poem is an original sort of fantasia on Poe's *Raven*. The poet floats away through time and space into those twilight chambers of fancy that Poe loves, and drapes them, much as Poe did, in sombre hues of gloom and mystery. The nightmoth as a visitor to the lonely study has not quite the sombre significance of the raven with his refrain of 'Nevermore', but Carman is able to give the *locale*, a cottage near the sea, a fine bodeful colour of mystery and doom:

Harvest with her low red planets
Wheeling over Arrochar;
And the lonely hopeless calling
Of the Bell-buoy on the bar,

Where the sea with her old secret
Moves in sleep and cannot rest.
From that dark beyond my doorway,
Silent the unbidden guest

Came and tarried, fearless, gentle,
Vagrant of the starlit gloom,
One frail waif of beauty fronting
Immortality and doom;

One can see there that the gentle accents and mild phrase of Longfellow are haunting his ear, but in the series of questions which he puts to his little guest, the gleam of Poe's phantasy is evident:

"Surely thou art not that sun-bright
Psyche, hoar with age, and hurled
On the northern shore of Lethe,
To this wan Auroral world!

"Ghost of Psyche, unaccompanied,
Are the yester-years all done?
Have the oars of Charon ferried
All thy playmates from the sun?

Some exuberance of treatment is natural enough in a young poet who is reluctant of course to drop a single flower of fancy from his chaplet but Carman's tendency to a loose expansiveness of fancy is rather marked in the poem. He loads it with cosmic analogies which are often terribly overstretched. The frail being of the insect sinks in a sea of far-fetched illustrations:

"In the hush when Cleopatra
Felt the darkness reel and cease,
Was thy soul a wan blue lotus,
Laid upon her lips for peace?

It is the young poet's intoxication with his own music and his command of imaginative phrase that makes him despise self-censorship, a virtue he never learned to use much anyway. But there is the music and a brilliant use of the old romantic phrase carrying a new strain of mystical reverie.

Poe's theories of Poetic art also would seem to have had considerable influence on Carman at this formative period of his career. Poe was in some respects an anticipation of the new Symbolist tendencies in poetry. The principles he lays down in that curious "philosophy of composition" which he appended to *The Raven* are quite in the spirit of the Symbolist movement in France. That "indefinite suggestiveness of meaning" which he insists on as the essence of poetic effect was part of its creed. "The actual situation and circumstances," Poe writes, "are to be only dimly outlined, leaving an undercurrent of significance which never comes clearly to the surface." So also when he insists on the subordination of truth and of passion to aesthetic beauty, he is seeking the same freedom for poetry as is demanded in Mallarmé's brusque

precept, "*Excelus-en le réel, parceque vil.*" But what in Poe is purely artistic theory putting aside an undesirable limitation of poetic art becomes a metaphysical theory in Mallarmé which rejects the sensuous surface of the world as an inferior form of reality, unworthy of true poetry. It is the ideal of *la poésie pure* so much heard of now in modernist French schools. We have a special form of it too in Mr. Yeats's charmingly written essays on Symbolism but he raises it into a transcendental and even into a purely mystical theory of the symbolical relation of material things to a divine essence. Carman's ideal of poetry at this time is still vaguely aesthetic; many of his early poems are pure fantasies in Poe's manner. The mysterious background, the vaguely outlined situation, the tone of sadness which Poe recommends as the highest note of poetry (a tone quite discarded in Carman's later poetry and indeed professionally disowned), even Poe's specific suggestion that the loss of a beautiful woman bewailed by her lover is the most effective of poetic subjects, and that there should be a "circumscription of space" to a chamber or a garden made sacred by memories of some lost Lenore; all these as well as some other minor suggestions are faithfully followed in Carman's Gwendolen poems and other lyrics of that type, eventually collected and published in his first volume, *Low Tide on Grande Pré*. They read as if they might have been written to try out Poe's theories. The treatment of the undefined situation, its vague emotionalism, its suggestion of bereavement and its wailing refrain is quite according to Poe's recipe:

"When the Guelder roses blow,
Love that died so long ago,

"Why wilt thou return so soft,
With that whisper sad and soft

"On thy pleading lips again,
'Guendolen, Guendolen'!"

In *A Northern Vigil*, the situation is a little more defined,

the figure of the lost Lenore being brought more into the foreground by some personal touches, the sense of cosmic space and doom with their cold vastness gives a mystical depth to the emotion. Some stanzas carry an aura of that kind to us very successfully, others—there are twenty-two of them—do their best to spoil it by dilation and repetition.

O wayward will, come near
The old mad wilful way,
The soft mouth at my ear
With words too sweet to say!

Come, for the night is cold,
The ghostly moonlight fills
Hollow and rift and fold
Of the eerie Ardise hills!

The windows of my room
Are dark with bitter frost,
The stillness aches with doom
Of something loved and lost.

Outside, the great blue star
Burns in the ghostland pale,
Where giant Algebar
Holds on the endless trail.

Come, for the years are long,
And silence keeps the door,
Where shapes with the shadows throng
The firelit chamber floor.

It is the fine fantasia of a young artist playing loosely on the keys all the old romantic chords he loves in poetry, love, night, the ghostly moonlight and the stars, and the long years, the shadows and the silence of doom. His eerie Ardise hills are the equivalent of Poe's distant Aidenn. There is always the weight of mystery; the sky or the sea is full of omens; the wind brings foreboding messages as surely as it would do in an Irish peasant's song. In the *Eavesdropper* the situation is still that of a landscape with two lovers, but the atmosphere is vibrating with a cosmic mystery which stills all sensuous emotion.

And all the swarthy afternoon
We watched the great deliberate sun
Walk through the crimson hazy world
Counting his hilltops one by one.

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

Then as the purple twilight came
 And touched the vines along our eaves,
 Another shadow stood without
 And gloomed the dancing of the leaves.

Restless and vague as a gray wind
 Her heart had grown she knew not why,
 But hurrying to the open door
 Against the verge of western sky

I saw retreating on the hills,
 Looming and sinister and black,
 The stealthy figure swift and huge
 Of one who strode and looked not back.

Such poetry is mostly an impassioned creation of the imagination, its object being not so much an actuality to be held firmly, as Goethe said, in its contours as an ineffable presence that can only be vaguely suggested.

But among these early lyrics there is one in which Carman has raised this vague emotionality into classical clearness and firmness of structure. In *Low Tide on Grande Pré* (it became the title of his first volume), the situation and the emotions are definite enough to suggest that some fibre of reality is stirring in its reminiscences. There is still the shadow of a lost Lenore in it, but its pensive melancholy is without weirdness or mystery.

Was it a year or lives ago
 We took the grasses in our hands,
 And caught the summer flying low
 Over the waving meadow lands,
 And held it there between our hands?

The while the river at our feet—
 A drowsy inland meadow stream—
 At set of sun the after-heat
 Made running gold, and in the gleam
 We freed our birch upon the stream.

And that we took into our hands
 Spirit of life or subtler thing—
 Breathed on us there, and loosed the bands
 Of death, and taught us, whispering,
 The secret of some wonder-thing.

Carman's manner has changed a little there. The touch is more that of Tennyson in description, and you can hear at times the very accents of *In Memoriam*:

And yet I know that not for us,
By any ecstasy of dream,

Low Tide on Grande Pré is too slight an effort to be called a masterpiece, that much abused word in America and in book-cover testimonials everywhere, but it is an unforgettable addition to the stock of fine Canadian lyrics. And for once the poet has been careful not to destroy the plastic perfection of his poem by dilation or too much vagrancy of fancy.

Poe was but a passing influence in Carman's tendency to envelop his themes in an atmosphere of vague mystery. Our poet's verse forms at this period are nearly always those of the old English lyrical schools, simple quatrain verse with a single rhyme and with hardly ever any attempt at the stanzaic variety which Poe recommended. Amongst these the ballad is a favourite form; he has a real talent for the ballad and continued for a time to use various forms of it from imitations of the ancient ballad of gramarye to the ballad of modern adventure and of symbolic allegory. Imitations of the ancient tragic ballad had been long in vogue with the romantic schools of poetry in Germany and England. The Pre-Raphaelites had done a good deal to renew the interest in the world of mediaeval legend by infusing a new note of aesthetic refinement into it. Rossetti in particular had popularized the aesthetic transformation of the old ballad of weird adventure. Sometimes he uses the simpler ballad style, as Scott and Campbell often did, with its rapid narrative, sudden transitions, curt, vivid descriptive strokes, and all the mannerisms of address, iteration and lament which were the common stock of the old minstrels, and sometimes he expands it as Keats and Coleridge had done, with a modern and mystical intensity of feeling. Carman is quite a considerable contributor to this Balled School, and the style of the ballad of gramarye in particular was naturally very congenial to his spirit at this time. It was a way of escape for him from modern realism

and the logical limits of reality into the freedom of a mystical world. *The Yule Guest* which is one of his best known ballads, is of this type and belongs to this very early period; it is an imitation of the old Ghost ballad and modernizes very successfully the bold and graphic simplicity of old ballad style. The opening stanza is perfect.

And Yanna by the yule-log
Sat in the empty hall,
And watched the goblin fire light
Caper upon the wall:

The story follows the old Ghost ballads in its main events. The ghost of Yanna's husband, a sailor, comes at midnight to her door and calls, in orthodox fashion:

O, Yanna, Yanna, Yanna,
Be quick and let me in!
For bitter is the trackless way
And far that I have been!

She's led him to the fireside
And set the wide oak chair.

The swift graphic strokes and vivid phrase of the old ballad are excellently caught, and his command of mystical or mysterious atmosphere serves him well in the poem. He often widens the range of sentiment in a way that is a fine blending of old ballad style and the modern sense of life:

O Lover, there is heartache
In tales that are half told.

Sometimes he introduces a symbolism that is his own and quite modern:

"O Garvin, bonny Garvin,
What is the booming sound
Of canvas, and the piping shrill,
As when a ship comes round?"

"It is the shadow boatswain
Piping his hands to bend
The looming sails on giant yards
Aboard the Nomansfriend.

Carman gets tone and atmosphere very successfully in general; the visionary tale is well sustained by wonderful touches of

style, but the poem is drawn out more than suits its type—there are fifty-four stanzas of it—and his expansions often weaken it and sometimes threaten the mystical atmosphere with their domestic detail. The ghost of course must leave at dawn, but before he does so Carman makes him put Yanna to bed with all circumstance, smooth her pillow and sing her to sleep and make an appointment for next year, which are hardly decent proceedings in a ghost.

Such poems as I have been speaking of may be taken as representing Carman's leanings towards the aesthetic schools of poetry and an almost purely aesthetic exercise of his imaginative faculty. But even in them we see that his imagination is haunted by a sense of mystical super-realities which earlier Poes and Gautiers had only played with as artists. In some of the poems of this period there is already a systematic symbolism which seeks to make a moral synthesis of life. Its core is the vision of human life and nature distinctive of Emerson and the New England transcendentalists. The strong craving for infinite issues to human life and individual destiny was combined in these Puritan Transcendentalists, with a cosmic sense of nature and nature's laws which they interpreted in a way to reinforce it. The history of man is a quest for a spiritual infinitude of destiny. The philosophical romanticism of that school with its profound nostalgia of the infinite and eternal was a necessity of the soul in men who were suffering acutely from the decay of the old eschatological faith; they had to replace it as best they could with the transcendental interpretation of human history and nature. The idea of the mystical quest of poets and thinkers as the dedicated warriors of the spirit, of the religious mission of art and literature were an inspiration to Carman, whose spirit was quite untouched by the decadentism of contemporary poetry, or its philosophic doubt. In *The Bugles*, a poem printed for private circulation in 1891, you find a mystical symbolism which blends a cosmic

sense of nature with the spiritual history of man, just as the New England Transcendentalists did, only it expresses itself in the more romantic phrase and form of vision which the Neo-Celtic school was bringing into vogue. Such phrases in Carman's poems as "the lonely trail," "the shadowy quest," "the gates of doom," "the battle of Sombre Field," represent the same gnostic exaltation and love of mystical horizon as Fiona's "Hills of Dream" and "high sweet call of release," or Yeats's "Land of Heart's Desire" and the form of vision in his Rose poems. *The Bugles* was printed in New York with the note that "it forms one of a lyric series, The Battle of Sombre Field."

The scarlet cry
Of a bugle's wail
Goes fading by
On a lonely trail
. . . .

Once through the arch
Of the Autumn wood,
I saw the march
Of a giant brood.

I heard no tread
Of the warriors there,
But the hills were red
With the bugle's flare

On the shadowy quest
That is never done,
They strode abreast
Of the wheeling sun,

With no retreat
Through the hazy flume,
They marched to beat
At the gates of doom.

For these were they
Whom glory sealed
In the brunt of the fray
On Sombre Field.

The poem is complete enough in the first sixteen stanzas, Carman in his loose way tacks on to it twenty more, descriptive of spring phenomena, April days, the swell of sap and seed, and the voice of the whippoorwill, et cetera. The philosophic connection of course is the common awakening of cosmic

impulses on the endless trail, but the two worlds do not blend well in the poem.

After his course at Harvard, Carman had drifted naturally enough into professional journalism for a living. In 1890 he became an office-editor of the New York *Independent*. Journalism and poetry is a common combination now amongst writers, especially in the United States, perhaps more to the advantage of the former than the latter. He was, I have always heard, both diligent and methodical in his editorial work, clearing his desk at the end of the day, says a friend, with exemplary regularity. But he does not seem to have made much of a success of it. A poet's judgment in newspaper work may often be less in line with the public's taste than a baseball champion's would be. In any case, routine work would not be very congenial to a poet of Carman's type with his habit of meditative idleness and a freakish faculty of extracting translunary wisdom from day-dreams and visionary horizons. The work-a-day world with its business standards and daily worries would involve for him a considerable withdrawal of his energies from those mystical poetic contacts, and a loss of his best hours. Should he emancipate himself or remain safe but bound between the shafts? I fancy there was a good deal of interior debate with himself over that. The American traditions of that day were not unfavourable; there was the example of Thoreau with his brave philosophy of the simple life; Whitman's also, who never hesitated to desert work in order "to loaf and invite his soul." So Carman, after a year or two of editorial labour, abandoned it for an independent career as a poet, and in 1893 made his formal appearance as such before the public in a small volume of lyrics. It took its title from the opening poem which was on the whole the most perfect thing he had done yet, *Low Tide on Grand Pré*.

It needed some courage at Carman's age, he was now thirty-two, to take to poetry as a means of livelihood. He had

no subsidiary resources in literature, no popular or ready vein in prose, and no art as a platform lecturer. Nevertheless, there was a good deal to make him venture. His technical facility in verse was already almost as highly developed as it ever came to be. His inventive faculty worked freely and copiously within its lyrical limits, and in his soul there was all that mystical transcendentalism urgent to see what it could make of itself with due concentration of spirit and effort. He had already, also, a small circle of friends and admirers who were favoured with his poetic broadsheets and looked upon him as possibly to be one of the great names of his time in poetry. In that fourth floor flat in New York where they met of an evening and the talk was mostly of literature and art, Peter McArthur describes him as sprawling gloriously in the one rocker the room had and reciting his poems to an audience which "vibrated to his rhythms." Peter in those early days was himself journalist, editor and poet, though after nearly twenty years of it he gave up the Muses as a profession and returned to cultivate the natal farm. While there, however, he wrote some excellent prose sketches of farm life and local events, perhaps his best work. He was a year or two younger than Carman and when they met in New York was greatly impressed by what he saw to be new in Carman's style and imaginative range, and became a close friend and whole-hearted admirer to whom the other's words were as oracles. That is pretty much McArthur's own account of their relations. To such a friend Carman would naturally let himself go freely in discourse. "Busy!" the greater poet once replied to the lesser, "Why should I be busy when I have the rest of time, and all Eternity, ahead of me?" A hierophantic utterance which honest McArthur, certainly more familiar with the Scriptural wisdom of "work while it is day," accepts with the meekness of the acolyte. Roberts, I suspect, would have promptly answered "Bunk". But it was quite in the

vein of the extravaganza and paradox of that period. "C'était *le bon temps*," as the great Anatole, speaking of the vagaries of the young symbolists, remarks, "*le temps où nous n'avions pas le sens commun*." Of course McArthur speaks of "glorious talks" they had together, and of "splendid silences", the latter has become inevitable since those solemn vespers Carlyle and Tennyson once held together. But his reports of the talks are very meagre, consisting mainly of one mystical metaphysical ebullition from Carman in defence, apparently, of the new poetic symbolism.

"I often wish," said Carman, "that I could rid the world of the tyranny of facts. What are facts but compromises? A fact merely marks the point where we have agreed to let investigation cease. Investigate further and your fact disappears. Under the scrutiny of thought all facts are alike, from the atom to the universe—merely compromises or splendid guesses,—and they dissolve even as

"The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all that it inherit, shall dissolve.

"And it is only after facts have dissolved and vanished into the mystery of things that the poetic soul can begin to recreate and devise forms of beauty."

The report is not perhaps meant to be verbally accurate but only an echo of many such utterances. Peter is not quite a first class reporter in that line, and in his sketch of the poet has mixed in traits from Roberts and D. C. Scott with the idea of making it more interesting; very incongruous ones too. Fancy the impecunious Carman pictured as walking the streets of London and dispensing alms on every hand like a Grand Almoner!¹ But for all that, the passage on fact and poetry is interesting as expressing probably fairly enough the ideal

¹McArthur's sketch is in the *Atlantic Monthly* for May, 1906 ("On Having Known a Poet".)

of poetry which the poet of *Low Tide on Grand Pré* had in his mind. It is evidently something akin to the doctrines then current in the Symbolist and Mystical schools of poetry. The English-speaking world knows them best now, I think, in the accounts of Mallarmé's theories or in the fine persuasiveness of Mr. Yeats's essays in defence of symbolism in art.

The Grand Pré volume is a selection from the lyrics he had been writing during the last few years and contains only those which he considered to be similar enough in tone to form a homogeneous collection. Even his nature poetry in this volume, though there are vivid descriptive touches in it, serves less as scenic description than as a suggestion of a mystical penumbral environment of life. In the Spring songs, which were to become so characteristic a feature of his poetry, this became a more definite cosmic philosophy; the pulsation of human life is made one with the swell of sap and seed, the growth of plants, the migrations of birds and the movements of wild animals. The awakening of nature in spring becomes a wide, mystical vision of a procession, a pageant of all nature's creations following an irresistible cosmic call, including man who is to find in this impulse a hint of his true destiny and renew his life at the fountains of nature. As he puts it in *The Pensioners*:—

Until her April train goes by,
And then because we are the kin
Of every hill flower on the hill
We must arise and walk therein.

Because her heart as our own heart,
Knowing the same wild upward stir,
Beats joyward by eternal laws,
We must arise and go with her;

As yet his feeling for nature has not reached that stage of formal theory but is more of an aesthetic ecstasy which gives him new contacts with it, a new form of receptivity. The cryptic delicacy of expression in *A Windflower* is an example. I do not mean the poet's dramatic identification of himself

with the flower which is only a happy rhetorical device, but the sympathetic penetration into the dumb, dimly divined reactions of flower life;

Between the roadside and the wood,
Between the dawning and the dew,
A tiny flower before the sun,
Ephemeral in time, I grew.

But down my dayspan of the year
The feet of straying winds came by;
And all my trembling soul was thrilled
To follow one lost mountain cry.

And then my heart beat once and broke
To hear the sweeping rain forebode
Some ruin in the April world,
Between the woodside and the road.

But the chief interest of the volume for readers who like the mystical element in Carman's poetry may lie neither in its love idylls nor in its nature poetry, but in poems like *Wayfaring* and *On the Trail* in which his transcendental vision is concentrated on the interpretation of human effort and aspiration. It is the poetry of the quest, of the instinct which urges human life to reach some satisfying consciousness of destiny in this endless trail and to do its part accordingly. In the *Wanderer* there is a sort of psychological survey of the development of this consciousness in man, very general of course and touching only on some high points in his spiritual history. Carman uses the symbolism of the four winds, East, South, West, and North, as a framework for his subject,—a favourite device of his in such surveys; winds of the spirit, of course, but still preserving a cosmical character as forces of nature. The wind of the East is the wind of the morning, the wind of the spirit which spoke there first in the bright dawn of the religious consciousness. It is apparently the voice of the soul speaking without definite language but persistent, eternal.

"For long ago, when the world was making,
I walked through Eden with God for guide;
And since that time in my heart forever
His calm and wisdom and peace abide.

of Northern nature. There is a special reference to Canada, "the tender dear dark land of the snow," for the poem here takes an autobiographical turn, the poet's own experience serving as a type of the mystical fostering that the spiritual consciousness receives from the environment of nature. The conclusion is that in spite of the temporary triumphs of deflecting tendencies like "The lust of the mind and the lure of the eye" and the seductions of worldly ambition—in short, of the lust of the eye and the pride of life, the dream of the heart will realize itself in the end.

Therefore is joy more than sorrow, foreseeing
The lust of the mind and the lure of the eye
And the pride of the hand have their hour of triumph,
But the dream of the heart will endure by and by.

The poem has a fine range of philosophical reflection expressed with a fluent charm of style. The large symbolistic phrase of which Carman has such easy command is at times quite fascinating in its reach—

"Take the wide province of seaway and sun"

seems to add the sanction of nature herself to the old logic of *Gaudeamus Igitur*. There is a piquant originality characteristic of Carman in the way the *Wanderer* assembles and presents ideas which are not very novel in themselves. It is a new way of saying things, at least, if not a new way of looking at them, though it may tend towards a euphuistic inflation of the phrase too much:

"Here where they come of the habit immortal,
By the open road to the land of the Name,"

The End of the Trail is autobiography of this transcendental symbolistic kind. The poet conceives himself as an Arcadian wanderer seeking the elusive trail amongst the lonely Ardis hills where he first had the vision of it. He commences in a strain of transcendental hyperbole addressed to Lenore, but passes after a while into sincerer tones.

The plane at Martock lies and drinks
 The lone Septembrall gaze of blue;
 The royal leisure of the hills
 Hath wayward reveries of you.

All the beauties of nature are re-echoed in her charms; Carman
 always sows with the basket, not with the hand.

The goblins of the Ardise hills
 Can horde no treasure like your hair.

No sound nor echo of the sea
 But hath tradition of your voice.

No gleam in all the russet hills
 But wears the solace of your smile.

The stanzas which recall his native Canadian scenery have a
 fine kind of pathos in their music:

Because I am a wanderer
 Upon the roads of endless quest,
 Between the hill-wind and the hills,
 Along the margin men call rest.

Because there lies upon my lips
 A whisper of the wind at morn,
 A murmur of the rolling sea
 Cradling the land where I was born;

Because its sleepless tides and storms
 Are in my heart for memory
 And music, and its gray-green hills
 Run white to bear me company;

The poem is highly sentimental. With the green melancholy
 of romantic youth Carman sees his life in beautiful and almost
 tragic pathos and has even an imaginative vision of it nearing
 its end amidst fateful signs and calls like that of old Oedipus
 at Colonus;

Until, some hazy autumn day,
 With yellow evening in the skies
 And rime upon the tawny hills,
 The far blue signal smoke shall rise,

To tell my scouting foresters
 Have heard the clarions of rest
 Bugling, along the outer sea,
 The end of failure and of quest.

An excess of sentimentality, perhaps, but softly cased in
 transcendental metaphor. There may be critics who have asked

what the scouting foresters and the outer sea mean. The lure of the romantic mystical phrase which reaches beyond definable horizons or the "circumscription of space" and time, is irresistible for Carman at this period, but often when it is the expression of his cosmic conception of nature, its vague symbolism has the advantage of being attached to a definite system of thought, generally to that transcendental cult of nature familiar to the American in Emerson and Thoreau. The latter speaks of himself in *Walden* as "trying to hear what was in the wind, to hear and carry it express" and as "waiting at evening on the hill-tops for the sky to fall; that I might catch something." And Thoreau taught at least the free use of ecstatic speech in a more unguarded way than Emerson, his master.

"It is a ridiculous demand," he writes, "which England and America make that you shall speak so that they can understand you. . . . As if nature could support but one order of understandings. . . . I fear chiefly lest my expression may not be extravagant enough—may not wander far enough beyond the narrow limits of my daily experience, so as to be adequate to the truth of which I have been convinced. . . . I desire to speak somewhere *without* bounds; for I am convinced that I cannot exaggerate enough even to lay the foundation of a true expression."

It is mostly only a theoretical ideal in the logical and observant Thoreau, but Whitman carried it out boldly in his original Chants. And here is Carman, a generation later, following the high call in fearlessly transcendental and elusive phrase:

The sleepless guide to that outland
Is the great Mother of us all,
Whose moulded dust and dew we are
With the blown flowers by the wall.

Girt with the twilight she is grave,
The strong companion, wise and free;
She leads beyond the dales of time,
The earldom of the calling sea—

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

Beyond these dull green miles of dike,
 And gleaming breakers of the bar—
 To the white kingdom of her lord,
 The nameless Word, whose breath we are.

.

She knows the morning ways whereon
 The windflowers and the wind confer;
 Surely there is not any fear
 Upon the farthest trail with her!

In much of his poetry, especially the poetry of his earlier period, the mystical gleam and reach of his style seeks to carry the thought beyond logical bounds and make itself the organ of mystical intuition. The symbolism in this early poetry of the quest and the endless trail is made attractive by Carman's great command of a transcendental style of expression which is full of romantic suggestion. Nobody can reach those indefinite horizons which lie just a little outside of space and time or of logical definition with more melodious ease than he can:

Through leagues of bloom I went with Spring
 To call you on the slopes of morn—

It is a style which lifts successfully the phrase and sentiment of the old romantic school into a new region of transcendental impressionism..

The essential form of Carman's poetic gift shows itself clearly enough in this early volume. In later works he widens his range of sentiment and of themes, and there are new notes, but the form of vision which gives him wings does not change much. The great question for him was to find a supreme expression for this transcendental vision, an embodiment of it great and significant enough to be received as a new interpretation of life. His poetry, regarded as a whole, is a long series of efforts to achieve this end.

Carman felt the call of a new time; but how to answer it? Poetry was everywhere seeking to renew its sources of inspiration. In English literature the Celtic school was bringing into view a new poetic horizon with its mystical revival of folk-lore

and its symbolistic treatment of nature. In France the new poets were extending the frontiers of poetry in the way Mallarmé and Rimbaud had indicated, by an austere and obscure psychological development of conscious and sub-conscious association. Some rumour of these movements may have been acting on Carman even at the beginning of the nineties, when he began to publish, but these movements were still in an experimental stage and had hardly unfolded all the significance they held for the future of poetry. In any case as a Canadian and American he could make little use of the mystical and nostalgic revival of primitive lore which gave a special charm to the symbolism of the Celtic school. So, too, the psychological severity which made so much of the new French poetry obscure, as well as the uneven and broken metre which it was bringing into fashion, had naturally little attraction for a poet who loved the clear and the picturesque in expression and a full sounding rhythm. Carman's tendency is to transcendentalize experience rather than to explore it psychologically. Both his conservative and his idealistic instinct led him in the direction of the transcendentalism of New England which was still the highest tradition in American literature. The constructive thought in Carman's poetry is an endeavour to develop the philosophical romanticism by which transcendentalism had sought to reconcile the Old with the New.

CHURCH UNION IN SCOTLAND

BY PROFESSOR G. D. HENDERSON

OCTOBER Second Nineteen Twenty-nine will certainly be a notable day in Scottish history. In the past of Scotland the Church has exerted surprising influence and has frequently controlled the issues. The Union now consummated between the two great Presbyterian denominations guarantees that the church will mean quite as much in the future. Nearly every generation since Christianity began has been sure—to its delight or dismay—that religion was dead or dying. Perhaps rather an unusual number of people have had this impression lately; but now the general feeling is that the amalgamation of the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church will challenge such a position for our time at least. The Union has significance not merely for Scotland but for the religious world as a whole. It is a great Christian act as well as a sensible business proposition. It proves the Church Christian, and it proves it alive to the needs of the time.

The disunity of Protestantism has been notorious and has been a cause of amusement to those without and self-reproach to those within. The individualistic direction of the Reformation tended from the beginning to encourage differences. Nations formed their own churches. Men read the Bible for themselves. It was inevitable that much variety of thought and practice should develop. Neither was it undesirable.

It is true that the churches were held together by their Protestantism. The controversy with Rome kept them all extremely busy, and busy along precisely similar lines. But the lack of some positive bond was felt; and we have distinct

attempts to secure visible unity. The travels of John Durie, the writings of Pareus and Callixtus and Leibniz, the work of Hall and Davenant, the *Irenicum* of John Forbes, the meeting of the Synod of Dort, the letter of the Westminster Assembly, the Accommodation Scheme of Leighton were evidences of concern in this matter. The distinction between fundamentals and accidentals was pointedly drawn by Calvin, by Molinaeus, by Johannes de Mey. The sinfulness of schism was steadily stressed by moderate writers such as James Durham and Robert Blair.

The ranks, however, were not closed; and the eighteenth century saw the national churches almost out of touch with one another. The Church of Scotland in particular broke up into sects in such a way as to justify Matthew Arnold's jibe that "Presbyterianism is born to separation as the sparks fly upward." It meant, of course, complete loss of a sense of proportion. On the other hand, the results were not all evil, for individuality was developed and expressed, and tremendous stimulus given to widespread activity in good causes. The Secessions contributed largely to that general improvement of tone in Scottish life which marked the second half of the nineteenth century. They were a kind of bedding-out of Christianity, which made possible new luxuriance of growth. Individuals became happy and important in a small group when they might have been miserable and lost in a crowd. The danger of spiritual inbreeding was avoided, for while people could sort themselves out socially, intellectually and temperamentally in the different denominations, they did not become isolated from general society.

The differences which have kept Scottish Presbyterians apart from one another have always seemed to outsiders extraordinarily minute; yet examination shows that on the whole they result from a temperamental cleavage which has influenced all human history. There are two conceptions of the

Church—the Church under Constantine and the Church under Nero, the patriarchal Church and the Church of the elect, the Catholic Church and Montanism, the attempt to raise the individual through the community and the attempt to raise the community through the individual, the national and the personal view of religion, regarding, on the one hand, all as within the domain of the Church to whatever extent they will, or, on the other hand, admitting only “those and such-as-those.” The first produces naturally a lower normal; the second concentrates. The former will not exclude save for strong reasons: the latter will not include save for strong reasons. The first would like to be broad and tends to become flat; the second seeks height and attains narrowness. The former is conservative and apt to be lazy; the latter is progressive and apt to become too excitedly self-conscious. The former dreads cant, vulgarity, morbidity, enthusiasm and all hypocrisy; the latter scorns worldliness, indifference, slackness, coldness, and formality.

All along in Scotland since the Reformation there have been these two types—and they will remain. At the first some turned from Rome reluctantly. They thought with Erasmus and George Buchanan. On the other extreme were the keen reformers and the bigoted iconoclasts. Later we find the cultured but diffident Aberdeen Doctors arrayed against the aggressive Covenanters. Then the balance shifted slightly, and we have the mild Resolutioners such as Robert Douglas against fanatical Protesters such as Samuel Rutherford. In the eighteenth century we have the Moderates and the Eyangelicals: in the nineteenth the Auld Kirk and the Dissenters. The parties are never clearly cut, but this rough generalization will suffice to show what lies behind petty ecclesiastical distinctions.

The present Union brings these two types again into one Church. They will remain different; but they always need one another, and should be able to live together as they do in other

communions and as they formerly did in Scotland. We are past the stage of desiring mere Uniformity or attempting Compromise where principles are concerned, and we recognize that the true Union must be Comprehensive.

The success of this latest Union was partly prepared by a series of minor Union movements. In 1820 the Burghers and Anti-Burghers together formed the United Secession Church; and this body united in 1847 with the Relief Church to form the United Presbyterian Church, an orthodox and ardent and enterprising communion, with no dead weight of nominal members, with a specially live conscience in the matter of self-support and with strong affinities to English Non-Conformity. Then came an effort to unite this church with the Free Church which had broken its connection with the state in 1843, carrying out of the Church of Scotland most of its zeal and activity. This attempt proved unsuccessful and after ten years of discussion it was dropped in 1873, not to be revived till the end of the century. In 1869 an overture with a view to Presbyterian Union was presented in the Church of Scotland Assembly and next year a motion was carried expressing "heartily willingness and desire to take all possible steps consistent with the principles on which the Church was founded to promote the reunion of churches having a common origin, adhering to the same Confession of Faith and the same system of government and worship." In 1878 and again in 1886 the Church of Scotland held out to the Free Church an offer of Union, but definitely on the basis of the Establishment and the ancient Endowments. This was practically inviting the Free Church to come back to the fold they had left, and the proposals were not treated seriously. Under Rainy's guidance the Free Church was drawn rather towards the other dissenters with whom they united in 1900.

The fuller Union over which Scotland to-day rejoices has only become practicable as the result of a very great change

in circumstances, a change by no means confined to the religious world. The early Secessionists were keen independent religious individuals far ahead of their times in democratic principle. Their success suggested imitation to the proposers of the Veto Bill of 1832; but even at that date the great majority of church people were as much afraid of popular election of a minister as they were of political Chartism. Opinion altered rapidly, as is clear from the passing of the second Franchise Reform Bill of 1867. The people were claiming much more interest in the management of all public affairs; and it was most natural that the Patronage system in the Church of Scotland lost favour generally, and was found to interfere with the Church's prosperity. Everyone was becoming democratic; and the great body of Scottish Presbyterians were drawn by progress or fashion to follow those who had broken away earlier as pioneers in this direction. The Church of Scotland accordingly persuaded the Government in 1874 to abolish Patronage, thus removing what had been one of the chief causes of the secessions.

The Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church violently opposed this step; and later they opposed other progressive efforts on the part of the Church of Scotland, as if they had a vested interest in its abuses and defects. The attitude was similar to what prevailed amongst European states. It was not understood that the good of one could be the good of all; and the Churches watched one another with suspicion. In a sense the Church of Scotland was trying to circumvent its enemies, the dissenters, and to lure back Free Churchmen to the fold. The dissenters were virtuously indignant, and on grounds of principle set themselves against progress.

A counter-attack was soon begun in the form of a Dis-establishment campaign. Its basis was the high principle of religious equality; but it was simply War, and the *Scotsman*

in January, 1882, went the length of declaring that "envy, malice, hatred and all uncharitableness are the sole motives of the course now adopted." The dissenters felt that the cheaper form of religion in the state church was a constant difficulty to them, and they were determined to end privilege. The Church of Scotland survived this attack, and was indeed the better for the awakening caused by a very serious struggle for existence. The disestablishment movement failed for political reasons in 1886 and again finally in 1895.

The day of hostilities, however, was not yet over. In 1900 the Free Church and the U. P. Church united. To the Church of Scotland this seemed to be alliance with war once more in view. The dissenters were drawing together for a combined assault. Principal Rainy had worked against release from Patronage, had been the soul of the Disestablishment campaign, and now he was the organizer of this Union. He was not unnaturally regarded as the bitter enemy of the Church of Scotland, and everything he did was suspect. Robertson Smith had called him a Jesuit, and many in the Church of Scotland shared this learned Free Churchman's opinion. There was consequently a certain amount of unchristian rejoicing in Church of Scotland circles over the result of the Free Church case in the House of Lords, when a small minority which refused to enter the Union was adjudged to be the true representatives of the Free Church and entitled to its property.

Since that time, however, there has been a very marked change of attitude. Wars have ceased, and modern methods of dealing with other parties have prevailed. The change has been in line with ideas such as that of the League of Nations and with the innumerable international and peace efforts of our time. The Churches have become more civilized. The attempt to have only one Church again in Scotland had failed by war methods: it has now succeeded by the methods of peace.

The Union of the Free Church and the U. P. Church was

a success. It had become possible partly, no doubt, through common hostility to the Church of Scotland, but also because, while the Free Church had left the Establishment believing in Establishment, it had *in practice* been necessarily a Voluntary church, and had found Voluntaryism satisfactory, and further because both churches had always been definitely evangelical.

The Union of 1900 created the very strong and very progressive United Free Church. The experience which resulted encouraged thoughts of wider Church Union. The Church of Scotland was now more clearly than ever not in fact the National Church. Its numbers were greater than the combined Free and U. P. Churches, but its members included a smaller proportion of keen workers and generous wealthy men. It certainly could not claim that it alone stood for religion in Scotland, and it felt the awkwardness of its position of privilege.

The Church of Scotland further had for some time been engaged in church extension, and now included hundreds of new *quoad sacra* churches existing on a voluntary basis without a penny of support from the tithes. Multitudes of its members and many of its ministers had neither knowledge of nor interest in the traditional endowment system.

The connection with the State which was the source of all the trouble had also suffered a gradual alteration, and was no longer anything like what had been known in earlier centuries. The State was a different thing, and the Church was a different thing from what corresponded to these names in other times. The Act of Parliament of 1567 shows clearly the old position: "the Kingis grace with avise of my Lord Regent and thre Estatis of this present Parliament hes declarit and grantit jurisdiction to the said Kirk quhilk consistis and standis in preicheing of the trew word of Jesus Christ correctioun of maneris and administratioun of haly sacramentis and declaris that thair is na uther face of Kirk nor uther face

of Religioun than is presentlie be the favour of God establishheit within this realme and that thair be na uther jurisdiction ecclesiasticale acknowlegeit within this realme."

This patriarchal State, however, had long ceased to exist, as had also the church which corresponded to it and which had been responsible for poor relief, for the schools and universities, for registration and for much we now regard as the work of the police. The State had also changed its attitude since 1843, had granted the abolition of patronage, and in 1905 acquiesced cheerfully in the request of the Church of Scotland for relaxation of the formula to be signed by ministers at ordination, making the Church the interpreter of its creed. The old Erastianism was besides almost meaningless when the state could no longer possibly be thought more Christian than the Church and when at any time there might be a communistic and atheistic government in power. The vitality of the Free Churches in Scotland itself and in England, France, Switzerland, America and the Colonies influenced public opinion within the Church of Scotland. Thus both Establishment itself was changed, and the prevailing views of it in the Church of Scotland were changed.

On the other hand, the United Free Church was not unaffected by its experience in the House of Lords case and had come to realize that one must be related to the State in some way, that the doctrine of spiritual independence is capable of leading to total irresponsibility in the eyes of the law and that they had perhaps allowed words somewhat to carry them away. In addition, the very trend of the times which suggested Union also suggested the value of corporate life, and the need for something they had been inclined to neglect in the way of national recognition of religion.

Circumstances were therefore drawing the two churches nearer. The small secessions (partly racial) of the Free Presbyterian and the "Wee" Free Churches in 1892 and 1900

undoubtedly left the situation easier. Similar difficult elements were now more generally to be found outside the greater churches, moving in one direction to Romanism and Episcopacy and in the other to the Brethren and to recent eccentricities.

The times lent themselves to a decrease of provincialism. One notices this in the broadening theological outlook of both churches. The dissenters had further to travel in this particular, but all alike faced the difficult situation caused by the advance of science and the appearance of biblical criticism. The ministers of both Churches had gone through the universities together and been influenced by the same philosophies—one need only mention the Caird school at Glasgow. The students of both went abroad and worshipped the same German professors. They used the same theological textbooks. They studied scientific history—a new and illuminating experience. None of them had either “come out” or “stayed in” at the Disruption. There came to be less of the trees and more of the wood, less concentration upon denominationalism, less system and more thinking, less Calvinism and more Calvin. All shades of opinion might be found in each Church, but none wholly in either; and there was developing a wonderfully similar attitude to the modern world. Knowledge of one another and influence upon one another had greatly increased. The day was long past when a parish minister and a Free Church minister might not so much as greet one another on the road, not to say exchange pulpits.

The Churches had been obliged—even by the urgencies of competition—to work on similar lines of organization. The time was when a U. P. church might be Egyptian or Greek in architecture, but on no account Gothic! That phase passed. Church music, Sunday schools, home and foreign mission work and much else offered common ground. Both were alike in Church Government, though the U. F. Church was more

progressive here, encouraging the laymen and giving a better place to women. In ritual the differences were also negligible. The Church of Scotland aimed at a more orderly and dignified service, the U. F. Church at something warmer and more familiar. The Church of Scotland service might be chilly, the U. F. service, random. Outsiders, however, and, to a great extent, members also had ceased to recognize any difference between the churches. It is difficult to judge how much of this was due to increase of toleration and how much to increase of indifference. Something of both has no doubt been involved, but, in fact, people passed easily from one to the other by marriage or merely because a building was nearer or a preacher more attractive.

Then came the Great War. It stopped official Union negotiations for a time; but it brought the churches together—brought them together in the trenches, and in the hospitals and before the local Memorials, brought them together from a sense of their common failure to prevent all that tragedy and also later from a sense of their common failure to seize the religious opportunities of those days.

And then there was the post-War situation—industrial problems, the challenge of Communism, the supremacy of economic standards, the new youth, the new craze for entertainment, the new Sunday. Romanism was gaining ground. The chief scientists and the popular literary authorities were found to be outside the church. The masses were restlessly suspicious of what was called Christianity. The Church was not clearly enough what it professed to be. The vocation of the ministry was not appealing as once it did. The Church began to believe it was losing ground, and outsiders did not encourage it to think otherwise. Against all the forces which opposed the Kingdom the Churches felt they simply must unite. The Church of God in Scotland must do things better. The Union is no paction inspired by panic; but many who had

no enthusiasm whatever for joining with their brethren in the other church have been reconciled to it from this point of view, and there has been a deepened consciousness of sheer duty. Clearly the present situation of religion does not permit of unnecessary divisions. The separation amongst Presbyterians in Scotland had become utterly unjustifiable and this was generally recognized both within and without the Churches. Public opinion and the press have strongly backed what the time so urgently demanded.

The missionary situation also clamoured for a union of the home churches. Nothing more patently hindered the progress of world Christianity than the disunity which marked the Church, a characteristic which like all our other characteristics is in these days only too well known to the heathen everywhere.

Perhaps, above all, the cause of Union has been promoted by a deepened understanding of Christianity in our day, a firmer grip of its principles. It is a great thing to dare to say; yet may it not be said with some confidence—the Christians of to-day as a whole are better Christians than those of other days. The Union movement is one result of a nearer approach to the mind of Christ.

Since the early years of the century it has thus become increasingly difficult to find any good reason why the two great Presbyterian Churches in Scotland should not unite. The actual negotiations, however, proved lengthy and not altogether without their difficulties.

It was in 1907 that the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, led by Dr. Archibald Scott, appointed a Committee to investigate the possibility of Union. Next year in accordance with the recommendation of this Committee the Assembly invited both the Free Church and the United Free Church to confer. The Free Church did not accept; but the United Free Church declared itself willing to enter into

“unrestricted conference upon the whole ecclesiastical situation,” and on this basis the negotiations began. At first neither Church was very ready to express itself, and progress was slow. Fortunately attention was early drawn to one or two matters upon which there was agreement and the committees became more intimate and trusting as they discussed these.

It was found that both Churches felt the home mission problem more than they could face in separation. The population in the centre of Scotland had increased tremendously and the rest of the country had become proportionately depopulated. The villages were disgracefully crowded with overlapping religious agencies, while in industrial areas the Church was utterly failing to cope with the changed circumstances and to keep its message before the people. This challenge meant much to the Church Union movement.

It was further found that there would be no theological barriers to Union. In 1911 the Committees were able to submit a joint report which brought out the existing harmony in matters of doctrine. They declared the supreme standard to be the Word of God, which is contained in the Scriptures, the Church having the right to frame subordinate standards and to interpret and modify them. The conferring Churches were stated to maintain a common fidelity to their common standards.

The Committees were now able less timorously to approach the really crucial problems of Spiritual Independence and the National Recognition of Religion. The Church of Scotland connection with the State had to be reconciled with the U. F. Church tradition of liberty from state interference, a principle carefully re-emphasized in their Act on Spiritual Independence in 1906. In 1911 the U. F. Church declared that the Church of Scotland did not possess the necessary freedom in matters spiritual. The Church of Scotland, while not feeling

hampered by all that remains of Establishment, was prepared to approve a declaration of spiritual freedom in the constitution of a united church, on condition that this church should be recognized by the State as National, with the name Church of Scotland to preserve identity with the Church of the Reformation and pre-Reformation periods, providing ordinances for the people of Scotland on a territorial basis, and preserving the ancient endowments.

The U. F. Church asked a fuller explication of these suggestions; and the Church of Scotland prepared a valuable "Memorandum" stating its position clearly, accepting disavowal of any exclusive claim to State recognition and expressing willingness to make readjustments with regard to endowment. This "Memorandum" became the basis for more definite discussion; and the Church of Scotland was encouraged to prepare draft Articles, which would declare its constitution with special reference to these critical questions. There was some delay on account of the War, but at last the Articles were sent down to the Church of Scotland Presbyteries under the Barrier Act, and in December 1919 it was found that they were approved by 74 Presbyters and rejected by only 9. As a result, it was agreed to approach Parliament to make it legal for the Church of Scotland to adopt these approved Articles as its constitution. The U. F. Church took no part in these proceedings, but looked on sympathetically. The Bill passed through Parliament with no unusual opposition and became an Act in July 1921. It did not confer anything upon the Church of Scotland, but recognized the lawfulness of certain claims. The leaders of the U. F. Church wholeheartedly recognized that by this means the Church of Scotland had obtained recognition of freedom equal to that of any so-called free church. Principal Martin in the U. F. Assembly in 1927 declared that the principle of church freedom was set forth fully in Articles 4, 5 and 7 of the Church of Scotland, indeed

set forth "more adequately than in any document" of the free or other churches. A responsible layman in the same Assembly in 1921 gave his opinion that Erskine, Gillespie and Chalmers, the leaders of the three great dissenting movements, "would have joyfully and eagerly accepted the new fore-shadowed position and offer of the Church of Scotland." At the same time the leaders of the Church of Scotland were convinced that they had abandoned nothing in the way of relationship to the State which was ever likely in modern conditions to be a reality or to be helpful to the Church, and they were able to maintain with the approval of the sister Church a strong profession of belief in the national recognition of religion. Lord Hugh Cecil has stated his conviction that the Act of 1921 "harmonizes with a definiteness and completeness for which I think no parallel in Christian history is to be found the national recognition of religion with the spiritual freedom of the Church."

The other main obstacle to Union was connected with finance. A large number of the parish ministers received their stipends from the "teinds" or tithes, and the Church of Scotland had other endowments which were an offence to the Voluntaries. The whole question of "teind" is notoriously intricate; but it was clear that some alteration had to be made if the Church of Scotland was to have that control of its funds which the U. F. Church laid down as a condition of Union. It was recognized that "all the endowments of the Church of Scotland must be vested in it under a tenure which is consistent with the freedom set forth in the Articles, and which recognizes no right of the state to exercise any special control over the Church in virtue of its enjoyment of these endowments."

In connection with this matter a Government Committee under Lord Haldane was appointed in 1922 to ascertain what legislative changes would be necessary. This Committee reported next year and it was roughly on the basis of their

recommendations that the Church of Scotland Property and Endowments Bill of 1924 was framed, though material modifications were introduced which the Church of Scotland felt involved them in more sacrifice than was absolutely necessary. There were three parties involved — the Government, the Church, and the heritors or landowners who controlled the "teinds"; compromise, therefore, became necessary on many points. The Bill became an Act in May 1925, and aimed at abolishing the system of "teinds," substituting one under which the landowners will redeem the burden and the ministers receive fixed stipends from a purely ecclesiastical body holding investments representing the redemption price of the "teinds." The Act further constituted the church buildings and manses the absolute property of the Church, relieving the heritors of the burden of upkeep.

The United Free Church was satisfied that the Church of Scotland was no longer state-controlled in finance, its funds and property being in the fullest sense its own. The Church of Scotland had accepted the arrangement at a considerable financial sacrifice, but felt that on the whole it would gain by being rid of the strained tenant and landlord relationships of the past. The Church of Scotland adopted its new constitution in 1926 and it was agreed by the Assemblies that the obstacles to Union had been removed, and that definite negotiations with a view to Union might now proceed.

Committees were accordingly appointed in that year to confer on the Basis of Union, the Constitution and Powers of Courts, the Training of the Ministry, Property and Finance, etc. A marvellous spirit of forbearance prevailed, and the religious need of the people of Scotland was kept well to the front in all the negotiations. There were misunderstandings, for the "atmosphere" of the two churches was different, and the same words sometimes conveyed different meanings to each. The chief difficulties were indeed caused by "words,"

which have a habit of surviving their own significance. One of the worst of these proved to be the word "Establishment"; and it was difficult to get beyond the point of discussing whether or not the new united Church would be an Established Church. The tenacity of memory, as Lord Sands pointed out, was also a difficulty; and, all through, small and trifling matters occupied time out of proportion to their importance. The most serious trouble, however, arose from the fact that in the United Free Church there was a definite party opposed to the Union. They tried to insist—and still insist, for unfortunately a few of them now refuse to enter the Union—that the Church of Scotland must cut its connection with the State and abandon its endowments, throw over its traditions and become even as they were, a suggestion which was at no stage practical politics.

The difficulties were overcome. A draft basis and plan of Union came before the Assemblies of 1927, and was thereafter submitted repeatedly for suggestion to the subordinate courts and to the Church generally. The Assemblies in November 1928 finally sent down the necessary overtures under the Barrier Act; and in May 1929 it was found that the Union proposals were definitely accepted by both Churches as represented by their Presbyteries. The Assemblies accordingly with great enthusiasm decided upon Union, and arranged for its consummation in October 1929.

The result, then, of these twenty years of negotiation is a Church of Scotland truly national, with spiritual independence guaranteed by the state, without privilege but with every reasonable claim admitted, with the old resources of the one branch and the modern liberality of the other, with the complementary types of the religious nature brought together to teach one another and to learn from one another, not united merely for the sake of union, nor combined by the abandonment of any one principle that had life and power, but linking the two traditions in the strongest of comprehensive harmonies.

Scotland owes a real debt to those who have guided this movement. Many have played honourable parts, but one can only mention Dr. Archibald Scott, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Dr. Archibald Henderson and Dr. Wallace Williamson who led in the earlier stages, and Principal Martin, Dr. John White, Lord Sands and Dr. R. J. Drummond who have brought the matter to a successful issue.

It is important that all should realize that this Union is not an end but a beginning. There is still much to settle. Many difficulties will yet make themselves felt. Everybody concerned will have a great deal to put up with. But the thing has been worth doing, and has been well managed, and has had the right spirit within it, so that it cannot but be for the good of Scotland, and cries aloud to the whole world of the glory of God.

RUSSIAN AGRICULTURE AND ITS PLACE IN THE WORLD MARKET

BY S. O. ZAGORSKY

I. BEFORE THE WAR

UNDER the Empire Russian agriculture was of outstanding importance. The rural population formed over four-fifths of the total, and agriculture, including forestry, contributed more than half the national revenue; and yet Imperial Russia was extraordinarily backward in all branches of agriculture. Agrarian relations still retained their semi-feudal character; 110 million hectares belonged to 824,000 landed proprietors, of whom 1.9% owned well over half this area; 12,300,000 peasant families occupied only 148 million hectares; half of these peasants occupied holding of less than 8 hectares, 32% occupied holding averaging 11 hectares, while the holdings of the remaining 18% averaged 33 hectares.

Privately owned land was organized on a capitalistic basis, and was either worked by hired labour, or leased. In the latter case the rent was very high, and the total sum paid by the peasant tenants may be approximately reckoned at from three to four hundred million roubles a year. The land that was rented was worked with primitive machinery belonging to the peasants; in the majority of instances (51%) the rent was paid in kind, while in 20% the rent was "mixed", being paid both in kind and money, and in the remaining 29% the large land-owners worked their own estates. Occupying but small holdings, possessing only primitive implements, lacking cattle and forced to pay a high rental for the land they rented, the peasants in most cases were most primitive and backward in their methods.

The crisis in agriculture which came in the second half of the nineteenth century forced the great Russian landowners, like those in many other countries, to get rid of their estates, with the result that the land belonging to the nobility was reduced from 76,600,000 hectares in 1876 to 58,900,000 in 1900, and to 47,200,000 in 1911. A large part of the land thus sold by the nobles came into the hands of the peasants. After the revolution of 1905, and especially after the agrarian reforms of Stolypine in 1906, the peasants greatly increased their purchases; during the years 1908-1911 inclusive, for example, the peasants acquired, through the State Agricultural Peasants Bank alone, over nine million hectares. As the last agrarian reforms were introduced too late for them to have any serious effect on the situation of the peasants before the War, Russian agriculture was still at an extremely low ebb when the Revolution broke out in 1917.

Owing to the great extent of the estates belonging to the nobility, the sparseness of population, the meagre wages paid to labour, the lack of capital and the great fertility of the soil, the system almost universally adopted was that of extensive cultivation. It is true that the growth of crops to provide material for manufactures was steadily increasing before the War, but cereals still remained all-important. Industrial development, together with a period of easy money, had a favourable effect upon agriculture from the end of the nineteenth century, and the acreage sown rose from 96,400,000 hectares in 1901 to 106,600,000 million in 1913, an increase of 10.5%. The area devoted to the production of cereals rose from 89,300,000 to 98,900,000 hectares, an increase of 10%, and of industrial crops from 7,100,000 to 7,700,000 hectares, an increase of 8%. The steady increase in the acreage of cereals took place in the "black soil" regions, while the newly developed parts of the Empire were chiefly engaged in the cultivation of industrial crops. During the fifteen years

immediately preceding the War there was, generally speaking, a shifting in the cultivation of cereals towards the South-east.

The growth of agriculture was accompanied by an increase in the use of machinery and of artificial fertilizers; the value of agricultural machinery in use rose from 27,900,000 roubles in 1900 to 109,200,000 roubles in 1913; and in the latter year machinery to the value of 48,000,000 roubles was imported. There was a similar increase as regards phosphates; their production rose from 23,300,000 tons in 1908 to 37,100,000 tons in 1912, while the importation of phosphates in 1912 was 573,800 quintaux as against 98,400 quintaux in 1900. Thanks to the increase in acreage as well as to improvements in methods of culture, there was a distinct increase in the production of cereals—a yearly average of 40,300,000 tons during the period 1886-90 to one of 74,700,000 for the years 1911-13. But the yield per hectare still remained very low—6.9 quintaux as against 9.9 in the United States, 13.3 in Canada, 13.1 in France, 22.7 in Germany, and 8.1 in Australia; and the average yield per head of the population was only 6.2 quintaux. Of the production of cereals one-third was of wheat, one-third of rye, while barley and oats each accounted for approximately 17%.

Clearly then agriculture formed the basis of the economic fabric and it is further obvious that it was agricultural produce, cereals and raw material which enabled the country to develop its international exchange, its manufactures and its railways. The following table shows the foreign trade of Russia before the war, the figures give the yearly average from 1909 to 1913:

	Exp.millions of roubles	%	Imp.millions of roubles	%	Balance in mill. of roub's
1. Food-stuffs	908.1	60.5	205.8	18.1	+702.3
2. Animal products	27.3	1.8	11.9	1.0	+ 15.4
3. Raw materials and unfin- ished products	498.5	33.2	554.7	48.7	— 56.2
4. Manufactured articles . . .	67.5	4.5	367.3	32.2	—299.8
Total	1,500.4	100.	1,139.7	100.	+360.7

This table makes it clear that it was only on account of the export of food-stuffs and animals that Russia possessed a credit balance of 717,000,000 roubles, and was able to cover her imports and pay her foreign obligations. When we remember that agricultural produce constituted one-third of the raw material exported, we may reckon that before the war agriculture contributed three-quarters of the country's exports. The resulting credit balance in favour of Russia, which helped to increase her gold reserve, was due then to her agricultural exports; thus the condition of agriculture determined the yearly revenue of the mass of the population, the importation of the necessary manufactured articles and of raw material.

Imperial Russia was one of the chief exporters of cereals in the world market at a time when its own population was underfed; the phrase of a Russian Minister, Vyshnegradsky, is well known, "We shall always export, even if we cannot satisfy our hunger." These exports were as follows:

Wheat.....	46 million quintaux,	18.1% of the production.
Rye.....	8 million quintaux,	3.6% of the production.
Barley.....	36 million quintaux,	31.0% of the production.
Oats.....	12 million quintaux,	7.2% of the production.

But the importance of the Empire in the world's production and export of cereals has always been more significant than the relation of its exports to its production, as is shown by the following table:

Production and export in 1909-13 in relation to world production and export

	Production	Export
Wheat	23.6	30.7
Rye	42.2	63.7
Barley	28.7	70.6
Oats	24.2	48.9

There has been, however, considerable change in the proportion of exports during the thirty years preceding the World War. The economic development of Russia, accompanied by an increase in the population, particularly of that section which is occupied in manufactures, commerce and transportation,

has no doubt tended to increase the consumption of cereals within the country, and the importance of the home market has grown steadily. In the years 1876-80, of the cereals carried by the railways the proportion for export was 57.2% and for the home market 42.8%, while in 1911-13 the relative percentages were 49 and 51. The percentage of the principal cereals exported as against the total crop during the 27 years before the war was:

	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats
1886-1890	46.3	8.5	33.6	10.6
1896-1900	28.7	6.8	26.9	8.1
1906-1910	25.6	3.9	37.4	8.0
1911-1913	21.8	3.5	38.5	8.0

Until the war Russia kept her leading position in the world market as an exporter of grain; but her agriculture was passing through an evolution which raised a number of serious problems, of which the chief were the intensification of cultivation and a general raising of the standard of agricultural operations. It had become evident that new conditions in the world market as well as in the home market forbade basing export solely on a system of extensive cultivation of cereals. New methods had to be evolved and fresh branches of agriculture developed.

II. TO-DAY

The World War interrupted this development. The mobilization of fifteen million men, of whom half were of an age to work, and who were drawn chiefly from the rural population; the fall in the importation of agricultural machinery and of mineral fertilizers; the constant requisition of animals, especially of horses; the government policy of keeping the price of agricultural produce at a relatively low level; the inflation of the currency and the lack of merchandise; all these conditions brought about a decline in agricultural production. In 1916 the acreage sown was eleven million hectares less than in the period before the war, a decrease of about 11%, while

the yield fell by twenty million tons, some 26% decrease. Yet although grain ceased to be exported, the difficulties of re-victualling became very acute from the end of 1916.

After the Bolshevist revolution, during the communist period, agriculture fell very low. The acreage sown came to only 61% of that of the pre-war period (48% of wheat, 66% of rye, 57% of barley and 57% of oats), and the crop to only 41%. In 1922 there was a further collapse, followed by famine; the acreage sown fell by 20% below that of the previous year, and the crop of these bread cereals was 37½ million tons, as against 58 million tons in 1916.

It is obvious that under these conditions there could be no question of exporting cereals nor of agricultural produce in general. Immediately after the introduction of the "New Economic Policy" (N.E.P.) food-stuffs had to be imported, in order to save the population of the Soviet Union from famine; even then it was only through charity that any imports were made. The improvement of agriculture began only after 1923-4¹, and the Soviet government under the stress of circumstances at once hastened to start the exportation of grain, the figures for which, from that year, are shown in the table subjoined.

Export of Grain from Russia				
	1903-13	1924-5	1925-6	1926-7
Wheat, quintaux in millions	46	0.65	7.3	13.4
Index number	100	0.14	15.8	29.1
Rye, quintaux in millions	8	1.14	1.8	4.1
Index number	100	14.2	22.5	51.2
Barley, quintaux in millions	36	0.65	8.	4.3
Index number	100	0.18	22.2	116.
Oats, quintaux in millions	12	...	0.2	0.5
Index number	100	...	1.6	4.1
Total, quintaux in millions	102	2.4	17.3	22.3
Index number	100	2.3	16.9	20.8

In 1927-1928, because the crop of grain was much smaller, instead of exportation there was an importation of 250,000 tons of cereals. The figures for export have fallen, not only

¹The economic year runs from October 1 to September 30.

as compared with those for the pre-war period, but also as compared with the volume of world exports and with the yield of cereals in Russia itself, as the following table shows:

	Percentage of home production		Percentage of world exportation	
	1909-1913	1926-1927	1909-1913	1926-1927
Wheat	18.1	6.5	30.7	6.4
Rye	3.6	1.8	63.5	17.4
Barley	31.0	8.5	70.6	22.2
Oats	7.2	0.4	48.9	1.0

The plan established by the "State Planning Commission" for the quinquennial period 1926-7 to 1931-2 estimates that if the amount of cereals exported during this period were to double, it would only amount in 1931-2 to 68% of their pre-war value.³

What then are the causes for this extraordinary fall in the amount of cereals exported from Russia? I propose to deal with them in turn.

1. We should note first of all a decline in agricultural production in general, and particularly in cereals. Within the present limits of Russia the acreage sown has fallen from 116.7 million hectares in 1913 (102.7 million of cereals and 5.5 for industrial plants) to 115 million in 1928 (94.7 of cereals).⁴ The acreage of cereals for 1928 has therefore fallen by eight million hectares, i.e., by 7.8%, while that of industrial plants has risen by 8½ million, 54%; and the total production of cereals fell from 81 3/5 million tons in 1923 to 74½ million in 1928, a decrease of 8.7%.⁵

2. The population of the present Russia has risen from 139 7/10 million in 1913 to 153 4/5 in 1929, an increase of 14 1/10 millions or 10%; the rural population from 113 7/10

³This plan appeared in 1926-7 before the unfavourable results of 1927-8 were known. "Economic plans for the period 1926-1931." Published by the *Gosplan*, 1927.

⁴These figures differ from those on page 686, which are those given by the "Central Committee for Statistics" of Imperial Russia. The present figures have been arrived at by different methods by the "Central Administration for Statistics" of the U.R.S.S.

⁵Published by the *Gosplan*, 1929.

to 125 $\frac{2}{5}$ millions, an increase of 10.4%. The production of cereals per head has therefore fallen from 5.8 quintaux before the war to 4.8 quintaux in 1928. Even without an increase of consumption within the country, the amount of grain available for marketing was bound to be less.

3. The agrarian revolution resulted in an excessive subdivision of the land into a large number of very small peasant holdings. The division of land before and after the revolution is shown as follows: ⁶

	Before the revolution		After the revolution	
	Hectares in Millions	%	Hectares in Millions	%
State lands	169	39	167	39
Large Estates	74	17	...	...
Peasant holdings	189	44	265	61
Total	432	100	432	100

As the number of peasant families has risen from 16 million before the war to 26 million at the present time, the size of an average peasant holding has fallen from 11.1 hectare to 10.1, while if one only takes into account the amount of arable land, "land hunger" is ever present. At the same time the amount of land capable of cultivation has risen from 0.98 hectare per head and 4.41 per worker before the war to 1.19 per head and 5.36 per worker to-day.

As a result of this subdivision of the land a considerable number of small and even tiny holdings have come into existence, and in these cases the working of the land is often most difficult. The percentage of holdings of less than 2 hectares, or without any draught animals, rose to the following figures in 1926: ⁷

Region	Of less than 2 hectares	Without draught animals
Russia { Consuming	59.7	25.5
{ Producing	29.6	35.7
The Crimea	42.7	...
Siberia	31.7	10.7
Ukrainia	28.1	45.1

⁶Sokolov, *The agrarian policy of Soviet Russia*. State edition, 1927. See also S. Zagorsky, *L'évolution actuelle du bolchevisme russe* (with Preface by Emile Vandervelde). Paris, 1921.

⁷S. Zagorsky, *Où va la Russie?* Part ii Chapter 1. Paris.

We should further note that in the poorer holdings there is a marked disproportion between the means of production and the number of the population, particularly of the workers. "For eight million peasant holdings, that is one-third of the whole, it is not worth while, economically speaking, to own a horse or even a machine; in the case of certain holdings, it would be impossible to find the price of a good plough, and in the case of all the small holdings they would be unable to purchase one. As for modern machinery, reaping, seeding and thrashing machines, the small holdings could not profitably make use of them. That is why we still have five million wooden ploughs." *

4. The subdivision of the land, the increase in the number of small peasant holdings and the increase of population on the one hand, and the abolition of the large estates on the other, have helped to lessen the amount of agricultural produce that comes on the market. Before the war the peasants produced infinitely less for the market than the great landed proprietors, as the following table, showing the percentage of production that came on the market, clearly proves:

Cereals	Large Estates	Peasant holdings
Wheat	81 %	51 %
Rye	42 %	21.5%
Barley	45.8%	28.8%
Oats	65.8%	28.8%

Before the Revolution the amount sent to market by the great landed proprietors was 21%, by the richer peasants 50%, and by the poorer peasants 28%. To-day the production for marketing by the richer peasants is 20% of their total production, that by the poorer peasants 11.2%, and that from the large State holdings (which have taken the place of the great estates) and from the "collective holdings" 44%. But these two last types only contribute 6%, while the rich peasants

*Report of M. Molotov to the 15th Congress of the Communist Party, *Pravda* ("The Truth"), December 22, 1927.

contribute 20% and the poorer peasants 74% of the total amount of grain that comes on the market.⁹ The quantity of grain produced for the market fell from 21 1/10 million tons, or 26% of the world production before the war, to 10 3/10 million or 13.3% in 1926-7, while the quantity of agricultural produce from peasant holdings which came into the market, amounting before the war to 17 million tons or 29% of the world's production, has fallen to-day to 9 7/10 million or only 12%.¹⁰

5. The export of agricultural produce is hindered by the excessive costs of handling under the State monopoly of foreign trade. If we take into account the general rise in prices, we find that the cost of exportation during the last few years has risen, as compared with the period 1909-13, in the following proportion:

Years	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats
1909-13	100	100	100	100
1923-4	147	150	152	136
1924-5	125	120	138	...
1925-6	111	112	111	104
1926-7	155	148	140	99

Although the difference between the price of cereals on the Russian market and that prevailing in various European countries is to-day the same as if not higher than before the war, yet export has been practically stopped by this increase in the actual cost of exportation.¹¹ If the peasant now produces less for the market, it is not merely because his methods are antiquated, but also and above all because the Government policy has robbed him of all interest in such production. Such a policy is most clearly seen in what is very often spoken of in

⁹Report of M. Kolinine to the 16th Congress of the Communist Party in April, 1929. *Pravda*, for April 30, 1929.

¹⁰Report of M. Staline, *Izvestia*, June 2, 1928.

¹¹According to the figures of the *Institut des Conjonctures* at Moscow the difference (ratio of wholesale prices of cereals) was as follows (taking price in Russia as 100): England in 1913, 150, in 1928, 161; Germany in 1913, 155, in 1928, 158; France in 1913, 174, in 1928, 160.

Russia as the "scissors" of prices. These "scissors" are of three kinds.

At the present time the State practically alone purchases the produce of the peasants, which it does by means of its various organizations and of co-operative agencies; it is the sole means of distributing this produce among its stores and the co-operative stores by which the sale is effected. It is also the State alone which handles exports abroad. In view of the very high cost of exportation, it is in the interest of the State to keep the buying price of agricultural produce as low as possible. Contrariwise in order to bolster up State industries, whose overhead cost is very high, it is forced to keep up the sale price of all industrial products.

There is consequently a very marked disproportion between the price at which the peasants are forced to sell their produce, only 30% higher than before the revolution, and that at which they have to buy manufactured articles and which is two and a half times as great. The following table gives the index numbers of the price of the produce bought from the peasants in terms of the index numbers of manufactured articles sold to the peasants:¹²

	North Caucasus			Ukrainia			Siberia		
	1926, 1927, 1928			1926, 1927, 1928			1926, 1927, 1928		
Rye .. . . . . .	..	..	..	48	65	119	66	90	121
Barley	50	85	109	46	80	119	62	80	92
Wheat	53	63	85	50	62	107	64	80	84
Oats	48	74	76	56	82	91	67	96	96

It is true that conditions improved considerably during 1928, but that was a year in which no exportation was possible; in spite of this improvement, it remains none the less true that exchange between town and country districts continues to be at the expense of the peasants. If before the war a quintal of wheat would purchase 34½ yards of cotton, or 42 lbs. of

¹²On October 1 for each year. See *The Indices* calculated by *Institut des Conjonctures* at Moscow, *Bulletin* 10, 1928.

sugar, or 464 lbs. of salt, in 1927-8 is was worth only 17 7/10 yards of cotton, 20 lbs. of sugar or 260 lbs. of salt.

6. A further disproportion exists between the price of agricultural produce in the producing regions and that of the same produce in the consuming regions; a great part of this difference is due to the fact that it is the State which trades in grain.¹³

	Wheat		Rye	
	1911	1927-8	1911	1927-8
Buying price of wheat as fixed by the State (in kopecks)	95	105	45	75
Selling price of flour (in kopecks)	182	248	114.6	151
Difference (in kopecks)	87	143	69.6	76
Difference, percentage	92	136	75	100

According to the report of the "Workmen and Peasant Inspection" the movement of agricultural produce from producer to consumer is attended by costs that are higher not only than those found in other countries, but also than those which normally held before the revolution; 75% of the increase in selling as compared with buying price is due to the increase in the cost of movement. It therefore follows that the agriculturist receives only a very inadequate part of the price that his produce fetches when marketed by the State or by the co-operative societies. Before the war his share of the selling prices holding in the consuming regions was 68% for rye, 71% for barley and 67% for oats. In 1927 this share was 54% for rye, 48% for barley and 54% for oats.

7. There is, again, a third disproportion which consists in the notable difference between the prices of agricultural produce as fixed by the State and those obtaining in a free market. Thus the prices in a free market were higher than those fixed by the State in the following proportions (which differ according to the locality): For wheat, in March 1928, from 17 to 23%; in February 1929, from 45 to 224%; and in March 1929 from 50 to 329%. For rye, in March 1928, from

¹³Report of the "Workmen and Peasant Inspection" to the 8th Congress of Professional Syndicats. *Pravda*, December 21, 1928.

14 to 26%; in February 1929, from 74 to 213%, and in March 1929, from 184 to 269%.¹⁴

The variations in the production of cereals and especially in the acreage sown are intimately connected with the Government policy as regards prices and the taxation of the peasants. Its policy as regards prices for agricultural produce is influenced by various considerations. When it wishes to stimulate the production of raw material for industry, it raises the price of such material. On the other hand, when there is a shortage of cereals and the acreage devoted to cereals suffers at the expense of industrial plants, it raises the buying price of cereals. The result is that there is a perpetual variation in prices and consequently instability in the market for agricultural produce.

When we come to consider agricultural taxation, we find that the total amount of the taxes, the methods of collection, the assessment on the basis of the net revenue of the land, have all been changed every year up to the present. The peasants endeavour to adapt their production to the conditions of agricultural taxation, with the result that sometimes it is cereals, sometimes animal products and at others industrial plants which are short on the market.

8. The general policy of the Communist Party, which holds the power in the Soviet State, is directed against the well-to-do peasants (*koulaks* is what the Russians call them) who are regarded as the representatives of the capitalist class in the rural districts, and against whom a constant struggle is to be carried on. These *koulaks* are taxed on a higher scale than the rest of the peasants; they meet with difficulties in transporting their produce and in obtaining agricultural machinery or credits; they are prevented from joining in co-operative movements. Thus the Communist Party is en-

¹⁴Report of the Gosplan for March, 1929. *Ekonomicheskaja Jizn* ("Economic Life"), May 1, 1929.

deavouring to hinder the development of the farming of these well-to-do peasants who produce far more for the market than those who have smaller holdings. The economists of the Communist Party recognize that there is no possibility under present conditions of any development for the very small holdings, and that therefore this group of peasants cannot be expected to make any considerable increase in the amount of cereals available for the market or for export.

The official theory of the Government emphasizes the necessity of creating large agricultural undertakings of two different types. Firstly, the organization of the small holdings of the peasants along co-operative lines into "collective holdings," in which are included all the lands of the members, and which shall have sufficient machinery and capital to enable them to produce on a fairly large scale. Secondly, the State undertakings which comprise a very large extent of arable land and are to some extent "manufactories of cereals," especially for the purpose of export.

It must be acknowledged that up to the present this policy has not given very satisfactory results. In the "collective holdings" the acreage sown in grain amounted only to 860,000 hectares in 1927-8 or 0.9% of the total, while the produce of grain was 1% and the amount for marketing 3.7%.

The large State farms sowed only 800,000 hectares in grain, approximately 0.9% of the total acreage sown, and their production came to 1.1%, while their proportion of the grain for marketing was 3.7%. According to the quinquennial plan given by the *Gosplan*¹⁵ it is likely that in 1932-1933 the large State farms together with the "collective holdings" will account for 12.4% of the total acreage sown, 14.5% of the total production of cereals, and 39% of the amount available for marketing. Broadly speaking, the amount of grain available for this latter purpose will be only 17 million tons, some 80%

¹⁵*Economicheskoe Obozrenie* ("Economic Review"), March, 1929, p. 41.

of the pre-war figures, and, if we accept the same proportion between home consumption and export as held before the war, Soviet Russia will export in 1931-32 only 8.5 million tons of grain. This, however, is a purely theoretical calculation; to be realized, a whole series of favourable changes would first have to be inaugurated. The State farms and the "collective holdings" would have to develop far beyond their present condition; the cost of exportation would have to diminish; the Government policy with respect to price and taxation would have to favour agriculture more than it does to-day; those peasants who retain their individual holdings will have to alter their attitude towards the Soviet Government and the Communist Party, and abandon their position of refusing to trade with the State. There would have to be, in fact, a whole series of new measures, political, judicial, administrative and economic, and the prospect of all these is by no means certain in Soviet Russia.

TWO POEMS

BY GEORGE HERBERT CLARKE

OLD

Says the son of man: "I am old!"
Yet he knows there are older things:
The lurking wolf on the wold;
The windy, spumy wings
Of the sea-gull; and the sea-creatures, careful and cold.
Likewise, though these be old,
There are ever older things:
Mountains in snow-clouds stoled;
The golden downgoings
Of the spent sun, in his harness of changing gold.
O what is it then to be old?—
Still older and older things
Pulse through the Vast untold
In æonian journeyings:
Majestic orbs and orbits, mysterious, manifold.

THE RELIGHTING

Beacons were burning on the Cornish coast;
One caught and blazed, another caught and blazed,
Until a file of fiery fingers raised
Weird whispers, warnings, post unto lonely post. . . .
'Twas but an afterglow, a revived ghost
Of the old custom worthy to be praised;
Some looked, and lingered not; some longer gazed;
And some were strangely silent, awed almost.
Faint gleams in the gloom, wherefore did we forget
The year of our Lord, the year of our king, the years
Of our brief lives, and feel the eternal fret
Of the sea, and wonder with what faith and fears
Beside each flaming barrow dark forms had met,
Begging their gods to hear what the soul hears?

MONTROSE

BY A. ERMATINGER FRASER

PERHAPS biography has now passed the full tide of what our American friends designate as the 'debunking' process, and the current is setting again in favour of that deep, irresistible love of the human heart for the heroic. A short time ago there was issued a detailed and most sympathetic study of Bayard, that high Chevalier, "sans peur et sans reproche," of mediaeval France; and now in a book¹ upon the great Scottish Marquis, John Buchan has portrayed the noble personality which has from boyhood haunted his own mind. His hero is a man of the "statesman, scholar, soldier" type, with something of the lofty air of Plutarch's "eminent men," and not a little of that quality which made Shakespeare's Brutus say,—

"If it be aught toward the general good,
Set honour in one eye, and death i' the other,
And I will look on both indifferently."

Dull indeed would that one be of spirit who was not touched to interest by the story of James Graham, First Marquis of Montrose. We have first the scholarly boy, well grounded in his classics at the College of Glasgow, then wearing the scarlet gown of St. Andrew's University in Aberdeen. Next comes the tender and faithful romance of his love for Magdalen Carnegie, to whom he was married at seventeen. Buchan comments thus upon the portrait which the boy husband presented to his young wife:

"It is the charming head of a lad, with its wide curious grey eyes, the arched, almost fantastic, eyebrows, the delicate, mobile lips. Life was to crush out the daintiness and gaiety,

¹*Montrose*, by John Buchan. London: Nelson & Sons. 1928.

armour was to take the place of lace collar and silken doublet; but one thing the face of Montrose never lost—it had always an air of hope as of one seeking for a far country.”

James Graham, at the age of fourteen, had succeeded his father in the Earldom of Montrose, and, as the young nobleman attained his majority, many eyes were upon him. Scotland was throbbing with the beginning of a fierce struggle for religious independence. Charles I, instigated by Bishop Laud, was endeavouring to force the stiff-necked Presbyterians into the yoke of episcopacy; Jenny Geddes had set all Edinburg in a flame by flinging her stool at the head of the first who tried to read the English liturgy in St. Giles' Church; determined men were drawing up the National Covenant by which the Scots bound themselves to support their own Kirk and resist all outside “innovations.” The document concluded with emphatic statement that in the defence of the realm, in preservation of laws and liberties, they, the signers, were entirely loyal to “Our Dread Sovereign the King's Majesty, his person and authority.”

Upon February 28th, 1638, began the solemn scene in old Greyfriars' Churchyard, of affixing signatures to the Covenant. Throngs of burghers and common folk pressed in, many writing their names in their own blood. What stand would Scotland's great hereditary nobles take? Before noon on the first day the young Earl of Montrose, now in his twenty-fifth year, had publicly set hand and seal to the Covenant amid moments of deep emotion from those gathered about. For the rest of his life, and even upon the bitter and shameful day of his execution, Montrose stoutly maintained that he had loyally kept the double promise of defending the freedom of the Church of Scotland to her own worship, and of dutifully supporting his King. He insisted that those who hurled at him the charge of “covenant-breaker,” because he fought against the men under the blue banner of the Covenant

when united with the army of the English Parliament, had themselves broken their sworn allegiance to their Sovereign.

It was a time of testing and heart-searching for any earnest soul, anxious to know where his duty lay. Montrose was a man of religious spirit, at an early age appointed an elder in the Scottish Kirk, and, by his own words, clinging to that faith all his life. He believed that the sole rule of a monarch, just and generous, as he considered Charles to be, was the safest control for Scotland, torn by feuds and rivalries. This he expounds, at length, and with considerable lucidity, in the appendix to his *Treatise upon Sovereign Power*. When Charles, perforce, granted certain concessions to the Scottish Church, deceptive though they shortly proved, many others besides Montrose called the king "one of the most just, reasonable, sweet persons they had ever seen."

The first of Montrose's few personal interviews with Charles I occurred shortly after this "pacification." The king was scholar, musician, art critic; he was a man of unstained personal life and of devout temperament; and he had to the full the strange Stuart power of winning profound devotion from those about him. The pensive dignity and cultured gentleness of his sovereign drew from the loyal heart of Montrose a sort of fervent adoration. Years later he wrote to young Charles II,—*"I never had passion on earth so strong as to do the King, your Father, service."* Of the narrowness and double-dealing which formed a fatal part of Charles' character, Montrose was never to have personal knowledge.

The other outstanding figure of that day in Scotland was Montrose's lifelong opponent, the Earl of Argyll, made duke by King Charles when Montrose was raised to a marquisate. "MacCallum More" controlled the vast swarms of the Campbell clan and owned more land than any other Chief of the West Highlands. He and Montrose faced each other first upon points of church control in the General Assembly at

Glasgow. Later, he lost battle after battle to Montrose's astonishing military skill, until the Campbells suffered frightful defeat at Inverlochy in the very heart of their own territory—an inroad brilliantly depicted by Sir Walter Scott in his *Legend of Montrose*.

Although at first an outstanding and fanatical leader in the Covenanting army, Argyll suddenly, after the death of Montrose, 1651, swung his powers to the side of the exiled Stuart prince. It was the hand of Argyll which placed the crown at Scone upon the black hair and swarthy brow of Charles II. Dreams of marrying his daughter to the young king haunted the thoughts of the great Campbell Chief who boasted himself "the eighth man from Robert Bruce." But the Lords of Lorne were not to make that royal alliance by marriage until the mid-nineteenth century. Cromwell's great victory at Worcester crushed the Stuart cause at that time, and Argyll made a peace with the Protector—a peace which cost him his life upon the return of Charles at the Restoration. His old grey head was placed upon the same spike upon Edinburgh Tolbooth whence that of his rival Montrose had just been removed, to be given with his other scattered remains a stately, if belated, funeral.

Buchan is naturally less in sympathy with Argyll—"Archibald the Grim"—a dour, canny, and self-contained man, than with the romantic, lovable poet-soul of Montrose. He acquits him as well as Montrose of intentionally playing the traitor to either party. The difficulties which made Argyll cry bitterly, "I am a distracted man . . . a distracted man in a distracted country," came mainly from "a divided personality," he says. His was a soul possessed of keen and practical instincts battling with the fanatical theology of the time; he was torn between the subtle, far-reaching plans of the Presbyterian statesman and the passionately instinctive loyalties to clan and king of the Highland chieftain.

Montrose and Argyll were each profoundly religious men and devout members of the Kirk of Scotland; yet each man contested at times its leadership; each lost his life for an ungrateful and selfish sovereign; each met a shameful and agonizing death with a kind of splendour and a lofty peace of manner that awed the beholders. The son of Montrose, nicknamed "The Good Marquis," as his father had been called "The Great," withdrew from his place among the nobles at the trial of Argyll, saying simply, "It is impossible for me to give an impartial vote in this matter." The son of Argyll shared in the Monmouth rebellion against James II with the result that his head replaced the ghastly, mouldering fragment of his father's upon the Tolbooth spike.

Buchan does full justice to the daring romance of Montrose's enterprise in going with but one companion to arouse the Highlands in support of Charles I and to his phenomenal success in winning six battles by means of an army never before controlled by a Lowlander, and composed of clans ferociously at feud with each other. One hardly knows whether more to admire the commander's skill in even partially holding together these discordant elements, or those remarkable military tactics which made the great French leaders of the day class Montrose as the most brilliant soldier of Europe, and declare that not another general had the strength to call off his men from the sacking of a city already begun, as Montrose did at Glasgow. It was more fatality than fault of his that caused the defeat at Philiphaugh, and consequent exile upon the continent.

Cardinal Mazarin offered this poor, fugitive Scottish patriot five great military posts in the French army successively, culminating with the honour of Marshal of France and command of King Louis' Guard. But that famous love-song written by Montrose chants of no maiden, but of his native Scotland,—

"My dear and only love . . .
I'll make thee glorious by my pen,
And famous by my sword.
I'll serve thee in such noble ways
Was never heard before."

He was disgusted with the profligacy of the French court and could not stoop to the maze of intrigue by which Queen Henrietta sought to aid her imprisoned husband, Charles I. But he was upon cordial terms with Prince Rupert, and a strong friendship sprang up between the exiled Scottish noble and Rupert's mother, that "Queen of Hearts," Elizabeth of Bohemia (sister of Charles I), whose gaiety of heart, vivacity of tongue and magnetic charm neither the increasing weight of fifty years, poverty, reverses of fortune, nor the cares of thirteen children had been able to destroy. (It is through this royal lady whose daughter Sophia married the Elector of Hanover that our present sovereign traces his hereditary connection with the British crown.) Elizabeth's letters to Montrose are charming in their incisive wit and their cordial honesty of friendship. "I have cause enough to be sad," she wrote once. "But I am still of my wild humour to be as merry as I can in spite of fortune." It was she who persuaded him to sit to the Dutch artist, Honthorst, for the famous portrait in black armour, saying that she would keep "Jamie Graham's honest face to frighten away traitors and hypocrites."

The news of the execution of Charles I was brought to Montrose as he sat quietly talking with a few friends, and he who had again and again seen stricken battlefields and ravaged towns, suddenly fainted at these tragic words, and remained shut in his room, seeing no one for two days. He wrote then the passionate lines,—

"Great, good and just, could I but rate
My grief and thy too rigid fate,
I'd weep the world in such a strain
As it should deluge once again."

There was but one more act of the drama to be played. Montrose returned to Scotland to make a desperate stand in arms for the young Charles Stuart, who was at the same time bargaining secretly for the support of the opposing forces. His men said that the Marquis was “fey”—the ancient Scottish word to express a sense of impending doom. He wore black armour; his troops flung out black banners centred with the bleeding head of King Charles to oppose the blue banner of the Covenant with its burning bush. His personal standard was white and showed a lion about to leap a desperate chasm, with below the motto, *Nil Medium*. Montrose’s tiny army contained a few Danes and Germans; most of the rest had been recruited in the far Orkneys. Even his skill could not make them within a few weeks able to withstand troops of any experience. Defeat was a foregone conclusion. After the disaster at Carbisdale, the Marquis was betrayed, captured, brought to Edinburgh, where every possible indignity was heaped upon him before and during his trial. Aytoun’s ballad, in “Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers,” is closely patterned upon the account written by sixteen-year-old James Fraser, afterwards chaplain to Lord Lovat. This lad was so filled with admiration for the heroic bearing of Montrose that he noted down every detail of calm endurance under insult, and of that barbarous sentence—to be hanged, drawn and quartered, and to have fragments of his body displayed for public ignominy in five Scottish cities. With high spirit, Montrose retorted to the magistrates,—“I think it greater honour to have my head standing on the ports of the town for this quarrel, than to have my picture in the King’s bedchamber. I am beholden to you that, lest my loyalty should be forgotten, you have appointed five of the most eminent towns to bear witness of it to posterity.”

The last night of his life, amid the smoking and wrangling of the guards, Montrose wrote the well-known lines,—

"Let them bestow on every airth a limb
Scatter my ashes, strew them in the air,—
Lord! Since Thou knowest where all these atoms are,
I'm hopeful Thou'lt recover once my dust,
And confident Thou'lt raise me with the just."

Voltaire mentions this poem in his *Essay upon General History*, and drops his usual cynicism to comment quietly that this had been written by "l'âme la plus héroïque qui fût dans les trois Royaumes."

Scotland gave splendid, if tardy, recognition to both her great leaders of the seventeenth century. In old St. Giles, Edinburgh, the gathered dust of Montrose rests to the right of the nave, in the beautiful chapel built by Walter Chepman, the first Scottish printer, in honoured memory of King James IV, who fell at Flodden. The noble alabaster effigy is surrounded by richly-coloured marbles, by softly-patterned mosaics, and bright with the arms in stained glass of all the supporters of Montrose in that loyal but futile struggle.

Almost directly across the church upon the left, in the little old chapel of St. Elois, stands the equally stately memorial to Argyll, where, from the window above, the shields of the leaders in defence of the Scottish Covenant cast iridescent rays of fair colour across the grave sculptured fact of "MacCallum More." Both figures look from their marble slumber towards the plain communion table of the Kirk of Scotland. Requiescant!

BROTHER ANDRÉ

BY JAMES A. ROY

I AM not a scoffer at miracles—if by miracles we mean phenomena that are incapable of explanation in terms of our own limited experience. Life is a miracle. So is the flower in the crannied wall, a grain of sand and the universe itself. In that sense, everything is a miracle—everything that man cannot himself create or that he has lost the power of performing. No doubt if we possessed the secret of certain natural phenomena we should cease to speak about miracles. A miracle is something that actually need not be, but which merely seems to be, beyond the bounds of human accomplishment. It needs a human agent for its completion. Discoveries are not miracles and miracles are only so to man and not to God. Neither is a miracle a new phenomenon. People said hard things about the Apostles who claimed to have certain powers that enabled them to work miracles. There were scoffers in ancient Judea; there were, no doubt, mockers of medicine men or sorcerers or witch doctors long ere the dawn of modern history. Possibly miracles were happening then; there were certainly people who professed their ability to perform them. They happened apparently in those barbarous and unenlightened ages when kings were able to cure scrofulous children by the royal touch. There are miracles and mockers to-day; there are fanatics who believe that miracles can be performed by magicians of their own faith and deny that they can be wrought by adherents of another; Pentecostal, Baptist and Anglican healers who advertise boisterously their proper curative properties and stoutly deny their possession to co-religionists who masquerade under a different denominational label. What they would deny to others they would

certainly refuse to Brother André, whose admirers and co-religionists they would doubtless term the veriest dupes and fools and himself an arrant and scheming knave. Which harms the little man not one whit, for, while others abide our questioning, he is still, having transcended mere human jealousy and already taken his place among the Immortals.

Possibly you have never heard of Brother André. Many Protestants and, probably, some Roman Catholics have not. I had not myself until a few months ago. But the fact remains that for many years Brother André has been a mighty pillar of his faith and his miracle working powers are almost as ardently believed in by hundreds of thousands as are the cardinal and fundamental doctrines of the Catholic faith itself. Innumerable miraculous cures have been ascribed to his mediation, but he vigorously denies that these have been effected through any gifts or powers of his own. He claims to be—as, in fact, he actually is—a humble, ignorant disciple who lives not only in hourly fellowship with the Unseen but who believes in the special interest and friendship of St. Joseph, through whose intervention he himself has been chosen as the instrument whereby the works of God are made manifest.

Brother André was born on the 9th of August 1845 of French Canadian parentage. His father was Isaac Bessette, a carriage worker; his mother Clothilde Foisy. His parents dying when he was still very young, the child received a meagre education. He was in turn apprenticed to a bootmaker and a baker, but his health proved unequal to the demands made on it by these trades. Next he worked on a farm; then, in the cotton mills in Connecticut. Returning from the United States he was brought into touch with the Brothers of the Holy Cross and, after a brief novitiate, he was admitted to the Congregation of the Holy Cross in 1870 and became in religion Brother André. He remained at the Boys' College

at *Côte des Neiges* for forty years as porter and messenger, and acted also as barber to the school. From the beginning of his connection with the Brotherhood the young religious impressed not only his superiors but all with whom he came into contact by his piety and his devotion to Saint Joseph. His reputation quickly spread, with the result that pilgrims began to flock to the institution to seek his help and counsel, until representations were made to the College authorities by relatives of the pupils, complaining of the danger of infection from the motley crowds that assembled to seek his mediation. The Public Health Authorities were aroused; an investigation was held; many grew alarmed lest the new cult should bring ridicule and discredit upon the cause of true religion, maintaining that the distribution of medallions and holy oil was grotesque and unauthorized. Archbishop Bruchesi was urged to stop the farce; a pavilion was erected for the accommodation of the pilgrims whom Brother André was permitted to interview during the hours when he was off duty. Opposition only increased the popular enthusiasm. A tiny chapel was next erected on Mount Royal in which a statue of Saint Joseph was installed. The first shrine, however, soon proved inadequate to house the ever increasing host of pilgrims and a new and larger one was presently built. But, in time, this also proved inadequate and now a magnificent new crypt has been erected, above which one day will rise the wonderful Basilica destined to be the lasting earthly memorial of the humble little Brother who sits quietly waiting his final summons in the *presbytère* of *Côte des Neiges*.

It is an amazing story, this story of faith and miracle-working. At first the Protestant feels baffled and sceptical, until he suddenly recalls the pointed Pauline query; "Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you that God should raise the dead?" "That," answers the sceptic, "is merely begging the question. Assuming that God can raise and has

raised the dead, why should He think it necessary to assert Himself in these modern days by such ordinary and conventional prestidigitations as making the lame to walk, the deaf to hear and even the blind to see—through the intermediary of Brother André? Has the image of God grown so dim that it is necessary to recall Him to man by such childish demonstrations? Have we not outgrown the infancy of the mind? Do not fresh discoveries of science increase our wonder and awe of the Almighty, and our growing knowledge of ourselves reveal the lasting kinship with the Father? Is there a thinking man who is likely to have a loftier conception of God by the sight of a cripple suddenly throwing away his crutches, hobbling about on his withered shanks and proclaiming that God has spoken?" If miracles actually were performed in Apostolic times by persons who made claim to nothing but common humanity, there is no logical reason why we should deny the possibility of their happening to-day. It is impossible on any other hypothesis to explain away these words of Christ to His disciples, "Verily, verily I say unto you, he that believeth in Me, the works that I do he shall do also, and greater works than these shall he do, because I go to the Father." Which is precisely the standpoint of the Roman Catholic Church and logically irrefutable.

But to return to Brother André. The Oratory itself commands a magnificent view, with the tapering chain of the Laurentians in the distance and the intervening panorama of forest, river and lake, village and township, capped and crowned with spire and convent roof. Close by the gates of the Oratory grounds with their sloping lawns and broad driveways stand the pavilions for the shelter of the pilgrims who have come from a distance—the massive statue of Saint Joseph towering above them, as if in careful benison of his own. The pilgrims are, in the main, drab, commonplace folk. They creep up the steps slowly, telling their beads devoutly.

oblivious of the coming and going of the curious who mount and descend carelessly, chattering, laughing, joking and jesting. A motor lorry drives up to the foot of the incline leading to the terrace on which the Oratory stands, backs into line with other waiting vehicles—horse and motor—discharges a group of schoolboys who are under the care of a youthful priest with horn-rimmed spectacles and a broad shovel hat turned up at the sides and festooned with a rigging of cords. They are a jolly crew, full of life and spirits and run up the hill merrily and disappear into the interior of the crypt, the stoutish priest, joined now by a *confrère*, puffing heavily after them with skirts tucked up. A few loafers and taxi men lean over the banisters of the terrace; the soft-drink and ice-cream vendor does a brisk trade with the thirsty. At the opposite side of the terrace, to the left of the crypt facing it, is the shop that deals in medals of Saint Joseph, prayer books, sacred oil, crucifixes and pious souvenirs.

Suddenly the place is invaded by a host of schoolgirls in neat black uniforms with white collars, shepherded by several harassed nuns who look hot beneath their wimples. The Sisters have a great business checking the purchases of their charges which seem in the main to be picture postcards and rosaries. Inside the crypt—where the light is softened by the mellow stained-glass windows—a middle-aged, well-dressed man kneels at the altar rail, kisses the relic and remains for a long time motionless and silent; a woman is praying in front of a statue of Saint Joseph; a young man is reverently making the way of the Cross; a group of tourists is curiously examining the mass of crutches and boots and reading the tags attached to them—the testimonials of cripples who profess to have been cured at this shrine through the mediation of Brother André; an attendant priest paces beside his confessional, reading his breviary; the Little Sisters of the Holy Family glide noiselessly about the altar, arranging the sacred

vessels, attending to the necessary duties of Christ's household. There is a great stillness in the place broken only by the subdued whispering of the curious, the jangling bells of the street cars and the hoot of the motor horns. One feels rested here; one begins to understand, in some degree, the Roman Catholic conception of the House of God. That altar is truly a sacred place.

Presently there is a stir and commotion at one of the doors; the sound of shuffling feet and the agonizing cry of one in pain. Two stalwart young fellows enter, carrying an elderly woman, evidently their mother, and followed by a sturdy young girl who looks as if she might be their sister. As soon as the sick woman finds herself in the sacred building she stretches out her hands in supplication towards the great statue of Saint Joseph. She is carried to a seat close to the statue. One of the sons sits behind her; the other consults for a moment with the sister and they both slip quietly away to purchase a medallion of Saint Joseph and a bottle of oil that has been blessed by Brother André. The medallion, placed on the sick body may work a miraculous cure in conjunction with the oil with which they will rub her tortured limbs. When the blind, the halt and the paralytic come to Brother André he repeats the same formula, "Rub yourself with oil and a medal of Saint Joseph. Make a *neuvaine* to Saint Joseph. Pray to him much." I sit and wait and watch as the candles in the *lampions* gutter and flicker and Saint Joseph with the Child in his arms looks down protectingly from above the main altar where the golden crucifix gleams above the little prison of God. The sick woman has ceased moaning and has fallen into an uneasy slumber. Her son watches until the brother and sister return, when they rouse the sufferer and carry her tenderly away from the comforting presence. The day is beginning to fail; lights are twinkling on the plain. The street cars crash and rattle, filled

with the weary workers from the city. I am one of the last to leave the Oratory. Presently it, too, will be wrapped in the silence and the mystery of the night. . . .

I met Brother André on only one occasion, when I drove with Father Gagnon to the Oratory at *Côte des Neiges*. After waiting for a short time in the reception room in the *presbytère* while the Father went to inquire whether I could be received, I was requested to step into a little room where I had my first sight of the thaumaturge. The room was bare and scantily furnished. Brother André was lying on the bed, clad in his cassock. My first impression was of a very old man. He struggled into a sitting position as I entered and, while the Father was explaining my presence, I had time to take cursory stock of him. His features are plain almost to ugliness and the skin seamed and creased with a thousand loops and wrinkles. His hair is white; his eyes are small and half concealed by their drooping eyelids, but full of kindness and peace. Perhaps it was my imagination, but it seemed to me that there was the very light on his face that never was on sea or land. . . . I tried gently to push him back on the counterpane but he insisted on remaining as he was and talking to me. After talking for a time he seemed to grow suddenly tired and I helped him to lie down—a fragile wisp of a man whom you felt you might have broken in two like a withered branch. He lay for a little as if exhausted; then he took my hand in his again, murmured his blessings, and Father Gagnon and I withdrew quietly from the room.

For a moment there came into my mind the scene in the shop where two young men behind the counter sold trinkets and holy oil and crucifixes and souvenirs and picture post-cards and medallions of Saint Joseph, and I experienced a feeling almost of nausea. The saying of a cynical friend flashed suddenly across my mind: "A saint may be nothing but a whitewashed sepulchre and the charity of the philan-

thropist a mere cloak for the pride of humility." But one had only to think of the little man—of his work, the record of his life, one's fleeting contact with his personality—to be convinced that *he*, at least, was free of any taint of commercialism or the suspicion of self-exploitation. He is as humble to-day in that weather-beaten old cassock as ever he was, and will presently leave this world as poor as when he entered it. Brother André is sincere even if he may be mistaken. And who is to prove him in the wrong and by what code can he be so judged except by the arbitrary standard of individual opinion? Brother André dwells in close and vital contact with the hidden things of God. That is something worth while in an age when too many persist in the barren policy of getting and spending and laying waste their powers.

ARTHUR SAMUEL PEAKE

1865-1929

By W. G. JORDAN

THE late Dr. Peake was widely known throughout the English-speaking world, and there were no doubt many in Canada who read with real sorrow the brief statement that he had passed away, on the morning of August 19th, in the Manchester Royal Infirmary, where he had been lying in a critical condition several days after a serious operation. So far as his age, sixty-four, was concerned one might have expected for him several more years of life and service. But when one goes over the list of his publications, more than a score, written during a busy life of lecturing, preaching, and journalism, the feeling is one of astonishment that so much could be accomplished by a man who for years had not been in robust health and who was often urged by his friends to take things more easily. I did not meet him until 1925, when we spent a few hours together in his home at Manchester. I found him a kindly unassuming man who, while possessing large knowledge and clear convictions, was ready to consider the suggestions of those who had studied the same subjects. He could engage in controversy, if he was forced into it, but he did not seek it, and all his writings show a positive aim and a reverent spirit. His main work was in the Old Testament, but he told me that he had found it an advantage to carry on at the same time study and teaching in the New Testament.

We have pleasure in borrowing a part of a well deserved tribute which appeared in one of the Manchester journals: "Perhaps it was Dr. Peake's greatest service not only to his own communion but to the whole religious life of England that has helped to save us from a fundamental controversy

such as that which has devastated large sections of the Church in America. He knew the facts which the modern study of the Bible has brought to light. He knew them, and he was frank and fearless in telling them, but he was also a simple and consistent believer in Jesus, and he let that be seen, too, and therefore men who could not always follow him were ready to trust him and let him go his own way. If the Free Churches of England have been able without disaster to navigate the broken water of the last thirty years it is largely to the wisdom and patience of such trusted pilots like Arthur Samuel Peake that they owe it."

This is a strong tribute and we do not think that it is overdrawn. I found abundant evidence that his own denomination was proud of him, grateful for all that he had done in the cause of education within it and for the respect in which he was held in a larger circle. It may seem strange to some that Dr. Peake, the son of a Primitive Methodist minister and the father of another, was not himself a minister, yet he received the honorary degree of D.D. from Oxford and Aberdeen. It is said that this was the first time that the theological degree was given to a layman by a Scottish University. When I was a youth in England sixty years ago the smaller Methodist denominations had many able men and powerful preachers but few of them had had the benefit of University training. This was true, to a less degree, of other "Nonconformist" churches and most of these distinctions were then gained from Scotland or London. The Primitive Methodists had a small "college" in Sunderland but it was not regarded as at all meeting the needs of the situation. Dr. Peake did more than any one else to put things on a better footing. Connected with this is the story of another life, which we cannot touch but to which Dr. Peake, in his volume "Sir William Hartley" (1926) has done full justice. It is the story of a successful business man who by his generosity made it possible for the

Primitive Methodists to build and equip a college, affiliated with Manchester University, for the training of men for their ministry. It was fortunate for the future professor that when he gained his education he was not limited to a denominational college and that he begun his scholastic career at a time when the older English universities were open to "dissenters." After attending grammar schools at Ludlow, Stratford-on-Avon, and Coventry, he was entered at St. John's College, Oxford, scholar 1883, Honours in Classical Moderations 1885, first class in the Honours School of Theology 1887; Fellow of Merton College 1890-7, etc. etc. He began as a lecturer at Mansfield College, Oxford, 1890-92. At that point he accepted the position of tutor at Hartley College, to which he remained faithful all through his career though his services were freely rendered to Manchester University and to a number of colleges. He played his part in the Methodist Union movement now in process, and had he lived to see it completed would have held a conspicuous and honoured position in the larger Methodist Communion. He was thoroughly well trained from his boyhood and spent his life mainly in academic surroundings, but even when that is considered, the amount and quality of his achievement was remarkable, especially as it was no cloistered life that he lived but one in touch with public movements of varied kinds.

These works while mainly on the same line show a considerable variety, critical commentaries such as those on Job and Jeremiah, monographs on special topics and popular expositions presenting the positive results of modern scholarship. But the work which has made his name most widely known as Peake's Commentary, which in one volume contains not only brief notes on the text of all the canonical books but also a number of articles by well-known scholars on various aspects of the Bible as history and literature. I had the privilege of contributing the sketch of The History of Hebrew

Religion. An English writer says: "It was a work of a kind which had not been attempted before and though it has had its imitators, it still remains without a rival." The editorial work was remarkably well done and the cross references increase its usefulness for the real student. Recently we have had Bishop Gore's commentary, on similar lines (1928), which may be regarded as representing to a large extent Anglican scholarship, and *The Abingdon Bible* (New York, 1929), the work of British and American scholars, which will no doubt have a large circulation in the United States. But Dr. Peake's work will hold its place for some time and many will regret that he was not spared longer to continue the work to which he had consecrated his life.

CONTINENTAL MIGRATION

BY ROBERT ENGLAND

A PREVIOUS article has sketched the reasons arising from social and economic post-war changes for the decline of British emigration. Much concern has arisen in Canada over the increase in Continental immigration; it may, therefore, be appropriate to attempt to place this thorny subject in a proper perspective and to indicate a few of its more significant features.

Migration in Europe is a process hoary with age; it has been the by-product of conquest, invasion, colonization, political and religious oppression and economic need. That part of Continental Western Europe which stops east of the Pripet marshes and north of the Danube, roughly, the line where Renaissance influence spent itself, has been the stage on which great territorial movements of population and imperceptible race substitutions have taken place. Before the war it housed the splendour of royalty; it was the maker of Parliaments; it controlled most of the tropics, was the banker of the world and the seat of the Roman Catholic Church. As patron of the arts and sciences, it gave birth to the modern world, Protestantism, scientific invention, industrialism, and the modern mechanism of rapid transit. Then war came and transformed the whole structure. We are still too close to that tragedy to see it otherwise than a somewhat cataclysmic event, but the forces that made it possible, or rather inevitable, are still in operation. The results have stunned us—ten million killed, twenty million maimed or wounded, ten million civilian deaths from pestilence and privation, nine million orphans, five million widows, ten million refugees, all at a cost of \$9,000,000 an hour for four

terrible years. Thrones perished; three thousand miles of new boundaries were created and six new states arose; in November, 1923, five years after the war, sixty millions of people in Germany came to the very brink of disintegration and ruin because of the collapse of the mark. Coincident with the war weariness, economic depression and suffering which brought Europe to this low level in 1923, the United States closed the door to European immigrants. She would not enter the League of Nations; she refused to cancel her claims on a continent verging on bankruptcy, and her quota regulations were a symptom of a reactionary isolation from a Europe she did not fully understand. The three forces strengthened by the War—the authority of the Vatican, the League of Nations, and Socialist and political Trade Unionism, all cosmopolitan in outlook, have their adherents and advocates in the United States, but remain suspect. It is significant that European nationalistic forces, based on the idea of self-determination emphasized by President Wilson, received their impetus from the United States. The part played in the formation of new States in Europe by the money and services of the Irish, the Czechs, the Poles and the Yugo-Slavs has been fundamental and bears evidence of the influence of nineteenth century national ideas brought by European immigrants to the United States.

The return to Europe immediately after the war of thousands of these races showed a faith in the efficacy of self-determination which has in many cases been dispelled. The contrast between a cosmopolitan people such as that of the United States, distrustful of cosmopolitan ideas on the one hand, and on the other of nationalistic peoples in Europe profoundly influenced by three forces that have international affiliations, makes it clear that Europe is on a new road while the United States is on a well-known nineteenth century political highway with whose sign-posts Europe is familiar.

Meantime the new patriotisms which American money and immigrants in the United States gave Europe are being decried by the internationalists, such, for example, as H. G. Wells, who regard them as positive menaces. Fascism, however, in its various forms is beginning to make terms with the international forces; of this the Lateran Treaty is a striking example. If an understanding were to be effected between these characteristically European international conceptions, nothing could stop the closer integration of Western European culture. That this result is not inconceivable is indicated by a consideration of the question of race substitution and migration in the Europe of the past twenty years, for, biologically, Nature's old game of race conflict, race intermixture and substitution has been given a fresh impetus by the war. The breakdown of conventional restraint, the march of armies across Europe, the occupation by troops of alien territory, are having effects not easily assessed. There are those who profess to see in a new British generation the influence of the stay in England of Dominion troops. But German troops occupied Belgium for four years and French, American and British troops have occupied German territory for ten years. British sergeants have married German wives; there is an increase in the number of British who cross the Channel and, most significant of all, Germany and France have been importing labour on a scale not known or noticed before.

Germany each year has been receiving an increasing number of Poles and others for agricultural work, particularly for harvesting, the total now reaching 60,000 annually, many of whom return to their native land. France, which resisted German invasion at tremendous cost, has admitted a greater army of Poles, Czechs and Yugoslavs to reconstruct her devastated areas and to engage in agriculture and industry. In three years from 1922 until 1925, nearly one million for-

eigners made their home in France. In 1923 her total immigration was 271,564, which included large numbers of Poles, Czecho-Slovaks and Yugoslavs who were introduced into agriculture, the mining industry and into reconstruction work in the devastated area. In 1921 France had twenty-five thousand Poles, over three thousand Czecho-Slovaks, and thirty-four thousand Russians, but by 1925 there were three hundred thousand Poles, nearly forty thousand Czecho-Slovaks and over ninety-one thousand Russians. A very real change, therefore, in the racial composition of the French people is taking place. The increase of the Irish and Celtic elements in Great Britain is another instance of racial substitution which may have interesting political and social results. In these great western European changes Russia takes no part and her emigration is negligible.

Surprising as these migrations are, they are not as significant as the facts of the Oversea migration from Central Europe. It is fundamental to grasp that the post-war nationalism of the new countries was opposed to emigration. The extreme example of this policy is to be found in the prohibition of emigration by Mussolini in Italy. This opposition to emigration is the counterpart to the nationalistic forces that brought about the quota law in the United States. For the time being the international forces of Western Europe are sympathetic to restrictive regulations. The League of Nations through the International Labour Office has been anxious for the protection of emigrants; the socialist parties of Europe have been opposed to emigration and the Catholic Hierarchy of many countries has not been desirous of losing adherents. The assumption made in the United States that Central Europeans, in particular, were preparing to emigrate from Europe in large numbers is seen to be without justification when it is recognized that since the Peace Treaty more Poles,

Czechs, and Yugos have been returning to their respective countries than were emigrating to the United States.¹

When the quota was announced a large number of Poles who had returned to Europe hurried back to the United States, but in 1920-21, out of 95,089 emigrants from Poland to the United States 74,755 were Hebrew. The United States was not likely to have an agricultural immigration comparable to that of Canada, and, viewing the post-war difficulties of agriculture in the United States, it would seem that, as far as the supply of agricultural labour was concerned, the Quota Law was like "reading the Riot Act to the Deserted Village."

Has the Quota Law changed the character of United States immigration? The records of emigration from Poland by industry and by religion are significant.² Over 60 per cent

¹The following table shows the immigration and emigration returns as affecting Poland:—

IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES FROM POLAND AND
EMIGRATION FROM THE UNITED STATES TO POLAND BY
NATIONALITIES

<i>Immigration into United States from Poland</i>							
Year	Total	Poles	Jews	Ruths.	Russ.	Germans	Others
1920-21 . .	95,089	18,253	74,755	388	202	810	681
1921-22 . .	28,635	5,242	22,373	362	214	367	77
1922-23 . .	26,538	11,290	14,125	296	198	519	110
1923-24 . .	28,806	15,687	12,185	288	293	243	110
1924-25 . .	5,341	2,298	2,788	98	52	65	40
1925-26 . .	7,126	2,531	4,133	161	119	150	32
1926-27 . .	9,211	3,470	5,187	161	208	132	53
<i>Immigration into Poland from United States</i>							
1920-21 . .	42,572	41,572	96	80	310	39	475
1921-22 . .	33,581	30,618	386	284	850	32	1,411
1922-23 . .	5,439	5,125	145	14	113	8	34
1923-24 . .	2,594	2,474	50	9	31	8	22
1924-25 . .	3,721	3,535	58	19	89	1	19
1925-26 . .	2,881	2,682	62	16	82	12	27
1926-27 . .	2,650	2,580	21	1	28	3	17

²EMIGRATION BY OCCUPATION AND RELIGION TO UNITED
STATES IN 1927

Total	Agricul- tural	Indust- rial	Commer- cial	Profess- ional	Dom. Ser.	Prof. Unknown	Members of families
9,397	2,453	888	251	96	67	1,365	4,277
Total	Rom.Cath.	Gr.Cath.	Evang.	Orth.	Hebrew	Others	Unknown
9,397	3,580	225	116	238	5,234	4	...

of the annual quota now going to the United States from Central Europe is taken up by immigrants of Hebrew race and the remainder largely by persons proceeding to cities and towns. It would appear, therefore, that the fixing of an arbitrary number for immigration from any European country has the effect of putting a premium on the movement of the emigrant with resourcefulness and sufficient funds to secure a place in the list. Furthermore, those who have had an opportunity of comparing the average type of emigrant in a Canadian transport with those going to United States and South America have had no hesitation in affirming that Canada has been securing a better class. The medical examination, literacy test, selection by placement agencies, the cost of transportation (which is usually to Western Canada), and the occupational test have operated to restrict the flow to better class agricultural families and farm labourers.

The new emigration to Canada may be said to date from 1925, and is shown in the immigration returns of the fiscal years 1926-1929. No emigration from Germany was possible until 1925, and most of the new national shipping lines operating from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and Germany commenced their services between 1923 and the beginning of 1925. The year 1925 marked the end of the acute period of agricultural depression in Western Canada; the railway placement services had been organized, the Dawes Report was in operation and the British schemes for assisting emigration had been started. In conjunction with the operation of natural shipping lines in Canada, the Canadian National Railways established, in 1924, offices in Scandinavia and Holland, and agreements were made between the railways and the Government with a view to securing continental immigrants.

The period closes at the beginning of 1929 with the abandonment of the assisted passage rate and the substitution of a £10 rate for British, the restriction on the entry of Central

Europeans, an increasing prosperity in Northern Europe, the Reparations settlement, and a contracting demand for farm labour in Western Canada which may have far-reaching consequences. The period 1925-1929 will be found to mark a definite epoch. The results are as follows:

	Pre-War 1909-15 (Seven yrs.)	Post-War 1919-25 (Seven yrs.)	Post-War 1926-29 (Four yrs.)
(A) BRITISH	710,265	343,404	196,566
(B) PREFERRED COUNTRIES (Scandinavians, Germans, Dutch, Swiss, Belgians)	97,833	57,187	109,549
(C) CENTRAL EUROPEANS (Railways' Agreement territory)	218,701	45,150	126,848
(D) MEDITERRANEAN (Balkan and Hebrew)	137,586	43,220	28,670

These figures indicate that there has perhaps been much misunderstanding of the real character of the movement. During the period since 1925, when the field was fairly open seventy-five per cent of the immigrants came from the British Isles and Northern Europe. The British movement has shown signs of falling off but the number from Scandinavia, Germany and the Western European seaboard countries was greater in these four years than in the seven pre-war years, so that the Teutonic influx has doubled.

The Mediterranean immigration has been reduced to a very low figure compared with pre-war years as likewise has the Jewish movement, although it still averages over 3,000 annually. The number coming from Central Europe is about the same as in pre-war days although there are marked increases in Hungarian and Polish immigrants and a reduction in the numbers from Russia and Eastern Europe.

It is impossible for anyone but a better class peasant in Central Europe to raise the money necessary for the fare. A single farm labourer must be able to find approximately \$200 for his transportation from Central Europe to Canada whereas the cost to a family, emigrating as a unit, may be well over

\$600. There is no financial assistance such as that afforded British immigrants. They must secure valid passports while British move without passports. They undergo at least two medical examinations, a civil examination by the Canadian Government whose officers reject if they are not able to establish that they are agriculturists and have a bona fide intention of engaging in farming in Canada. Prior to this examination they must satisfy the railway companies who are undertaking to find them employment that they comply with all the requirements of the Immigration Act and are the type who can be readily placed. Add to this a weary journey that occupies nearly three weeks and sometimes four, and the nature of the obstacles in the way of agricultural immigration from what are described as non-preferred countries may be realized.

Objection to the Central European immigrant is sometimes based on the claim that they form too large a proportion of the inmates of our penitentiaries and mental hospitals, but close study of the statistics does not confirm this and the low rate of deportations on the grounds of criminality and of becoming public charges rather indicates the contrary. Most of our Continental immigrants arriving since the war are still liable for deportation in the event of their becoming public charges under the provisions of the Immigration Act. As to the cultural argument, we would do well to remember that, as Professor Oliver writes:

"The Czeck does this Dominion great wrong if he does not bring it the inspiration of Ziska, Hus, Chelciky and Komensky, or if he forgets Masaryk and Benes in our own day. If we who are Scottish by descent thrill at the tales of Wallace why should not a Magyar thrill at Kossuth's resistance to the Hapsburgs? Surely a Pole has as good a right to admire Paderewsky as we have to admire Harry Lauder. The simplest peasant from the Ukraine need never hang his head over Tsevchenko."

There are, of course, undesirables in all races but these are not likely to be excluded with certainty by a form of restriction which lays the emphasis on numbers. The principles of immigration were laid down with great worldly wisdom by Bacon:

"I like a plantation in a pure soil; that is, where people are not displanted to the end to plant in others. For else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation

"Cram not in people, by sending too fast company after company; but so as the number may live well in the plantation, and not by surcharge be in penury. . .

"It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people, and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation."

The alternative to a quota should be along these lines and should enlist the aid of all organizations actively interested in and vitally affected by the growth of agricultural production and the development of the country's natural resources; assist the enforcement of the provisions of the Immigration Act with regard to the undesirable, raising the standards of selection; study the differential efficiency of various racial stocks on various soils, correlating the movement from Europe to the opportunities in Canada in such a way as to secure from the new settlers their maximum economic efficiency and effort in the development of the country. Prosperous settlers make proud citizens. With this effort, there should be strenuous endeavour to improve our educational system so that it will be adequate to the task of making Canadians of the carefully selected settlers whom we welcome in our midst.

It is difficult to foresee the trend of events as affecting emigration from Europe but it is safe to assume the growth of a European interest and viewpoint. The Reparations Settle-

ment provides for the establishment of an international bank, a measure of economic unification which would have been impossible before the war.

Changes in racial composition, the growth of the movement to Canada instead of to the United States from the Continental European countries fronting on the North Sea and the migration of Central Europeans westward into these countries in turn are phenomena new to the twentieth century. It is not improbable that the League of Nations may eventually reflect an anxiety to ensure admission for willing hands to empty lands. The Vatican may wish economic opportunity for its adherents to triumph over parochial considerations, and if a Labour Government in England should succeed in making migration more palatable and easier, this may dissipate some of the antipathy with which 'doctrinaire' socialism has hitherto regarded migration. It must be remembered that the roots of Canada's culture are in Europe even more so than in the case of the United States. It numbers amongst its population many Catholics, has a seat in the League of Nations, its labour leaders go to Geneva and are in touch with the British Labour movement, and its Scandinavian, German and Ukrainian settlements have been fed by a post-war immigration. We have no Munroe doctrine and our immigration policy must be justified on other lines than racial or religious prejudice. The Sermon on the Mount is a more satisfactory guide than the Gospel of Hate whose only logical corollary is the trenches in one form or another.

THE ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY AND THE CANADIAN RAILWAYS

BY LESSLIE R. THOMSON.

THE proposal that Canada join with the United States in some manner to construct a deep waterway from Montreal to Lake Superior is now being considered by the two countries concerned. The question arises naturally — what effect will such a waterway have on the earnings of the Canadian Railways? Can we afford to jeopardize the Railways? It is, therefore, pertinent and desirable for Canada, before reaching any decision on the matter, to examine and assess the effect that such a waterway would probably have on our existing Canadian railways.

The total capital investment in Canadian railways is very large, probably in the order of magnitude of \$3,500,000,000. This colossal amount has been invested to provide a transportation service to a country large in area, though with a relatively small population. The railways themselves are divided into two main groups: The Canadian Pacific group, which has had an uninterrupted development as a single, privately owned corporation, and the Canadian National group, an amalgamation of three groups of originally independent railways. Some of the latter were built for political purposes, and some were laid out to be mutually competitive but, whatever their origin, they are to-day operated, as far as may be, as a single system, and every effort is being made to forge this system into a well co-ordinated unit.

The Canadian Pacific Railway is now in an enviably strong position. Dividends have been paid continuously on the common stock of this railway for more than forty years. On the other hand, the Canadian National system had to meet large deficits in operation in the early stages of its co-ordinated

life. To-day, the situation is much different in that the National Railways are paying all operating charges, and also a substantial proportion of all fixed charges on their capital securities. But the income of either railway is dependent on freight rates. There has frequently been in Canada a public desire, indeed almost a determination, to reduce freight rates steadily. This yearning for continually cheaper freight rates is, of course, natural, but it is a somewhat disquieting feature for the future, especially as Canada enjoys export rail rates that are and have been generally lower than the American rates.

The rates on the two Canadian railways, obviously, must be identical. The public, through its elected representatives, feels justified in demanding cheaper and cheaper transportation service on its own railway. If these successive demands be conceded indefinitely, the ultimate effect will be, of course, deficits in both railways. In one case the deficits will be made up from the public purse, but in the other case there is no economic Santa Claus to fill the stocking each year. Consequently, if less-than-cost rates are forced, even temporarily, on the Canadian Pacific, the credit of that corporation will suffer, and this, in turn, will affect the credit and well being of Canada.

This, then, is the somewhat delicate situation that obtains at present, and the proposal that the Canadian Government embark upon another huge transportation enterprise—The St. Lawrence Deep Waterway—forces many thoughtful Canadians to make some effort to determine in advance the effect of the waterway on the railways before giving their support or consent to the waterway project. Of what national worth is a waterway that takes freight and revenues from the railways already beset with serious economic difficulties. This, then, is the basis of a very natural apprehension.

In any attempt to review the whole situation, it seems simplest to open the discussion with a statement of the bare facts. The essence of the St. Lawrence project as a transportation enterprise, is the provision of a waterway with 27 feet of water between Montreal and Lake Superior. The total cost of such an enterprise, exclusive of any power consideration, may be assumed to be about \$360,000,000, without interest during construction, but inclusive of the cost of the new Welland Ship Canal now approaching completion.¹ The present writer has attempted to review the economic problem surrounding the Canadian aspects of the whole Waterway in another paper² to which the interested reader is referred and consequently no further space will be taken here to describe the project.

The effects of the waterway on the railways will be of two sorts—adverse and favourable. Limitations of space preclude any statistical treatment of the problem here; the discussion must, therefore, be in general terms only; this is mentioned here to avoid giving disappointment to those who may be looking for a complete statistical discussion. In spite, however, of this limitation, it is still possible to make some general observations which may be of interest.

The new waterway will parallel our existing railways on two distinct major routes; the first from Fort William to Montreal, and the second from the Bay Ports³ to Montreal. It is, therefore, concerning these rail routes only that any appre-

¹ In considering the waterway it is necessary to realize that this very essential link in its construction is already an accomplished fact. The question of the advisability, or non-advisability, of a new Welland Canal was settled in 1913, and the problem at present is how to utilize this new Canal in the wisest way possible. In other words, the opening of the Welland precipitates and makes necessary a decision on the broader matter of the waterway.

² *The St. Lawrence Problem—Some Canadian Economic Aspects.* Journal of The Engineering Institute of Canada, April, 1929, Montreal.

³ The term "Bay Ports" is used to describe a series of Georgian Bay and Lake Huron ports, Depot Harbour, Port McNichol, Midland, Goderich, Tiffin, Owen Sound, etc.

hension need be felt regarding a decrease of major freight revenues, particularly of revenues on Canadian bulk freight moving for export. On no other main routes will major rail revenues be affected.

Of export freight moving eastwards from Fort William or eastwards from the Bay Ports, wheat is by far the most important single commodity, and for reasons of brevity the subsequent discussion will confine itself to wheat. The movement of the other export grains is broadly similar to that of export wheat.

During the years 1918 to 1928, 57% of the total Canadian wheat crop was exported from Canada as grain. In the same period 8.1% of the wheat crop was exported via Vancouver as grain, while 12.1% was exported from the Port of Montreal as grain. Dealing with the eastbound movement in grain form, 56% of the whole wheat crop in the 10-year period actually got afloat at Fort William. The amount that moves all rail eastbound from Fort William is almost negligible, being under 3% of any one year's crop. As far as wheat is concerned, therefore, it is seen that at present the railways when competing with the existing water route from Fort William east, even with the shallow draft disadvantages east of Port Colborne (only 14 feet), are not moving the wheat east by rail to any considerable degree. Consequently, with the opening of the St. Lawrence Waterway there can be but little decline in railway revenue on an export rail movement that is very small in any event. Speaking broadly, the railways do not stand to lose any considerable revenue on wheat moving all rail between Fort William and Montreal upon the completion and operation of the St. Lawrence Deep Waterway.

Coming next to the Bay Ports-Montreal (or other tide water) movement, a very different situation obtains. In the 10-year period, 1918-1928, 15.2% of the Canadian wheat crop

was unloaded at Bay Ports. In addition, a certain amount of American wheat and grain moved through the Bay Ports from Duluth and other lake ports. The purpose of this lake movement to Bay Ports is two-fold—to provide wheat for the milling industry and domestic service, and to transport the wheat over a quick route for export. For discussion's sake it may be assumed, as far as Canadian wheat is concerned, that of the wheat unloaded at Bay Ports, about 25% is destined for milling and domestic purposes, and about 75% is destined for direct transportation as grain. It is difficult to see how the St. Lawrence Waterway would affect in any material degree the wheat discharged at the Bay Ports to be milled and subsequently moved to various destinations by rail in the form of flour. If general economic conditions have demanded and now permit the profitable operation of flour mills at or near the Bay Ports, it is difficult to see why the deepening of the lower end of the St. Lawrence Waterway is likely to change this basic economic condition, except perhaps to tend to shift gradually the milling industries either to the east or west end of the inland waterway. But the Bay Ports may be looked at justly as a sort of 'semi-terminus' of one of the inland water voyages. Hence no immediate diminution of rail revenue on movement of milling wheat or flour need be apprehended by the Canadian railways as a result of the deep waterway.

On the other hand, it is difficult to see why, with a deep waterway from Fort William to Montreal over which the large vessels could move in continuous voyages, any considerable amount of wheat should be unloaded for export at the Bay Ports. An exception to this statement must be made concerning the beginnings and ends of seasons when the demands on lake shipping might easily be such as to force a 'shuttle' service between the head of the lakes and the Bay Ports. To the degree that these peaks of 'shuttle' traffic will thus occur, the railways will not be affected adversely because

the export wheat and grain will have to be moved at these special times from Bay Ports by rail in any event. Apart from such peaks of traffic, it would seem reasonable to suppose that the all water route to Montreal would be used by the large vessels for export wheat. It would seem therefore that the Bay Ports-Montreal rail movement of export wheat and grain is the only movement that is likely to be markedly reduced were the waterway in existence, and even this reduction in rail traffic, as above mentioned, is not likely to take place during the peaks of lake traffic in spring and autumn. It will probably occur only during the normal mid-season on the lakes. It is not possible to discuss here such a reduction in terms of bushels or ton miles, but it is seen that this loss to the railways would probably be of real magnitude and seriousness.

The foregoing is the principal point or route where a really substantial reduction in rail revenues can be foreseen. Other lesser reductions are likely, however, in other routes, as, for example, short coal runs to Toronto from the border, some Vancouver and Toronto bulk commodity movements, such commodities, for instance, as lumber and timber.

The favourable effects of the proposed St. Lawrence project on the Canadian railways are not so directly identifiable as are the unfavourable aspects previously mentioned. The favourable effects are what may be termed indirect—even though quite real—but before outlining them, it is necessary to call attention to a well-known traffic principle. This principle may be stated briefly: the opening of a new, improved, adequate transportation route not only diverts some traffic from an existing and more expensive route, but also creates a certain amount of entirely new traffic. This principle has been exemplified in the past upon the construction of certain canals, the Suez, Panama, and the Manchester Ship Canals, for example. There is no reason to suppose that this principle

will not have a renewed application in the case of the St. Lawrence Waterway, because the St. Lawrence canals will connect the open ocean with several great inland seas in the heart of a wealthy and productive territory. The canals proper will be less than 5% of the length of the waterway.

These creations of new traffic take such unforeseen turns that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to predict them, but past experience proves them to have actually taken place. In the subsequent discussion, therefore, due weight must be given to the operation of this principle. Furthermore, no new traffic can be created anywhere in Canada without being of benefit to our existing railway systems.

With this general principle laid down, the beneficial effects of the waterway on Canada's railway systems may be discussed under the following heads: (1) the stimulus conferred by the waterway to short haul rail movements from and to interior points to and from various lake and river ports; (2) the general indirect effect of St. Lawrence power in stimulating industries and hence benefiting railway traffic; (3) the stimulus conferred by the waterway to general Canadian prosperity.

A favourable effect on the railways that can be clearly foreseen is the increased tonnage from and to interior points by short rail hauls to and from lake and river ports. With a deep waterway operating from the lower gulf to Fort William, it is inevitable that certain commodities, probably of a bulk character, will be able to be moved profitably by a short rail haul to water and thence by water to destination with, perhaps, a second rail movement. These short haul movements would be, in general, new traffic. For an analogy to such traffic, it is only necessary to turn to the rail and water movements of iron ore and coal between the ore districts in Michigan, and the coal regions of Pennsylvania, via Lakes Superior, Huron and Erie. It may be argued, of course, that this is an excep-

tional case, and to some extent this is true. But who could have foreseen fifteen or twenty years ago the present day rail traffic to and from the Lake St. John region? An obvious possibility with a deep water channel connecting the Maritime coal fields with the reasonably dense populations in Ontario, is rail traffic in coal to a number of interior points from Lake Ontario. Lumber and mining traffic are other possibilities in short haul movements.

In general, these short haul movements are likely to be bulk movements. In this connection it is astonishing to know that over 70% of all carloadings in Canada in 1927 were of bulk commodities. As bulk commodities are pre-eminently suitable for water shipment, the inference is obvious. With such an existing traffic foundation, it is not unreasonable to believe that the waterway will create a considerable amount of new short haul rail traffic. To the extent that such traffic would materialize, the deep waterway would be of real benefit to the railways.

In the St. Lawrence River there will be available approximately 5,000,000 installed horse power, of which about 4,000,000 will belong to Canada. The effect on the industrial life in the Canadian St. Lawrence Basin of 4,000,000 installed horse power is likely to be profound. It will constitute a major stimulus to industry and commerce, and these in turn cannot be stimulated without creating large increases in the traffic on our railways. It might be easily argued, however, that while this is true, it would be quite possible to develop the power independently of any new deep water navigation in the river. This also is true, and yet, if the power were developed quite independently of navigation requirements, neither the navigation nor the power could be developed as cheaply, ultimately, as would be the case if the two were undertaken as joint enterprises. Especially is this true in the international section. According to the figures of the Joint Board of

Engineers, not less than \$46,000,000 will be saved in the international section alone by proceeding with a joint power and navigation development. Under these circumstances, it seems not unreasonable to take the view that the development of the power has a distinct relationship to the development of navigation, and that some of the benefits that flow from power development may with propriety be said to be due to the St. Lawrence Deep Waterway. If this be accepted, then the increased railway traffic created by the power can, in some measure at least, be credited to the St. Lawrence Deep Waterway project. The amount of rail traffic increase due to this power will be very large indeed—so large probably that it will more than offset the losses already discussed.

If it be true that the very life blood of Canada, as a political independent economic unit, flows through its east and west transportation routes, then any cheapening of the cost of moving goods in an east and west direction for a distance of about half the length of Canada must bring about additional prosperity to Canada as a whole. Within the limits of a short article, it is impossible to do more than mention this general point. Broadly speaking, as Canada prospers, so do her railways prosper. If, by the creation of the St. Lawrence Deep Waterway, the Western agriculturist and the Western and Central industrialist are placed on a more even competitive footing with the rest of the world, then ordinary Canadian life becomes more profitable economically. When it is possible for a stranger to come to Canada and make a profitable living, then immigration will prosper without any artificial stimulus and thus will population increase. With increased population the railways will reap the benefit of larger traffic, and the economic life of Canada will become more balanced and stable.

From this outline it appears that the railways stand to lose, during the mid-season on the Lakes, the movement of a

considerable amount of wheat and grain, both Canadian and American, from the Bay Ports to Montreal. This movement is at very low rates, being for competitive export purposes. The railways stand to gain somewhat by many new short haul movements, but still more by the increased stimulation to industry and commerce in the St. Lawrence basin, caused by St. Lawrence power. They also stand to gain largely by the general increased prosperity that the St. Lawrence Waterway should confer on Canada as a whole. It is obviously impossible, within a short non-statistical article, to attempt to weigh the balance between these two in any exact or careful manner. There are, moreover, so many unknown factors and so many future hypotheses, that the work, if undertaken, might easily prove fruitless ere completed.

If this analysis is near the mark, however, it appears that the favourable effects obviously will more than counterbalance the adverse effects on the Canadian railways likely to be brought about by the proposed St. Lawrence Deep Waterway. The whole matter can be summed up by pointing out the complete interdependence of Canada and of her railway systems. If Canada be commercially and economically stagnant, then her railways will pass through difficult times. Neither railway system is small enough to enjoy a local prosperity in the midst of general depression. If, on the other hand, Canada be prosperous, nothing but grossly unfair treatment can prevent the two great railway systems from participating in the general prosperity. Consequently, the final effect of the proposed waterway on the railways must be assessed by its effect on Canada as a whole. The study of this question is of sufficient importance to warrant the sober and disinterested study of every thoughtful Canadian.

CURRENT EVENTS

THE DISTURBANCES IN PALESTINE

On August 23rd last Palestine burst aflame. Jerusalem witnessed the first outbreak of murderous attacks by Moslems upon the Jews. Almost immediately similar assaults took place throughout the land; atrocities of a peculiarly revolting character were perpetrated at Hebron where not only were Jewish men slain but women and children were stabbed to death and many houses were burnt. As the local police were unable to cope with the revolt, British troops were rushed up from Egypt. At the moment of writing the Palestinian situation seems to be "well in hand", despite a vast amount of skirmishing and endemic clashes. The possibility of hordes of Arabs from the surrounding regions of Trans-Jordania, Syria, and Arabia joining in the mêlée and introducing acute complications remains as a disquieting factor.

The recent disturbances arose out of a seemingly minor dispute between the Moslems and the Jews of Jerusalem regarding the use by the Jews of the Wailing Wall which is supposed by them to be the only part upstanding of their ancient Temple of Solomon. For generations past they have assembled before it and have uttered wailings and lamentations for the Fall of Jerusalem and the world dispersion of their people, chanting the dirge: "We sit in solitude and mourn". But the Wailing Wall is legally the property of the Moslems, and it adjoins the Moslem "sacred area" which contains the "Dome of the Rock" (the so-called Mosque of Omar) and the El-Aksa Mosque; the one is built over the rock whence, in Moslem belief, Mohammed made his flight to Paradise; the other in the seventh century vied with the mosque at Mecca as the chief shrine of Islam, and was finally adjudged only

second in sanctity to it. In recent years the Wailing ceremony, though deprived of much of its poignant significance in view of the new turn of fortune for Jewry in the ideal of a "national home for the Jews", has frequently tended to become a Zionist gesture of triumphant defiance to the Moslems. On the Day of Atonement in September 1928, the Jews erected partitions separating men and women worshippers; these obstructed civic rights of way and were torn down by officials of the British administration, but the Jews have continued to insist on this practice. In the middle of August last some 300 hot-headed Jewish youths (in the absence of nearly all their leaders who were attending the World Zionist Conference at Zürich) are said to have made hostile demonstrations at the Wailing Wall, whereupon the Moslems retaliated and a Jew was killed. His funeral evoked fiery speeches and threats against the Moslems; fanaticism was roused to fever heat, and in a few days the Moslems made a concerted attack on the Jews.

These disorders must not be construed as sporadic outbreaks of blind, senseless mob violence perpetrated by blood-thirsty savages. They are symptomatic of a vital clash of deep underlying principles, of a conflict between Jewish and Arab nationalisms, between two great world-religions, between divergent economic and social theories, and, likewise, of an insurgence of the Orient against Western domination. The revolt can primarily be portrayed as one against Zionism. This is not the place to dwell upon the nature and evolution of the movement associated with the return of Jews to Palestine to a "legally secured home, where," as stated by Justice Brandeis, "they may live together and lead a Jewish life. where they may expect to constitute ultimately a majority of the population, and may look forward to what we should call Home Rule." The religious lure of the Land of Israel has always been potent in Jewry.

In the latter half of the 19th century, numbers of devotees flocked there and, with the support of the Rothschilds and the Montefiores, a few small agricultural colonies were founded. But the political impulse to establish a national home and State was not seriously aroused till 1897 when Dr. Theodor Herzl organized the First Zionist Congress at Basle. The offer by the British Government of land in East Africa to be developed into an autonomous state was rejected, as the Jews asserted that Palestine, and Palestine alone, could satisfy the longing of their hearts. But Palestine was then under Turkish domination, and nothing could be done to convert Zionist ideals into realities. The successes of Allenby in Palestine over the Turks, however, brought the project within the realm of practical politics. On Nov. 2nd, 1917, five weeks before the capture of Jerusalem, the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Balfour, made his momentous pronouncement in a letter to Lord Rothschild: "His Majesty's Government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object; it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine."

What were the motives prompting this Declaration on the part of Balfour and the British Government? Undoubtedly there was the generous idealism of righting a wrong, of atonement for cruel oppression of the Jews in nearly every country of the world. England had always led the way in extending liberal tolerance and privileged status to the Jews. The writings and career of Disraeli coupled with the services of such contemporaries as Rufus Isaacs and Herbert Samuel predisposed influential British politicians to look with sympathetic eyes on Jewish aspirations. It may be that Balfour, the philosopher and lover of music and the arts, was stirred to

pay tribute to the race which has produced men of such eminence in those spheres. British idealism, moreover, was compact with the *sacro egoismo* of British imperialism. Palestine in friendly hands would be a bastion standing guard on the east flank of the main highway of the Empire, the Suez Canal and the route to India; a pro-Zionist policy would earn the favour of Jews powerful in international finance whose aid was needed in the life-and-death struggle with the Central Powers. As a result of such considerations, Britain gave her approval to the Zionist programme. After the Armistice there was a sore delay in concluding peace in the Near East. but at the San Remo Conference of April 1920 the mandate for Palestine was allocated to Britain by the principal Allied Powers, and the draft mandate submitted by Britain was approved by the Council of the League of Nations in July 1922. This mandate embodies articles which satisfied the aims of the Zionists even more than the Balfour Declaration.

Meanwhile the non-Jew Palestinians were plunged into despair and manifested bitter resentment to the new policy. This antagonism, if at times vitiated by a wilful misrepresentation of facts and a selfish obscurantism, had nevertheless a rational foundation. The Arab Moslem and Christian population inveighed against the granting of preferential treatment to the Jewish race, tending ultimately to a complete Hebraic political supremacy. They asserted fiercely their rights to "their own country", and based their claims on the principles of "self-determination", present possession and antiquity of tenure. Altogether they mustered some 500,000 souls as against only 60,000 Jews then in Palestine; and consequently in accordance with President Wilson's electrifying doctrine the vast majority should have the right of determining their own government and its composition. The bulk of the Jews had been dispersed from Palestine hundreds of years ago. How then could they claim it as their "national home" with

more justice than those whose race had occupied it for centuries? If the mass of their folk were in a backward, primitive condition, that was largely due to the "dead hand" of the Turkish ruler, which had pressed so heavily upon them in the immediate past; individual Arabs who lived in Western lands proved themselves every whit as capable and progressive as their rival Jews under similar favouring circumstances. In days of yore Arabs built some of the great states known to history, and in one or two centuries had led the whole world in culture. Given the fostering guidance of an enlightened Power such as Britain or the United States and the privilege of self-government, they would soon prove a credit to modern civilization. But for such a Power to foist upon them the control of an alien and detested race and to sacrifice them as a pawn in the game of international finance was a gross insult to a noble people and a sorry betrayal of the principles of democracy and fair play to which the Great Powers declared themselves wedded.

Non-Jewish Palestinians protested against Zionism rampant as they envisaged financial exploitation and territorial expropriation at the hands of their Jewish competitors, supported by Zionist money and governmental influence. Again, religious susceptibilities were aroused by the fear of Hebraic domination in Palestine. The little garrison community of Christians was aghast when, at the conclusion of the Last Crusade, it was proposed by the conquering Christian Power to toss their "Holy Land" into the rapacious maw of the Jew! Jerusalem, as has been indicated, has also a special sanctity in the eyes of the Moslem on account of the Dome of the Rock and the El Aksa Mosque located on the site of the ancient Temple of Solomon. Utterances of perfervid Jewish preachers lent colour to Moslem apprehensions that these revered shrines might be razed to the ground and replaced by a Zionist Temple. Both Britain and the League of

Nations had guaranteed protection of the Holy Sites, but Palestinian Christians and Moslems declined to accept such assurances. Such were the arguments used by Moslems and Christians and there is veritably much strength in their position. Many Britishers who have assumed administrative duties in Palestine full of enthusiasm for the Zionist ideal, have felt impelled to revise their earlier notions and to view with deepening disquiet the execution of the policy of the Declaration; they came to the conclusion that the Zionist experiment would require the most judicious handling by all parties concerned unless sooner or later the country should be ablaze with revolt.

In what fashion has Britain fulfilled her duties in Palestine as Mandatory Power? Unbiased observers have borne testimony that on the whole she has faithfully performed her obligations of trusteeship. She has poured forth millions of pounds in upkeep, for only within the last year or two has Palestine been able to stand on her own feet financially; the present disorders will, however, entail a heavy drain upon the already much-harassed British taxpayer. Whatever distressed Zionist and Anglophobe papers and preachers may be saying at the present moment, Britain has kept good order in the land, despite almost insuperable obstacles. True, there have been the Easter riots of 1920 at Jerusalem, but these were speedily suppressed with little loss of life. The Jaffa disturbances of May 1921 were more formidable, involving casualties of 100 killed and 400 wounded. But since then the Pax Britannica has been preserved, up to the date of the recent tragic events. Lulled into security by this peacefulness, and encouraged in part by the Zionists themselves who have painted rosy pictures of their old foes accepting the benefits of the "new order", British troops were withdrawn from Palestine to Egypt. If the new Commission of Inquiry into the disorders finds that there has been criminal negligence before

or during the crisis, the offenders will be sternly punished. In any case, it is a thankless task for administrators to execute a policy which involves preferential treatment for one-fifth of a population in the teeth of the opposition of the other four-fifths.

In 1920 the military régime, dating from the War, was superseded by a civil administration, and, to the dismay of the Arabs, the first High Commissioner was a Jew, Sir Herbert Samuel. Samuel performed his functions in no narrow partisan manner, but his sincere and statesmanlike efforts at conciliation with the Arabs did not meet with success; his plans for the creation of a Legislative Council consisting not only of official but also community-elected members were nullified by the Arab attitude of non-cooperation with an administrative policy which favoured Zionism. Samuel handed over the reins of office to the distinguished English soldier, Lord Plumer, who in his turn was succeeded by the present High Commissioner, Sir John Chancellor, who is charged by Zionists with a lack of sympathy with Jewish aspirations, and by the Arabs with favouring the Jews. This is the normal type of criticism made of British administrators and of the administration in general and might lead the unprejudiced to believe that the British have held the scales fairly evenly between the two hostile parties.

What have the Jews been doing in Palestine during the last decade? What are the grievances, real and fancied, of the Arab Palestinians, which have urged them to launch the recent deadly assaults upon the Jews? The Zionists have assuredly made notable contributions to progress, especially in the material development of the land. Many vacant spaces have been filled by the influx of Jewish settlers, which was considerable in volume between the years 1920 and 1926. It has been estimated that in March of the present year there were some 150,000 Jews in Palestine—whilst, it may here be

mentioned, the Moslems numbered 558,000, and the Christians, etc., 87,000, the Jews thus forming about 19% of the total population. Unrestricted immigration of Jews has not been permitted by the British authorities. The wisdom of this quota policy has been realized during the last three years when a wave of depression struck Palestine, causing much unemployment and considerable emigration of disillusioned Jews. In view of these facts, the world leaders of Jewry, including not only Zionists like Dr. Weizmann and Lord Melchett, but also non-Zionist Jews such as Louis Marshall, have been recently projecting new, ambitious schemes through a newly constituted "Jewish Agency" to stimulate Jewish agricultural and industrial interests in Palestine, whilst temporarily subordinating the political aims of Zionism.

Meanwhile, a new Society, the Seventh Dominion League, projected in England by Col. Josiah Wedgwood, demands for the Jews fuller concessions, such as the stimulation of immigration and the grant of State lands. Such projects as these have created an apprehension amongst the Arab Palestinians that they may be swamped in their own land by floods of subsidised Jews. They fear not merely the quantity but the quality of Jewish immigrants. Some Jews of a high calibre have returned to Palestine, but far too few of the finer, more tolerant and wealthier type of English and American Jew have migrated thither. There is some point in the cynic's definition of a Zionist as "a rich Jew who pays a poor Jew to live in Palestine". Most of the immigrants come from Eastern Europe; divers of them have not learned from their own sufferings from Tyranny in Poland and Russia to abstain from persecuting and oppressing the Arabs who fall within their power. Overbearing arrogance and narrow exclusiveness are other counts in the indictment against the Jews. Four-fifths of the immigrants have crowded into the towns and have created such an overgrown urban centre as Tel-Aviv, con-

taining a quarter of all the Jews. This city is, nevertheless, a remarkable creation, thoroughly modern in its public services. The Zionists have developed old, and founded new, industries, such as flour milling, the manufacture of olive oil and soap, tiles, textiles, cigarettes and cement. Jews have acquired important commercial concessions, notably the harnessing of the energy of the Jordan by the hydro-electric plans of Pinhas Rutenberg, whose powers were later transferred to the Palestine Electric Corporation, under the directorship of Lords Reading and Melchett. This concession was assigned under the Samuel régime without tenders being asked for. Its legality was questioned on the ground of a pre-war concession to a Greek financier; the Permanent Court of International Justice decided in favour of the latter for the Jerusalem district, but its judgment did not affect the Rutenberg agreement elsewhere in Palestine. Preparations have been made for extensive harbour works at Haifa, intended to be the chief outlet from the vast hinterland of Palestine, Syria and Arabia. A coinage has been struck, although the superscription "The Land of Israel" in Hebrew has caused offence to hypersensitive Arabs.

The Jewish farmers are distributed over a hundred settlements, of which nearly fifty have been established under Zionist auspices. Most of the initial capital has been supplied from Zionist funds, and it has been calculated that the average cost of establishing a family has been \$5,000, apart from the price of the land. Zionist colonies are of two main types. The *Moshavim* are normal small-holding settlements on an individualistic basis. But many of the colonies are of the *Kevuzah*, or "Group" system, based on communal principles. Each adult does his or her unpaid work in return for free housing, clothing and food. Labour is not specialised, each member of the community performing successively such duties as harvesting, herding, horticulture, cooking and washing.

Separate quarters are assigned to married couples, but the unmarried men and women live in separate communal dormitories. Children of six weeks and over are looked after by trained nurses in communal houses, their parents having access to them daily. This communal system is an interesting social experiment, especially in view of its adaptation to severe pioneering conditions, but its ultra-modernism with its flavour of Russian communism (although, indeed, Bolshevistic ideas are discouraged in most of these colonies) is hardly likely to commend itself to the conservative Moslems and Christians of Palestine. The Zionists have established agricultural training and research schools, to which Arabs have access, and some Arabs have received good prices for land sold to the Jews. But many others have been "squeezed" by the Jews into involuntary expropriation. They have found it difficult to compete in the open market with Zionist rivals who possess the latest agricultural machinery and are supported financially by a wealthy organisation. The British administration with its limited monetary resources has done much for the betterment of the Arab cultivator especially in technical instruction, and the Arab has proved himself far from an inapt pupil, as his cultivation of the olive has particularly demonstrated.

The Zionists have, likewise, created an efficient school system and founded a Hebrew University; its inauguration in 1925 by Lord Balfour, was attended by increased tension of feeling. Although the non-Jewish Palestinians adopted the passive method of protest in the form of a general strike, the virulent animosity of the Arabs to the author of the detested Declaration of November, 1917, flamed out in Damascus in riots, which virtually compelled him to flee for his life. The insistence on Hebrew as one of the three official languages of Palestine is intelligible from the Jewish point of view, and its adoption has proved a valuable cementing and civilizing agent amongst the heterogeneous elements of the immigrant Jewish

population. But it has added to the cost and complexity of administration, and helped to foster the estrangement of the Arabic-speaking Palestinians.

The present revolt is fraught with danger and dire consequence. Primarily a Palestinian movement directed against the Jews, it may develop into a fierce fight with Britain, the Mandatory Power, which in its turn may extend into a widespread Arab rising and indeed into a general insurgence of Oriental peoples against European domination. In recent years Moslem leaders in Turkey, Syria, Morocco and Arabia have crossed swords not unsuccessfully with great European Powers. Should Ibn Sa'ud, the mighty and beneficent ruler of most of Arabia, decide to aid the Palestinian Arabs and proclaim a Holy War, the import may be momentous for the world.

A. E. PRINCE.

* * * * *

BRITAIN IN EUROPE AND IN AMERICA

The Labour party has signalized its return to power by two distinct achievements in the sphere of foreign policy. The Hague Conference which assembled in August is probably destined to exert a profound influence on Britain's relations with the powers of western Europe, while the visit of Mr. MacDonald to America, following conversations with General Dawes looking to an understanding on the vexed question of naval armament, may be of even greater significance in its bearing on Britain's external relations.

The Hague Conference was called to discuss two distinct problems — reparations, and particularly the Young plan devised by a commission of experts earlier in the year, and the

withdrawal from Germany of the allied armies of occupation. The problem of reparations has defied settlement since the close of the war, largely because of the difficulty of determining the capacity of Germany to make payment. In April, 1921, the Reparations Commission published a schedule, which has become known as the London Schedule, providing for the issuing of bonds of three categories amounting in all to 132,000,000,000 gold marks, without the intention, however, that this should exhaust the reparations to be paid by Germany. This amount, nevertheless, came to be regarded at least as a tentative total although it was never accepted by Germany. The Allies had already agreed at the Spa Conference in July, 1920, on a distribution of the proceeds of the reparations payments. France was to receive 52%; Britain 22%; Italy 10%; Belgium 8%, while the remaining 8% was divided unequally among Greece, Roumania, Jugoslavia, Japan and Portugal.

The next significant step was taken in the application of the Dawes plan in September, 1924. The Dawes plan was the product of two committees of experts appointed by the Reparations Commission to consider means by which the German currency might be stabilized and the mode of determining the amount of capital exported from Germany. Both of these inquiries were deemed necessary as preliminaries to a determination of Germany's capacity to pay. The Dawes committee was not interested in the several political issues which might properly influence the final amount of reparations; the report of the committee was limited to the suggestion of amounts which inquiry into German economic conditions indicated might reasonably be expected to be paid over a period of years. The Dawes plan proposed annual payments increasing from 1,000,000,000 gold marks in the first year to 2,500,000,000 in fifth or normal year, 1928-29, and made provision for additional payments should German economic conditions warrant them. The railways and industries of

Germany were mobilized as security supplementary to the ordinary revenues of government; official machinery necessary to supervise payments and to control the operation of the scheme was established under the general charge of an agent for reparations.

Although Germany has made the payments required by the Dawes plan since the scheme became operative, she has objected to the maximum annual payment as beyond her capacity and has, not without justification, insisted that payments should not continue indefinitely without the determination of the total amount. To suggest a final settlement of the problem of reparations another commission was appointed in September, 1928, composed of delegates from the leading allied states and Germany. The representatives of the allied governments were appointed by the Reparations Commission on the recommendation of the respective governments; the delegates of the United States were chosen jointly by the German government and the Reparations Commission and one of the delegates, Mr. Owen D. Young, who had been a member of the Dawes committee, became chairman of the commission. The relation of the several allied governments to the commission was such, obviously, as to leave them free to accept or reject the recommendations of the commission.

The Young plan, presented to the Reparations Commission in June last, fixed the total of reparations at 113,905,400,000 marks and extends payment until March 31, 1988. This term is divided into two periods, the first ending in 1966. During the first period annuities aggregating 79,483,300,000 marks are to be paid but the average annual payment is approximately 450,000,000 marks less than in the 'normal' year under the Dawes plan. The annuities payable after 1966 were scaled to meet the payments required to be made by the Allies to the United States on account of war debts. Of the annuities payable prior to 1966 the sum of 660,000,000 marks was to be

paid unconditionally and was specifically secured by a tax on German railroads, whereas the remainder was subject to postponement or to a 'moratorium.' Deliveries in kind have been made under the Dawes plan and were to continue for a further period of ten years on a gradually reducing scale.

The report then with thoroughly disingenuous naïvety proceeded to modify the basis of distribution of the proceeds of reparations as arranged at the Spa conference and gave France 500,000,000 of the 660,000,000 marks to be paid unconditionally. This scheme was undoubtedly 'engineered' by France and one suspects that the concurrence of Belgium and of Italy was obtained for 'valuable consideration' rather than for 'love and affection.' In the net result France occupied a position of much greater advantage, obtained chiefly at the expense of Britain who in previous arrangements had made generous sacrifices as the price of agreement.

Mr. Churchill while Chancellor of the Exchequer had announced that the government did not intend to be bound by the recommendations of the Young committee. It remained for Mr. Snowden, however, to arouse the statesmanship of Europe from its dream and to confront it with substantial, if unpleasant, realities. At the opening of the Conference he announced that the British taxpayer had reached the limit of his endurance in carrying Europe's war burden and that the Young plan was not acceptable to his country. The announcement was made with a directness and bluntness unknown to conventional diplomacy and with a shrillness of tone which clashed violently with the harmonious insincerities of post-war European statecraft. At the risk of wrecking the Conference Mr. Snowden persisted and was able to secure a modification of the plan which saves the British taxpayer £2,000,000 a year, constituting, as he claims, eighty per cent of his demand. Mr. Henderson, who paid special attention to the political phases of the European situation, was able to force, more or less, an

agreement for the early withdrawal of allied troops from Germany.

The unbounded enthusiasm aroused in England by Mr. Snowden's courage and persistence has a natural counterpart in the execrations hurled at him in France. The game of milking the British cow has been interrupted at a time when indulgence in that favourite pastime had come to be regarded as an inherent right of Europeans and of Frenchmen in particular. The incident has brought into clear perspective the fundamental differences between British and French mentality and the respective points of view of Britain and France with reference to European reconstruction.

The supreme value of the Hague conference may prove to be the dissipation of the mists of unreality which have surrounded much of European thought regarding international affairs. The League of Nations is not free from a large measure of responsibility for the clouding of the atmosphere. Despite many positive contributions to world peace to its credit, Geneva is the most unreal place in the world to-day. Its very existence is evidence of its unreality. The habit of thinking internationally, encouraged by the pleasant but artificial personal relationships which subsist normally at Geneva, is capable of becoming a positive menace to world peace if the assumption is made that Geneva reflects accurately opinion 'back home.' Mr. Sisley Huddleston, a very shrewd observer of European affairs, has recently suggested with seriousness that Europe should form a pact by which peace, like war, 'should be outlawed as an instrument of national policy.' There is much to commend this suggestion.

One of the realities to which the Hague conference attracts attention is the termination of the *entente cordiale* which France has persisted in keeping alive as a means for the protection of French interests. France has preferred the old system of alliances and has never manifested much enthusiasm

over the Locarno Agreements or the Kellogg Pact because they cut across the old alliances and gave Germany the same rights of protection as they afforded to France. Locarno ended the *entente cordiale*. France is only now awakening to this reality; that in itself is a step in the direction of peace.

There was danger lest the relations between Britain and the United States should become complicated by prejudices and misunderstandings. Mr. MacDonald's visit to America was intended to lay the foundation for mutual confidence in a belief in the honesty and good faith of the two peoples. The obvious sincerity of the British prime Minister has impressed the United States and in doing so should improve the atmosphere in which future negotiations will be conducted. Nobody realizes, probably, better than Mr. MacDonald, that atmosphere alone will not solve the problems outstanding between the United States and Britain. One of the chief obstacles to be encountered in the attempt to realize his thoroughly laudable projects of peace will be the fears and suspicions of certain European states, including France, which are aroused automatically by any semblance of *rapprochement* by the English-speaking peoples. France is an extremely jealous partner and, as is indicated by Mr. George Glasgow in this issue of the QUEEN'S QUARTERLY, has been able in the past to impose her will on British ministries. There seems to be a sound basis for hope that Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Henderson and Mr. Snowden will prove less amenable to her petulances as well as to her blandishments. The interests of peace will not be promoted by a failure to accept realities.

D. McA.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Book of Job: Its Substance and Spirit. By W. G. Jordan, B.A., D.D. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, Limited. 1929.

The Book of Job has always had an irresistible fascination for lovers of great poetry. Seldom has a great classic of one language retained its power when translated into another. Homer and Virgil have never become great English literature, though many have tried to make them such. But Job has fared better. Carlyle says of it, "There is nothing written, I think, in the Bible or out of it, of equal literary merit," and Tennyson went so far as to call the book "the greatest poem whether of ancient or modern times." And though both these masters of the English tongue knew something of Hebrew, their judgment was given on the English version of the poem, so familiar to us in the version of 1611.

It remains true, however, that the ordinary reader of the Scriptures has not made much of the Book of Job. Certain portions of it, it is true, will catch any but the dullest ear and stir any but the most prosaic imagination. Few surely can read the description of the wonders of the Almighty in nature and of the creatures which are the work of His hand without being moved thereby. It is doubtful if our whole English literature contains a finer bit of poetic description than that of the war-horse in the thirty-ninth chapter of Job. The translators, unknown to themselves, have even reproduced in their English version the rhythm of the Hebrew lines with their three accented syllables.

He smélleth the báttle afar óff,
The thun'der of the cáptains and the shóuting.

But the trouble is that the Book of Job, *as a whole*, has not been easy for the general reader. For this there are many

reasons, but notably two. In the first place the Hebrew text in many places is corrupt, so much so as to make the work of the translators impossible. Our English version contains many passages which are only a guess at the real meaning. This is notably the case in the famous passage in the 19th chapter, which begins with the line

I know that my Redeemer liveth.

Many attempts have been made to secure the correct original text of this section, but all of them are really only conjectures. And when the scholar falters, what can the untrained reader do?

The second great difficulty is that the book has been altered by various hands since it was first produced. Whole sections have been interpolated which did not belong to the book, and the order of other passages has been changed so that it is extremely difficult to follow the line of the reasoning. The almost unanimous verdict of scholarship is that the rather prolix Elihu speeches which fill six chapters (32-37) are no part of the original work. These and many other things are points about which experts must continue to argue, but meanwhile why should not people read and appreciate the book? That they may do so is the aim and purpose of Professor Jordan in the very interesting book that lies before us. "Intelligent people who have not the equipment or time for critical studies must be invited to share in the best that a reasonable, reverend scholarship can offer."

Professor Jordan is eminently fitted for such a task. He was the pioneer in Canada of those modern methods of Old Testament study which have done so much to make that literature a living thing for people of to-day. Long years of patient investigation have given Dr. Jordan a right to speak with authority on many of the most vexed questions of Old Testament interpretation. Furthermore, he has behind him

a long experience of the ups and downs of life. He knows much concerning the pain and sorrow which people have to face, and of man's dumb helplessness before many of the riddles of existence. If a man cannot understand "In Memoriam" aright before he is thirty years of age, much less may youth expect to probe deep into the meaning of the Book of Job.

"I said, days should speak
And multitude of years should teach wisdom."

Dr. Jordan's book is a product of wide knowledge and minute critical study on the one hand, and on the other of ripe experience and sympathy. It is enriched by copious quotation, both in prose and poetry, from others who have faced the spectres of the mind and either laid them or made them easier to face. For what is the problem of Job? It is only partially correct to say that Job's question is "Why do the righteous suffer?" The real question is "Is God just?" "Is the government of this world founded on justice and right or is it not?" And the answer is that God is just and right, but that His ways are too wonderful for man and past finding out. The only thing frail man can do is to submit himself to the wisdom and the power of the Almighty.

"Behold I am of small account,
What shall I answer thee?
I lay my hand upon my mouth."

It is not a satisfying answer, as many rebels since would testify. And it came only after Job had hurled his challenges at the Almighty. Dr. Jordan points out that in the light of Christian hope we may sing these brave, beautiful words,

"I thank thee more that all our joy
Is touched with pain."

but he very truly adds that "it is easier to sing them when we are free from pain." There is a difference, however, between Job and ourselves. He could only say

"I know that thou canst do all things
And that no purpose of them can be restrained."

The New Testament puts it "What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter." That is the difference which Christianity has made.

Dr. Jordan's aim has been to commend the book, first of all, as a work of art, one of the noblest of all poems. He quotes freely, especially from the Tayler Lewis translation, and his quotations are most effective. But he would also impress upon the reader the Spiritual significance of the book. By removing interpolations, notably the speeches of Elihu, and by suggesting here and there a corrected text he enables readers to understand the message of the book as a whole. "The glory of this book is that it has preserved for us in such a splendid form the story of one of the noblest efforts to maintain the freedom of the Soul and the right of the individual to appeal directly to the throne of God." And the book closes with a wise and penetrating sentence. "Arguments play their part, experience does its work, but such solution as is allowed to us comes through the vision of God." I know no one sentence elsewhere that so well gathers up the meaning of the Book of Job.

H. A. K.

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Introduction to Physical Optics. By Professor J. K. Robertson (Queen's University); New York, D. VanNostrand Co., 1929.

This concise and very readable volume on Physical Optics is particularly welcome at the present time as being a conservative attempt to incorporate into a college text some at least of the results of modern work in this field.

As the title indicates, it is intended as an Introduction to Physical Optics, but its 400 pages contain a well-reasoned

presentation of the chief outlines of the subject. The usual order of treatment has been modified in many respects as a result of recent discoveries; in the very first chapter the author plunges us into the old dispute about corpuscles and waves, while at the close of the book he deals with the same problem as it appears at present in the light of the Quantum Theory and Wave Mechanics. There is also a chapter on the ether and its elusiveness, together with a brief discussion of the bearing on physical problems of a few of the more outstanding deductions in the "special" Theory of Relativity. The reader is thus given a picture of the progress made in the subject from Newton's time to the present.

The sections dealing with the properties of the simpler optical instruments are preceded by a study of wave motion and of Huyghens' principle. The emphasis placed upon the wave nature of light in this connection is timely in view of the recent applications of interference to the study of aberrations in lens systems. The schools of optical design in France and England are emphasizing more and more the necessity of studying, in addition to the usual ray-tracing methods, the changes taking place in the wave surface itself as it traverses the lens system. The author has fortunately adopted, in the case of formulae derived with the aid of rays, the conventions used in standard books on the computing of optical systems as to diagrams and signs. It is very puzzling to the beginner to find so many texts apparently contradicting one another. It seems highly desirable that, at least in introductory works, the right hand direction in a diagram should be the positive one if for no other reason than that it is the usual practice in analytical geometry. It seems desirable also in dealing in text-books with refraction of light to avoid any reference to the so-called "relative index." It is unnecessary and confusing to students. The author tacitly follows this plan.

The chapter devoted to the Electromagnetic Theory, the Quantum Theory, the origin of spectra and Radiation Potentials are brief but presented in logical form suitable for a first reading. The chapter dealing with spectral series is a splendid introduction. It is remarkable that with so many new diagrams only a few errors have crept in, as for example in Fig. 181, page 270, which is obviously a slip in draughting. Six excellent plates add to the attractiveness of the volume.

The author evidently has a desire to give each country its due in the matter of discovery and thereto has adopted the laconic method of bracketing the name of his country after each investigator's name, thus—De Broglie (France), G. P. Thomson (Great Britain), J. A. Gray (Canada).

The book as a whole will commend itself to the reader for its modern viewpoint and for the pedagogical care with which the author separates theory from experiment.

H. A. McTAGGART.

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